

RODULFI GLABRI
HISTORIARVM LIBRI QVINQVE

Rodulfus Glaber
The Five Books of the Histories

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
JOHN FRANCE

EIVSDEM AVCTORIS
VITA DOMNI WILLELMI
ABBATIS

By the Same Author
The Life of St William

EDITED BY
NEITHARD BULST
TRANSLATED BY
JOHN FRANCE AND PAUL REYNOLDS

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TO MY WIFE
ANGELA

GENERAL EDITORS' NOTE

WE are deeply indebted to Professor Dr Neithard Bulst for his generous collaboration in this edition—for allowing us to use his fine text of the *Life of St William*, with minor modifications to its punctuation and abbreviation of its apparatus; for these we take responsibility. We are also most grateful to Professor Horst Fuhrmann, President of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, for his kind permission to use Professor Bulst's text, first printed in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*.

C.N.L.B.

D.E.G.

M.W.

PREFACE

THE editor has inevitably many debts of gratitude to scholars who have provided help. It has been a great pleasure to work with Neithard Bulst, whose edition of the *Vita Willelmi* appears in this volume, and to profit from the scholarship of Professor Horst Fuhrmann. In the translation of the *Vita* I have been greatly assisted by Paul Reynolds of the Library at University College Swansea, though for any shortcomings I take full responsibility. I wish to express my appreciation of the patience and warm encouragement of Professor C. N. L. Brooke. The learning and skill which both he and Dr Michael Winterbottom, General Editors of this series, bring to their task is remarkable; they have had a particularly close eye on the final typescript and the proofs. Dr Bernard Hamilton and his wife Janet have been unfailingly helpful over a period of many years and on a wide variety of subjects. Dr David Bates, whose zest for controversy acts as a great spur, has been very generous with information about the Normans, and was kind enough to introduce me to Liesbeth van Houts, who went to great trouble to help me. On the vital subject of Cluny I owe much to the advice of H. E. J. Cowdrey. Richard Gem has been more than generous with help on matters architectural. Miss Brenda Bolton, the late Professor Christopher Cheney, Professor D. Ellis Evans, Dr John Gillingham, and Professor Philip Grierson were kind enough to provide me with the benefit of their specialist knowledge. I am very grateful to Mme Monique-Cécile Garand and Professor P. E. Dutton for friendly correspondence illuminating their articles, and to Mme Garand for the substance of p. lxxxv. I am greatly indebted to the staff of Oxford University Press, and especially to Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens; and to Mrs Vera Keep of Joshua Associates. My colleagues in the History Department of University College Swansea have provided me with much stimulation, and I would like to express special thanks to Mr Ifor Wyn Rowlands for his assistance. Dr Joan Booth, Mr A. C. Moorhouse, and Dr E. J. Owens of the Classics Department at Swansea have all been very helpful.

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J.F.

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ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

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- AASSOSB* *Acta sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ed. J. Mabillon (9 vols., Paris, 1668–1702).
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- CCSL Corpus Christianorum, series Latina (Turnhout, 1954–).
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- Raoul Glaber?' *Scriptorium*, xxxvii (1983), 5–28.
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- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae historica*
Auct. Ant. *Auctores antiquissimi*
 SRG *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum ad usum scholarum*
 SS *Scriptores*
Script. rer. Langob. *Scriptores rerum Langobardorum*
- Niermeyer *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, ed. J. F. Niermeyer and C. van de Kieft (Leiden, 1976).
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INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORICAL

I. *The life and works of Rodulfus Glaber*

RODULFUS GLABER, the author of *The Five Books of the Histories* and the *Life of St William*, was probably born about the year 980 and seems to have died about 1046. The millennia of the Birth and Passion of Christ, through which he lived, were great events which both inspired and shaped the structure of his major work, the *Histories*. His world was dominated politically, as he announces at the very start, by the kings of France and Germany, 'the greatest and most Christian kings in our continent this side the sea'.¹ An awareness of the German emperors and their dominance of Italy and Central Europe is evident throughout the *Histories*, but he was much better informed and much more interested in the deeds of the French kings. Glaber's lifetime coincided with the establishment of the Capetian dynasty after the election of Hugh Capet in 987 and he lived within their kingdom. This 'Kingdom of the Franks' was not modern France, for the Capetians were effective rulers only in their own demesne, but they were able to influence the great feudal princes around them in the area bounded by the Saône, the Meuse, and the Loire.² It is the Capetian kings of France and their great vassals, the dukes of Normandy, the counts of Anjou, and the counts of Blois and Chartres, who occupy the centre of the political stage in Glaber's *Histories*. This is not surprising, for Glaber spent his life in monasteries in Burgundy, which was held of the French crown by a line of Capetian dukes. The heart of the duchy was Dijon and the county of Autun, but the dukes enjoyed an uncertain dominion over a large area west of the Saône, and extending from the area north of Lyons to the counties of Auxerre and Nevers. It marched with the Capetian demesne,

¹ I. Preface. 1. (References in this form are to the *Histories*.)

² On the early Capetians see J. F. Lemarignier, *Le Gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens (987-1108)* (Paris, 1965). On their relations with the great vassals see also Bur, *Comté de Champagne*; Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, and Bates, *Normandy before 1066*.

whose axis was the road from Orléans to Paris, and lay close to the great county of Champagne. It was politically separate from the kingdom of Burgundy, which lay under German domination on the east bank of the Saône.¹ But Glaber was not very interested in recording the history of his own land and his work is not a good local chronicle. His inspiration and his interest were much wider, and his ambition was no less than to tell 'of what happened in the four parts of the globe'.²

Yet there is something very provincial about Rodulfus Glaber; it would not be misleading to compare him with those fringe figures of modern political society whose diaries provide a keyhole view of the great. He lived in a number of Burgundian monasteries, some of them very obscure, and we can only trace with any certainty one visit beyond these confines, to Italy. But in this province of Burgundy lay the abbey of Cluny, which was the very centre of the monastic revival of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Glaber spent only a short time at Cluny itself, but he was for long a monk under St William of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon, who was a pupil of Abbot Mayol of Cluny (948–94), and a close friend of his successor, Odilo (994–1049). His first abbey was probably Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, where he served under Helderich, another pupil of Mayol. The abbots of Cluny and the houses under its influence tried to liberate monastic communities from the worse excesses of lay intervention and so to make possibly a rigid adherence to the Rule of St Benedict. In order to achieve their aim of a degree of autonomy from the secular world, the abbots of Cluny sought the protection of the pope. As the number of houses influenced by Cluny grew, so did the power and influence of their protector, the Holy See.³ This close bond between the monks and the Holy See promoted a sense of membership of a single, universal church; this is what inspired Glaber to write what was intended to be a history of the whole world. Glaber tells us that St William, one of the

¹ On the Capetian dukes of Burgundy see J. Richard, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne et la formation du duché du XI^e siècle au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1954). Duby, pp. 87–90, stresses the weakness of the Duke's authority in the southern part of the duchy and emphasizes that the Saône frontier, which separated the duchy from the kingdom of Burgundy, was essentially artificial and cut across the cultural and tenurial unity of the area. On the kingdom of Burgundy see R. Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne (888–1038): Étude sur les origines du royaume d'Arles* (Paris, 1907) and E. Hlawitschka, 'Die Königsherrschaft der burgundischen Rudolfinger', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, c (1980), 444–56.

² 1. Preface. 1.

³ On the special relationship between Cluny and Rome see Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*.

leading figures of the reform, persuaded him to write the *Histories*, and it is entirely appropriate that they are dedicated to St Odilo of Cluny. Through William's and Odilo's patronage Glaber's sense of being part of the universal church was heightened, and he was, in practical terms, given a passing view of the ruling élites of Western Europe, which otherwise he could have observed only at a distance. But despite these aspirations, Glaber lived in Burgundy and remained rooted in the world of the great majority, local and restricted, and this partly explains the character of the *Histories*. He heard whispers and stories about the wider world, inevitably at second or third hand, and juxtaposed these with local material in an apparently erratic way. The very unsettled nature of his life exaggerated this unevenness. At Dijon and Cluny he was in major centres of the reform movement with links across much of western Christendom, but much of the *Histories* was written in the late 1030s at the abbey of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, which was, comparatively speaking, a backwater. This wandering life must have influenced the flow of information which he received. It is hardly surprising that one who lived in perhaps as many as eight monasteries, and who tells us that he was expelled from the first, to which he had been brought by his uncle, has been regarded as a reluctant monk.¹ Some have regarded him as a misfit whose eccentricity is reflected in a disordered and unsystematic work. But Glaber was a convinced monk whose greatest concern was the world to come. He was not inward-looking, but what he has to offer is a view of the world seen through monastic windows.

Glaber lived in a period of intellectual revival, when the schools of northern France were flourishing. He testifies to the fame of Gerbert of Aurillac and was impressed by the reputation of the saintly and learned Fulbert of Chartres.² Berengar of Tours was active in his lifetime; Lanfranc was born about 1010 and was at Bec long before our chronicler died. Marbod of Rennes was born about 1035 and lived till the end of the Investiture Contest; Baudry of Bourgueil was born in the mid 1040s, when Glaber is presumed to have died.³ But the schools of Northern France were

¹ 5. i. 3.

² For an outline of Glaber's life see below, pp. xxxii–xxxiii; on Gerbert 1. iv. 13n.; on Fulbert 4. iv. 9n.

³ A good survey of the development of the schools in this period is provided by P. Riché, *Écoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1979).

far beyond Glaber's experience. Nor had he received the kind of intellectual education which it was possible for a monk to receive, as witness the career of his precise contemporary, Odorannus.¹ However, Glaber considered himself a cultured man and he was proud of the fact that he undertook literary tasks.² He warmly applauds St William's encouragement of learning in his monasteries.³ But the extent of Glaber's learning was limited, and though his efforts at theological speculation and his interest in learning are evidence of a lively mind sharing in the contemporary intellectual revival, they reveal his limitations,⁴ while he was clearly suspicious of the evils which too much learning might bring.⁵ The contemporary revival of learning produced much historical writing. Dudo of Saint-Quentin (c. 965–c. 1043) was a near contemporary,⁶ while a great deal of historical material was being gathered at Sens and Odorannus himself was dabbling in history.⁷ At Fleury Aimo and André were producing the *Miracula Sancti Benedicti*.⁸ The curious variety of this broadly historical material indicates contemporary confusion over what history should be. Richer of Rheims was a schoolman, and applied his considerable knowledge of classical models to produce a remarkable work, but it was little known at the time; and none of Glaber's contemporaries who interested themselves in history was Richer's equal in intellect and training.⁹ Glaber was aware of the value that the historian ought to attach to good evidence, and early in Book 1 promises only to tell of events at which he was present or of which he had certain report;

¹ The most recent edition of the works of Odorannus of Sens stresses the influence of Fleury upon the newly reformed abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif at Sens, which gave it a special intellectual development: *Odorannus*, pp. 7–8.

² In the autobiographical passages at the start of Book 5 he speaks with pride of his literary ability, 5. i. 3, and later says that he was employed to rewrite inscriptions in the abbey of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, 5. i. 8.

³ *Life*, c. vii.

⁴ The account of the Orléans heresy inspired Glaber to a rather crude theological passage, 3. viii. 28–30. On Glaber's intellectual limitations see below, p. lii.

⁵ The story of Vilgardus, the heretic of Ravenna, who was seduced by the learning of the Latin classics, clearly shows Glaber's suspicion of the matter, 2. vii. 23; Hervé of Tours, we are told, rejected an education in the classics because it would inevitably lead to pride, 3. iv. 14.

⁶ Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. J. Lair (Caen, 1865).

⁷ The *Chronicle* of Odorannus of Sens is printed in *Odorannus*, but its place in historical writing at Sens is discussed in *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vici*, pp. xxvi–xl.

⁸ *Miracula Sancti Benedicti*, ed. E. Certain (Paris, 1858; New York and London, 1968).

⁹ Richer of Rheims, *Historiae libri V*, ed. and tr. R. Latouche, 2 vols. (Grenoble, 1930).

but this was little more than a pious declaration, for like most medieval writers he was liberal in his view of what constituted 'certain report'.¹ In the *Histories* Glaber was really writing the story of his own times, which consciously he conceived as continuing the story of the revelation of God's work in this world.² In this he resembles his contemporary Adhémar of Chabannes, whose work, though aspiring to universality, is in fact more deeply rooted in the local world of south-west France than Glaber's is in Burgundy.³ Glaber's work is no model of historical writing, nor was it written by one in the forefront of intellectual development. But it is one of the very few chronicles produced at this crucial moment when great changes were taking place in European society and, better than any other, it conveys that sense of change. About the year 1000 the feudal principalities emerged and with them the reform movement centred at Cluny in Burgundy. In two dramatic and well-known passages Glaber seems to capture this sense of change, this spirit of the age. In one he refers to the passion for building which created 'a white mantle of churches'; in the other he refers to the crowds of pilgrims who travelled to Jerusalem at the millennia of the Birth and Passion of Our Lord.⁴ He has been characterized as not merely a historian, but the historian of the Millennium,⁵ and because of these two and a few other important passages, the *Histories* have always been well known. The *Life of St William*, by contrast, has been almost unknown, although it is important in itself, and for the light which it casts on Glaber and his work. But it is above all because he has been seen as a 'Cluniac' that Rodulfus has been regarded as important. In fact it is likely that he spent little time at Cluny, but the abbeys at which he did live were all profoundly influenced by Cluny. Glaber has been regarded as a 'Cluniac' historian, expressing the spirit of that house. Paradoxically, although the work has been dipped into by those interested in Cluny and the 'spirit of the age' it has been severely criticized by many of those who have looked at it as a whole. The *Histories* are generally known through the edition produced by Prou in 1886,

¹ 1. i. 4; the same sentiment is found in the Preface to the *Life*.

² See especially 1. v. 26.

³ For the edn. used here see 'Abbreviated References'.

⁴ 3. iv. 13; 3. i. 2; cf. 4. vi. 18.

⁵ Notably by E. Gebhardt, 'L'état d'âme d'un moine de l'an 1000', *Revue des deux mondes*, cvii (1891), 600–28.

which served as a base for the French translation by Pognon.¹ Prou's edition enshrined a particular view of the *Histories* which has been neatly summarized by the German historian Sackur: 'The kernel of all discussion has been that he led a very mobile and varied life, that he began his main work, the five books of his *Histories*, at Dijon and finished it at Cluny, that he was a Cluniac who reflected in the clearest way the endeavours and ideas of his comrades in conviction, and that he stood particularly close to Odilo, to whom he actually dedicated his work. On this work there has been general agreement: it was without plan or order and was very badly written, therefore it has been regarded as very valuable for the history of his time.'² This view was elaborated in a well-known article by Rousset in 1950: by contrast the works of Sackur (see p. xxxix) and those who have developed his ideas have never been widely diffused.³

The Life of Rodulfus Glaber

All that we know about Glaber is what he tells us or what we can deduce from the *Life of St William* and the *Histories*. What is most striking is the number of monastic houses with which he appears to have been associated. But the information is often cryptic, so that it is difficult to establish dates for his various periods of residence. However, it is clearly necessary to establish some framework in order to understand the background against which he was writing and something of his likely contacts and, therefore, possible sources.

The earliest date at which we can definitely place our author in a particular monastery is shortly after the year 1000, when there is good reason to believe that he was at the abbey of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre under its great abbot, Helderic.⁴ His account of the siege of Auxerre in 1003 during the Burgundian civil war by Robert II of France and his ally Richard II of Normandy is so vivid that nearly all commentators are agreed that he must have been an

¹ E. Pognon, *L'An mille* (Paris, 1947).

² Sackur, p. 379 (my translation).

³ P. Rousset, 'Raoul Glaber, interprète de la pensée commune au XI^e siècle', *Revue de l'histoire de l'Église de France*, xxxvi (1950), 6–24; id., 'Conception d'histoire à l'époque féodale', *Mélanges Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 623–35.

⁴ Helderic, abbot of Auxerre (989–1010), was an Italian whom St Mayol brought to Cluny and appointed to Auxerre after reforming it: Syrus, *Vita S. Maioli*, i. 15, ii. 2 (PL cxxxvii. 752, 764). See also his biography in Guido, *Gesta abbatum Sancti Germani Autisiodorensis*, in Labbe, *Nova bibliotheca*, i. 571–3.

eyewitness.¹ He subsequently recounts a miracle worked by St Germanus and mentions the Prior Achardus, who, he says, was 'later abbot of that monastery'.² Moreover, Glaber is well informed about Hugh of Chalon, bishop of Auxerre (999–1039) and his role in the Burgundian civil war.³ Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre was a large monastery with a learned tradition, and may have been the house of Glaber's first profession. In a strongly autobiographical passage at the start of Book 5 he tells us that though he was a self-willed and self-indulgent child, his uncle, who was a monk, placed him in an unnamed monastery at the age of twelve. There he behaved himself so badly that in the end he was expelled, though the brethren were confident that because of his literary ability he would soon be accepted into another house.⁴ The description of this first monastery as one containing monks of all ages suggests a large monastery like Saint-Germain, where it is clear that Glaber was living by 1003. Saint-Germain is a likely place for him to have been educated, since it had been a centre of learning, though it was no longer in the forefront of affairs by the year 1000.⁵ The balance of Glaber's work suggests a man coming to maturity about the year 1000: he knows little of the Carolingians, who are clearly figures of the past, while he was a protégé of St William (962–1031), not a coeval. So we can infer that Rodulfus Glaber was born about 980, entered Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre in the 990s and there received an education despite the troublesome temperament which led to his expulsion. We cannot say with any precision when he was driven out of his mother-house, but there is evidence to link him with two rather obscure monasteries under the authority of Saint-Germain in the period before 1016.

At the beginning of Book 5 Glaber tells us that he had three visitations from the devil, of which the first occurred while he was at the monastery of Saint-Léger-de-Champceaux. Immediately after this he launches into his personal reminiscences of how he was placed in an unnamed religious house by his uncle, and later expelled therefrom.⁶ Many writers have, therefore, assumed that

¹ 2. viii. 15–16.

² Achardus abbot of Saint-Germain (1010–32): Guido, *Gesta*, in Labbe, *Nova bibliotheca*, i. 572–3.

³ 2. viii. 16; 3. ii. 6 n.; 4. ix. 26.

⁴ 5. i. 3. On his residences at Saint-Germain see below, p. xxix.

⁵ W. B. Aspinwall, *Les Écoles épiscopales de l'ancienne province de Sens* (Paris, 1904).

⁶ 5. i. 2–3.

it was at Saint-Léger that he made his profession and from which he was later expelled. This cannot be the case because Saint-Léger was a very tiny place, a mere *abbatiola* of eight monks, which could hardly have provided a good education and which could not have been the place with monks of all ages from which he was expelled.¹

In this very same period Glaber seems to have been associated with yet another monastery, Moutiers-Saint-Jean, also called Réome, in the county of Tonnerre.² In Book 5 two miracle stories are recounted about events in the vicinity of this house: in the one a fire was put out with the aid of the sacrament and in the other communion-wine was spilt.³ Both events occurred while St William was abbot of this house, before 1003;⁴ the record displays such a wealth of information about an obscure area that the author must have known it well. In Book 2 Glaber tells us a great deal about Auxerre and its region, and he gives us a story about one Wulferius of Réome, who had a vision and died at Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre.⁵ Since this story relates to a time when Réome and Saint-Germain were under common rule, the events related must have happened before the death of Helderic in 1010, who was superior of both; mention is made of Achardus, Prior of Saint-Germain and successor of Helderic, but he never ruled Réome.⁶ It is odd that Glaber should pay a great deal of attention to such a relatively unimportant house; this suggests a close acquaintance. In fact, in 1003, during the siege of Auxerre, King Robert ordered Helderic and his monks to evacuate Saint-Germain. They left, as Glaber tells us, only eight monks to guard the sacred precincts,⁷ while the community as a whole took refuge at Réome.⁸ It may have been at this time that our author gathered his knowledge of Réome. What we are told about the two lesser houses, Saint-Léger-de-Champceaux and Réome, is limited and relates to the

¹ E. Petit, 'Raoul Glaber', *Revue historique*, xlviii (1892), 283–99, pointed out that in 994 or 995 King Hugh of France confirmed the donation of this small house or *abbatiola* to Helderic and Saint-Germain, p. 284.

² Petit, pp. 286–9.

³ 5. i. 12.

⁴ Petit, loc. cit., thought that Glaber must have come into contact with St William, who he thought held the abbey until 1015, but it has been convincingly suggested that St William received the abbey of Réome from Mayol, and was deprived of it in 1003, by King Robert, probably as a result of his political involvement in the Burgundian civil war, on which see below, 2. viii. 15–16; Bulst, pp. 61–5.

⁵ 2. ix. 19–20.

⁶ On the sources for the history of Réome see Roverius, *Reomaus*.

⁷ 2. viii. 15.

⁸ Bulst, p. 62, and Petit, p. 287.

earlier part of Glaber's life and a time when these houses were subordinate to Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre. This seems to confirm other evidence that Glaber was at Auxerre at the beginning of the eleventh century and that he made his profession there at the very start of his monastic career.

The next abbey at which Glaber can be placed is Saint-Bénigne at Dijon under its great abbot St William (989 × 990–1031). In his *Life of St William* Glaber gives a long and detailed description of the consecration of the new church of Saint-Bénigne on 30 October 1016 which includes a very vivid account of the sermon preached by St William on that occasion.¹ The whole passage is so vivid that it has been assumed he was an eyewitness. This need not necessarily have been the case. In the *Life* there are lively descriptions of events at which Glaber could not conceivably have been present: William's miraculous escape when his horse fell on the road to S. Michele di Chiusa on the Monte Pirchiriano occurred well before his entry to Cluny in 987, while the description of the saint's illness during his journey to Italy in 1002 clearly came from Gerald, abbot of Sta Cristina di Vercelli.² Moreover, in the sermon as reported in the *Life* Glaber includes a passage in which his patron rails against exotic clothes and strange fashions, but in the *Histories* the same vituperation is directed by St William against the Southern French followers of Queen Constance.³ This raises the possibility that Glaber's version of the sermon of 1016 is a composite illustrating St William's eloquence, rather than a literal description of a particular sermon. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Glaber did serve at Saint-Bénigne under St William. The *Life* is clearly the work of a biographer who knew his subject well. He refers to stories which the saint himself told, like that of his illness at Vercelli, and to conversations which may have been of a very confidential nature, such as his savage comments on his enemies.⁴ This period of evident intimacy with St William gives the *Life* its great value, and raises it far above the general level of hagiography in this age.⁵ William's patronage was very valuable to Glaber. Up to this time his life had been spent in Burgundy. Helderic of Auxerre, like St William, was an Italian brought by St Mayol to

¹ *Life*, c. xii.

² *Life*, cc. iv, ix.

³ 3. ix. 40.

⁴ *Life*, c. xi.

⁵ On the value of the *Life* see below, p. lxxxii.

Cluny before he was made abbot. He may have had a cosmopolitan outlook, but Auxerre was a relative backwater and its abbot not in the first rank of the reformers. By contrast St William had family connections at the highest level in the European aristocracy. He was in close affinity to Otto-William, count of Mâcon, as Glaber himself tells us,¹ and also of Bruno, bishop of Langres;² and the presence of Arduin of Ivrea at the consecration of his church of Fruttuaria, where he was later buried, suggests a family relationship.³ He was an international figure whose reforming activities reached into Italy, Western Germany, and Normandy. It is difficult to find out when Glaber first became associated with St William, but in the *Histories* he records a letter sent by the abbot of Dijon c. 1024 to Pope John XIX protesting against the pretensions of the patriarch of Constantinople, and in the *Life* there is record of another letter to a pope of the same name, deploring his tolerance of simony.⁴ This would suggest that the association began not later than c. 1024, the date of the former letter, and perhaps as early as 1016, the date of the consecration of the new church at Dijon. It seems to have been a fairly close relationship for Glaber portrays himself alongside his mentor returning to Dijon from a journey to Saint-Vivant-de-Vergy.⁵ Glaber certainly accompanied St William on a journey to Italy, for he tells us about events surrounding the consecration of the abbey of S. Giusto di Susa when he portrays himself at the right hand of his master supporting objections to the sale of false relics.⁶ The consecration probably took place on the patronal feast of St Justus, 17 October, but Glaber does not tell us the year. The preceding chapter is about an outbreak of heresy in Italy and refers to the coronation of Conrad II, which happened in 1027. In this account the devil, who is alleged to be responsible for the heretical outbreak, claims to have helped the usurper Michael to seize the Byzantine throne on the death of Basil. This cannot be a reference to the peaceful succession of Constantine VIII to Basil II in 1025, but must refer to Michael IV, who seized power after Romanus III in 1034.⁷ In fact this early part of Book 4 contains much information about Italy, but it does not clearly relate to any specific date. In his study Bulst suggests that St William may have

been in Italy in the years 1026–8.¹ The impression of intimacy between the two men is enhanced by the fact that in the *Life* Glaber reports stories about William's early years, which he must surely have learnt from his subject, and sardonic comments about his enemies, which have the ring of intimate conversation.² If it is difficult to date the start of Glaber's association with St William, it is at least relatively easy to indicate when it ended. In the *Life* Glaber tells us that he quarrelled with St William and left for a monastery not under his authority; shortly thereafter, as would appear from the context, Glaber had a vision of the saint, who died in 1031.³ Towards the end of Book 3 Glaber reports a meeting between St William and King Robert of France, which is usually dated 1030.⁴ This suggests that it was only in that year that Glaber parted company with St William, whose patronage had allowed him to escape from his narrowly provincial background.

It has sometimes been suggested that the next house at which Glaber resided was Bèze, but this is doubtful because the evidence connects him with that place at a later date.⁵ It is far more likely that he went from Saint-Bénigne to Cluny. His description of the great famine of 1031–3 is centred on the cities of Mâcon and Tournus, both close to Cluny.⁶ He records the death by fire of a fellow who sold human flesh on the market at Tournus, and specifically says that he witnessed a similar punishment which befell a poor wretch whose sufferings drove him to prey upon travellers near Mâcon.⁷ Glaber's sojourn at Cluny presumably explains the dedication of the *Histories* to St Odilo, but the indications are that he did not stay there long.

At some time after his stay at Cluny Rodulfus Glaber returned to Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre. We know this because he tells us that after he had rewritten some inscriptions in the abbey at Auxerre, a monk from Cluny who had known him previously told false tales against him. In the same passage he refers to Odilo in terms which suggest a figure whom he had known in the past.⁸ This does not offer a firm date for his departure from Cluny. There is evidence, however, to suggest that he was at Bèze by 1033 or shortly thereafter.

¹ *Life*, c. vi.

³ *Life*, c. ix; Bulst, p. 23.

⁵ *Life*, c. xiii.

⁷ G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (London, 1956), pp. 88–9.

² 3. ii. 6n.

⁴ 4. i. 3; *Life*, c. x.

⁶ 4. iii. 7.

¹ Bulst, pp. 125–8, 276.

² *Life*, cc. i–iii, xi.

³ 3. ix. 35.

⁴ 4. iv. 9–13.

⁸ 5. i. 8; Sackur, pp. 402, 410, first suggested this interpretation.

³ *Life*, c. xiii.

⁵ See below, p. xxx.

⁷ 4. iv. 10–12.

It has been thought that he was at this abbey in the period 1025–8, because in Book 4 he tells us that Ulric bishop of Orléans told him about a journey he had made to Jerusalem in the reign of Constantine VIII. It has been assumed that he heard this on Ulric's return and at Bèze, because in the preceding passage Glaber tells us that he heard the edifying story of the pilgrim Lethbaud, who died at Jerusalem in 1033, while at that monastery.¹ Ulric's pilgrimage was in part a diplomatic mission to the Byzantine court undertaken at the behest of Robert II of France; the reference to the reign of Constantine clearly dates it to the period 1025–8 but Glaber does not actually say that he heard about it while at Bèze. Furthermore, he says that Ulric went to the east 'eodem quippe tempore' as the great pilgrim flocks of 1033 and the election of Benedict IX (1032–45). This recalls the fact that at the start of Book 4 Glaber runs together a number of Italian events. Nothing links Glaber with Bèze in the years 1025–8. Furthermore, the entry in the annals of Bèze concerning the eclipse of 1033 very strongly resembles that given by Glaber in the *Histories*.² If we assume that Lethbaud left for Jerusalem in 1033 and arrived there later in the year, the story of his death would have reached the west by 1034, or at the latest 1035. It is likely, therefore, that by 1035 Glaber was no longer at Cluny, but was residing at Bèze. At some time after that he returned to Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre.

Rodulfus Glaber probably finished the *Histories* at Auxerre, because its later sections make frequent references to that abbey. At the end of Book 4 he mentions the abbey of Saint-Sauveur claimed by Saint-Germain and the subject of a bitter dispute in a passage in which he also records the eclipse of 1039.³ In Book 5 he records the fall of a shooting star at the village of Saint-Florentin near Auxerre, whose abbey was given to Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre in 1038 by Theobald son of Odo II of Blois, and the bitter feud involving the house of Seignelay in the same vicinity.⁴ Further, Glaber seems to regard Saint-Germain as his home monastery. He says that he was asked to renew the inscriptions at Auxerre by 'our brethren and fellow servants', then was attacked by a monk of Cluny who 'came to us',⁵ and in these passages he gives details

¹ 4. vi. 18–19.

³ 4. ix. 26. The eclipse is wrongly dated to 1037.

⁴ 5. i. 18. For the gift see M. Quentin, *Cartulaire générale de l'Yonne* (Auxerre, 1854–60), i, no. xci, p. 173.

⁵ 5. i. 8.

² 4. ix. 24, and see below, p. cv.

about the layout of the abbey of Saint-Germain. It may be added that quite early in the *Histories* Glaber asserts that whatever his faults, a monk can always redeem himself in the house of his first profession,¹ which takes on a special significance in the light of his own experience.

Yet although Glaber seems to have returned to Auxerre he resided at one other house. In Book 5 he records a third vision of the devil, which happened at Moutiers-Sainte-Marie, a dependency of Auxerre. Presumably he enjoyed a brief visit there during his final residence at Auxerre.² It seems reasonable to speak of a period of final residence, since the likelihood is that Glaber died about 1046.

The last event recorded in the *Histories* is the confusion in the papacy in the mid-1040s. His account of these events is eccentric. He refers to the Roman See as having been corrupted for some twenty-five years and adds that it was then ruled by an unnamed pope who was only twelve at the time of his election, which was brought about by simony.³ This must refer to Benedict IX, whose election, allegedly at the age of ten, Glaber has already recorded.⁴ This pope was rejected by 'the order of the emperor, and with the assent of all the people of Rome', and replaced by one Gregory 'natione Romanus', whose election augured well for the future. There the story ends, with, as has been remarked, no indication that anything followed or any *explicit* of any kind;⁵ the general assumption has been that Glaber died at this point. This is only an assumption, and other explanations for the abrupt halt are possible, but death seems to be the most likely.

The generally accepted pattern of events at Rome in the period 1044 to Christmas 1046 is as follows: Benedict IX, after a Roman uprising, was expelled from Rome on 7 January 1045, and replaced by Sylvester III, the nominee of a rival faction, but was back in power by 10 March 1045. However, a worthy Roman cleric, John Gratian, bribed Benedict to give up the papacy and himself became pope as Gregory VI on 1 May 1045, but Benedict then repented of his decision. Concerned by the confusion in the

¹ 1. iv. 14.

² 5. i. 5, and Petit, p. 259.

³ 5. v. 26.

⁴ 4. v. 17. There is ground for believing that Benedict was not a child when he became pope, see n. ad loc.

⁵ Garand, p. 25.

papacy Henry III came to Rome and at the synods of Sutri on 20 December 1046 and Rome four days later he deposed Benedict and Gregory, ignoring Sylvester.¹ If Glaber had heard of the Synod of Sutri it is curious that he should invert the course of events and record the deposition of Benedict before the election of Gregory VI when they occurred precisely the other way round.² Moreover, the sequence of events at Lyons offers a clue to his chronology. In his account of the troubles which beset this great see, Glaber makes no reference to the death of Ulric, archbishop of Lyons, and the succession of Halinard, abbot of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon in 1046.³ Glaber's account of the troubles at Rome is so cryptic and so confused that it seems unlikely that he had heard of the Synod of Sutri. It is true that he gives Henry III a role in the deposition of Benedict IX, but then he does exaggerate the power of the emperors at Rome, suggesting, for example, that Conrad II restored Benedict IX after an expulsion in 1033.⁴ It seems safer to assume that Glaber heard about the events of May 1045, and perhaps was later informed of imperial concern, but died before he heard about the actual imperial intervention and perhaps before the election of Halinard as archbishop of Lyons. This would place Glaber's death in 1046 or early in 1047.

In the light of what has been said, any timetable of Glaber's residence in different monastic houses can only be tentative in some respects, especially as we do not know the date of his initial profession. However, what follows would seem to be a reasonable outline:

c. 980	Birth
from the early 990s to an unknown date after 1010	At Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, with periods of residence first at Réome (Moutiers-Saint-Jean) then at Saint-Léger-de-Champceaux

¹ R. L. Poole, 'Benedict IX and Gregory VI', in Poole, *Studies*, pp. 185–222; Herrmann, *Tuskulanerpapsttum*, pp. 151–65, 181–2.

² Vogelsang 1, pp. 30–1, believes that Glaber had heard some account of Sutri because: (a) Glaber calls Benedict IX 'oft-expelled' in 4. v. 17 (cf. 4. viii. 23) which implies to her that he must have known of the final expulsion of 1046. This is a reasonable, but not a necessary deduction. (b) In the final passage of the work Glaber calls Henry III 'imperator', while earlier at 5. i. 17 he is only 'imperator in spe'. However, Henry is simply called 'imperator' with reference to his marriage in 1043 and to events at Lyons at this time: 5. iv. 21–2.

³ 5. iv. 21 n.

⁴ 4. ix. 24 n.

certainly by 1024 and perhaps as early as 1016, until c. 1030	Saint-Bénigne at Dijon
c. 1030 until c. 1034 or 1035	Cluny
c. 1034–5	Bèze
c. 1036–7, until his death c. 1046	Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre with a period of residence at Moutiers-Sainte-Marie

While doubt can be cast on the dates suggested for his residence in the minor houses, the important thing is that we can approximately establish Glaber's periods of residence at three major houses, Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, Saint-Bénigne at Dijon and Cluny. There can be no doubt that his 'home' monastery was Saint-Germain.

The fact that Rodulfus Glaber spent so much time in Burgundian monasteries and that he had a family connection through his uncle with Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre suggests that he was of Burgundian origin, but he tells us nothing of this. He confesses that he was born of the sins of his parents,¹ which has been taken to mean that he was illegitimate, but it could be a conventional reference to original sin. It is possible that he had family connections further to the west, for he is well informed about the counts of Anjou.² He is also well informed about the house of Blois, perhaps because they had lands at Saint-Florentin which were later given to Saint-Germain.³ As to his rank in society, we have only the faintest of clues. He is deeply interested in genealogy and is careful to indicate the high ancestry and connections of some of those he mentions and the notable lack of these qualities in others.⁴ He is obviously contemptuous of the 'rustici mente labiles' who followed the heretic Leutard and condemns the crowd at Susa in similar terms.⁵ The term *rustici*, which he uses so often, was then in the process of becoming a designation of status; this would suggest

¹ 5. i. 3.

² The *Gesta consulum Andegavorum* includes substantial passages drawn from the *Historiis*, on which see below, p. cii.

³ See above, p. xxx n. 4.

⁴ He stresses the lowly origins of Hasting, 1. v. 18–19, but likes to indicate his knowledge of the genealogy of the mighty of his age, as 3. ii. 5–7 and nn. indicate.

⁵ 2. xi. 22; 4. iii. 7.

that he did not belong to that class.¹ He is even patronizing about the obscure ancestry of the house of Capet.² All this suggests one of high birth—or who would like us to think him such—but perhaps not of the highest, an aristocrat but not from the ranks of the comital aristocracy.

2. *The writing of the Life of St William and the Histories*

In c. xiii of the *Life* Glaber tells us that he was inspired to write it by seeing a vision of his old patron, St William, probably shortly after his death in 1031. Although it is quite short the *Life* is a substantial piece of work. The weight of material about the early life of the saint, the inclusion of a letter to John XIX, and the testimony of Gerald of Sta Cristina all point to a composition which took time to produce.³ It seems to have been written as one piece. It has a structure which was obviously carefully planned, and it was completed well before Glaber wrote Book 4 of the *Histories*, in which he refers to the *Life* as a work which he had completed.⁴ The *Life* has its fair share of miracles, but they are reported in a curiously low-key, matter-of-fact way which denies them prominence in what is in fact a substantial and careful account of the life of St William by one who knew him well.⁵ If the vision which inspired Glaber to write the life of his old patron really happened shortly after St William's death, and if he set about writing fairly soon, the likelihood is that the life was written, or at least begun, at Cluny, where Glaber was living in the period c. 1030–c. 1035.⁶ An examination of the writing of the *Histories* suggests evidence to support this idea.

In the passage in c. xiii almost at the very end of the *Life*, in which he tells us about the vision of St William which inspired him to write the story of the saint's life, Glaber says quite clearly that he had begun the *Histories* at the command of his old patron, who was now, *post mortem*, concerned that he should finish it. Yet the work is

¹ Duby, pp. 130–1.

² 2. i. 1.

³ *Life*, cc. i–v, ix–x.

⁴ For a discussion of the structure of the *Life*, see below, pp. lxxi–lxxii; 4. iv. 9.

⁵ In the *Life* Glaber recorded a limited number of prosaic miracles. In c. ii his mother saw the Virgin before his birth, and in c. iii an old woman's shrivelled breasts brought forth milk. A horse on which William had been riding was saved after a terrible fall in c. iii; in c. viii the tomb of St Benignus was miraculously found. In c. xiii we are told how William resurrected a hanged man and was later seen in a vision by Glaber himself.

⁶ See above, pp. xxix, xxxiii.

dedicated to St Odilo of Cluny, as its very first line proclaims. In this same passage he describes the work as being 'the story of the events and prodigies which happened around and after the millennial year of the Incarnation of the Saviour', which is very like the reference in the Preface of Book 1 to the 'many events which occurred with unusual frequency about the millennium of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour'. As many writers have pointed out, this would seem to suggest that his original intention was to write about the matters covered in Books 1–3, and therefore raises the possibility that Books 4 and 5 were an afterthought.¹ Moreover, the same passage adds that at the time of the vision of St William the author had written 'the greater part' of the *Histories*, but then set them aside to write the *Life*. If we assume that what Glaber meant was the 'greater part' of the work as originally projected, covering the years around the millennium of the Incarnation, he must have written a substantial part of what are now the first three books before he stopped to write the *Life*. It was certainly written by the time Glaber wrote c. v of Book 3 of the *Histories* which introduces us to St William for the first time, because this passage reads very much like a summary of the *Life*. In particular it refers so elliptically to those who plotted against the saint that it can only be understood by reference to c. xi of the *Life*, in which Glaber tells us that there were political intrigues to discredit William with both Henry II of Germany and Robert II of France by linking him to their enemies in Italy and Burgundy. It is likely that c. v of Book 3 was written a long time after the death of St William. In the third chapter of Book 3 Glaber mentions the Spanish custom of celebrating the Annunciation in December, which he learnt about 'when I was sharing the life of the brethren of the monastery of Cluny'; so this must have been written after he left Cluny, probably at Auxerre in the late 1030s. Because of this, and because the *Life of St William* shows considerable knowledge of the traditions of Cluny, the likelihood is that it was written at Cluny and occasioned a long break in the writing of the *Histories*. Moreover the last datable event in Book 3 is the battle of Bar in 1037, and the last in Book 4 is the death of Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, in 1040; and

¹ Sackur, pp. 383–4, first suggested this, taking the view that the major gap in the writing was between books 3 and 4. Vogelsang 1 believes that only a start had been made, and the serious composition took place at Cluny, but *Life*, c. xiii is very clear that a great deal had been written before he stopped to write the *Life*.

there is a considerable chronological overlap between the later part of Book 3 and Book 4. All this suggests that they were written together. At 3. ix. 38 Glaber mentions for the first time Conrad II, 'of whom we shall have much to say later'; this is picked up in the preface to Book 4, where Conrad, 'whom we have already mentioned', reappears. This is one of only three references forward in the whole work, and reinforces the impression that Book 4 and the later part of Book 3 were written together.¹ Book 5, which is unfinished, seems to have been produced at the very end of Glaber's life. The evidence suggests that the initial conception was of a history in three books covering the period before and after the millennium of the Incarnation. Its composition was interrupted by the writing of the *Life*, and perhaps other factors, and as a result the author had new ideas. The final result was the *Histories*, composed over a period of many years. This impression is strongly reinforced by palaeographic evidence.

The work of Mme Garand suggests that the original part of A was the work of two hands.² The first of these was responsible for the whole of Book 2 (ff. 10–17), part of Book 3 (ff. 24–9) and the whole of Book 5 (ff. 47–55). This hand changes its general appearance from section to section without changing its central characteristics, an effect, Mme Garand suggests, of age. Since it is clear that these parts of the work were written over a long period of time, extending from before the death of St William in 1031 to about 1046, it is hard to see how this ageing hand can be any other than that of Glaber. The other hand at work is that of ff. 1–9 and 32–9, which contain Book 1 and the end of Book 3 with the start of Book 4 down to c. iii. This hand appears to be that of a professional scribe because of its clarity and careful preparation of the folios; he appears to have done all his copying in a short period of time. His employment suggests that Glaber was seeking to complete his work and prepare it for presentation. This decision must have been taken shortly after he had gathered together the material upon which the latter part of Book 3 and the material for Book 4 are based. It is unfortunate that ff. 40–6, which form the rest of Book 4 and which were probably bound in a single gathering, have been lost, so we cannot know who wrote it. Presumably Glaber decided to have a fair copy made of Book 1 because, if the state of

Book 2 is anything to go by, it must have been showing signs of its age and travelling, and because he wanted to make a good impression on the reader. But this gave Glaber the opportunity to revise Book 1 and the indications are that he did so. The professional scribe ended Book 1 at the top of f. 9^v and filled in the remainder with a list of chapter-headings for Book 2. As a result *Explicit Liber Primus. Incipit Liber Secundus* at the top of f. 10 looks out of place. The work of the professional scribe was never extended to the rest of the *Histories*, and instead Glaber, late in life, chose to add a fifth book which he never completed. The pattern which emerges is of a work written over a long period of time. Some time after 1040, which is the last date in Book 4, the author decided to call a halt and began to have a fair copy made, which provided opportunities for revision, but he never carried the project through. Instead he added Book 5, whose folios, it should be noted, are of poor quality and whose script wanders as though with age. An examination of the individual books confirms the pattern suggested here and suggests solutions to the difficulties which scholars have found with the *Histories*.

If Glaber's intention in projecting the work was to write only of the events which occurred about the time of the millennium of the Incarnation, he largely stuck to this intention in the first three books. Book 1 is historical, and brings us to the later tenth century and a little beyond. Book 2 is mainly concerned with events before 1000, and at the start of Book 3 Glaber comments that having dealt with what happened before 1000, he now wished to discuss events which came after and repeats his intention, proclaimed in Book 1 and reiterated at the start of Book 2, of charting the passage of time by reference to the deeds of worthy men.¹ At the start of Book 4 there is something of a sense of a new era looking forward to the millennium of the Passion, by which the events within are dated, suggesting that the passage of time had led Glaber to extend his work, but he was never able to integrate Book 5 into any schema. Within the general frame of Books 1–4 there is more of a sense of order in the individual books than has generally been admitted, with the notable exception of Book 2. In the very opening of the work Glaber implies that it was his intention to bridge the gap between his age and the time of Bede and Paul the Deacon, whom

¹ For a full list of cross-references see below, p. xxxix n. 7.

² For detailed palaeographical comments see below, pp. lxxxii–xcii.

¹ 3. Preface. 1; 2. i. 1; 1. Preface. 1.

he evidently sees as the last real historians. After the discussion on the 'Quaternities', he redefines his purpose, declaring that he will tell the story of all the great men who have lived since the year 900; this leads to a brief mention of the old Frankish empire and an outline of the West Frankish kingdom down to 987.¹ He then passes on to the history of the empire down to the death of Otto III, though with digressions on St Mayol and St Adalbert.² Mention of the accession of Henry II then neatly leads into a discussion of the attacks of pagan forces on Christendom.³ The Book ends with the coronation of Henry II as emperor and a meditation on the orb in the imperial regalia and the progress of Christianity among the peoples of the world.⁴ But the central problem posed by Book 1 is indicated by the dedication of the whole work to Odilo. This opening book of the *Histories* must surely have been in the 'greater part' of the work completed before the vision of St William recorded in the *Life*, c. xiii, and written before Glaber went to live at Cluny.⁵ For Book 1 of the *Histories* is not just dedicated to Odilo; much of its content concerns Cluny and its ideas. In his account of the captivity of St Mayol, Glaber gives us the text of a letter written by the saint to his community asking for a ransom to be raised; it is precisely the same letter recorded by Syrus in his *Vita Sancti Maioli*.⁶ As the two accounts of the captivity are quite different, Glaber must have had sight of a copy of this letter in the archives of Cluny. He describes and discusses one of the treasures of Cluny, the orb presented by Henry II.⁷ In the chapter on the 'Quaternities' recent research suggests that Glaber was drawing upon works which would have been available to him in the library there.⁸ In fact the notion of the 'Quaternities' had a strong place in Cluniac thinking, having been used by St Odo; and the biographer of St Odilo was later to extol his virtues in these terms.⁹ By contrast there is no

mention of Cluny at all in Book 2 except for the story of St Odilo's attempted intervention in the siege of Auxerre to prevent Robert of France from attacking Saint-Germain.¹ It does not reappear in the *Histories* until the statement in Book 3. iii. 12 about the Spanish custom of celebrating the Annunciation in December. Shortly after, he talks about the importance of Cluny in the transmission of the Rule of St Benedict and briefly touches upon its early history.² Book 4 bears the stamp of Cluny very heavily. Sackur noted the intrusion of this Cluniac material into Book 1 and concluded that these passages had been inserted, along with the dedication to Odilo.³ In fact Glaber probably revised Book 1 carefully before he gave it to the professional scribe for copying. Book 1 contains two clear references forward (of which there are only three in the whole work). At 1. v. 17 he tells us that after the attacks on Italy by 'Algalif' there were no more Saracen attacks until the time of al-Manşūr, who appears at 2. ix. 18. At the end of his account of the Viking raids he says that the Northmen never again invaded France, 'except at royal request', which must refer to the alliance of Robert II of France and Richard II of Normandy against Otto-William of Mâcon in 1003.⁴ In addition, at 1. v. 20 he refers to Richard, duke of Burgundy, father of Rudolf of France, as having been mentioned earlier.⁵ At the start of Book 2, which was clearly not revised, there is reference back to the author's declared intention of charting his course in time by the deeds of famous men and to three points of narrative in Book 1.⁶ Therefore it is probable that some of the original structure of this Book was retained and the 'Cluniac' passages carefully integrated. Indeed only the account of the captivity of St Mayol, at the start of a chapter on the empire, seems out of place. Book 1 is fairly tightly constructed, to a recognizable plan.

It is impossible to see any order in Book 2. While there are many cross-references in Books 1, 3, 4, and 5, only the preface of Book 2 recalls what has gone before.⁷ The book is full of portents—at the

¹ 2. viii. 15.

² Sackur, pp. 386–8, 402–3.

³ 1. v. 21; 2. viii. 15.

⁴ 2. i. 1 refers back to the marriage of a sister of Otto I to Hugh Magnus, the extinction of the Carolingians, and the account of the empire under the Ottonians.

⁵ 1. ii. 6.

⁶ The complete list of cross-references in the *Histories* is: forward: 1. v. 17 ~ 2. ix. 18; 1. v. 21 ~ 2. viii. 15; 3. ix. 38 ~ 4. Preface. 1; back: 1. v. 20 ~ 1. ii. 6; 2. i. 1 ~ 1. i. 4, 1. iii. 7, 1. iv. 8; 3. Preface. 1 ~ 1. Preface. 1, 2. vii. 14; 3. i. 4 ~ 3. Preface. 1; 3. v. 18 ~ 1. iv. 9; 4. Preface. 1 ~ 3. Preface. 1 and 3. ix. 38; 4. iii. 7 (St William) ~ 3. v. 16, 3. ix. 35, 40,

¹ 1. i. 4–7.

² 1. iv. 8–13.

³ 1. v. 17–22.

⁴ 1. v. 23–5.

⁵ See above, pp. xxxiv–xxxv.

⁶ Syrus, *Vita Sancti Maioli*, iii. 4 (*PL* cxxxvii. 767).

⁷ 1. v. 23.

⁸ Dutton, 'Glaber's "De Divina Quaternitate"', points out that the sources for this chapter are evident in the two surviving catalogues of the abbey of Cluny. J. Leclercq, 'Cluny fut-il ennemi de la culture?', *Revue Mabillon*, xlvii (1957), 172–82, stresses the eminence of this library, for the contents of which see A. Wilmart, 'Le convent et la bibliothèque de Cluny vers le milieu du XI^e siècle', *Revue Mabillon*, xi (1921), 92–4 for a list compiled in 1042 or 1043 and L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale, fonds de Cluny* (Paris, 1884), pp. 337–73, for a mid-12th-century list.

⁹ J. France, 'The Divine Quaternity of Rodulfus Glaber', *Studia Monastica*, xvii (xviii) (1975), 293 n. 50.

very start a whale beached in Normandy gives an excuse for telling the story of St Brendan and the whale, and serves as a portent for the wars in the west and north.¹ In this part of the work Glaber mentions Britain for the only time; the information he gives is nonsense, and he is even ill informed about Normandy. By contrast he is very well informed about the house of Anjou and its wars in Brittany.² In a famous section he describes the Burgundian civil war, though even this is heralded by a dragon in the sky.³ In between there are gloomy accounts of deaths, and portents and the work ends with references to local events, of which the most interesting is the heresy of Leutard.⁴ Book 2 is short, clumsy, and distinguished by having more chapters than any other. It is a crude piece of writing which represents, in unreconstructed form, a segment of that 'greater part' of Glaber's original project which he had completed before his vision of St William. It refers to a time when he was young and living in the comparative backwater of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre; and he never had time to revise it as he revised Book 1. It was obviously written before he had been to Cluny, which is barely mentioned in it. The allusion to Robert II's assertion of control over Burgundy, which happened only after the death of Bishop Bruno of Langres in 1016, shows that he was writing well after the events he describes.⁵ In one interesting passage Glaber refers to wars between Cnut and Malcolm II of Scotland and to the peace which concluded them.⁶ The account is so vague, and our knowledge of events in Northern Britain in the early eleventh century is so limited, that it is difficult to know what period of time is being referred to. However, the whole passage seems to be set in the context of the very beginning of Cnut's reign in the years after 1016; and as he ends by saying that afterwards there was peace in the area 'for a long time', it seems reasonable to conclude that he was writing quite a while after these events. It is just possible that there is here a hint of when Glaber was writing this part of Book 2. *c.* 1027–8 Glaber was in Italy with St William; at the same time Cnut was in Rome for the coronation of Conrad II.⁷

4. i. 3, cf. 4. iv. 9; 4. v. 17 ~ 2. vi. 11 and 12; 4. vi. 20 ~ 3. ix. 39; 4. viii. 23 ~ 3. ii. 8; 4. ix. 24 ~ 4. v. 17, 4. viii. 23; 5. i. 16 ~ 3. ix. 37–8; 5. i. 17 (Hungarians) ~ 1. v. 22, 3. i. 2, 4. vi. 21; 5. ii. 19 (Fulk Nerra) (frequently mentioned; see Index); 5. iii. 20 ~ 4. ix. 24, 26.

¹ 2. ii. 2–3.

² 2. iii. 4.

³ 2. viii. 15–16.

⁴ 2. ix. 22.

⁵ 2. viii. 16.

Glaber never mentions Cnut's attendance at the coronation, probably because of his dislike of Conrad II,¹ but it is conceivable that he heard stories about the Danish king while he was in Italy. This is only a possibility, but he does seem to describe these events as though well removed in time from them, and this suggests that he was writing in the mid- to late 1020s.

The structure of Book 3 is quite like that of Book 1. After the introductory preface the first chapter deals with the history of the empire down to the death of Henry II in 1024, while the second deals with the same period in the history of France. Chapters iii–vi discuss ecclesiastical affairs, though the chronological pattern evident in i and ii is imperfect here, especially in the jumble of wonderful tales in c. vi, 'De Sanctorum pignoribus ubique reuelatis'. After this we turn to the pagan world: c. vii is concerned with the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by the Caliph Hākīm in 1009.² Chapter viii takes us to the long section on the Orléans heresy and its destruction in 1022, but the gap between vii and viii is more apparent than real, having been partly filled by material in earlier chapters. The real anomaly in Book 3 is the long c. ix on Robert II and his sons, which becomes an account of the house of Blois down to the death of Odo II at the battle of Bar in 1037. Book 4 does not display the pattern of 1 and 3 by alternating between events in the empire and those in France. It is ordered more chronologically, and there is some overlap with the period covered by Book 3, but there is no repetition of subject-matter. Book 4 begins in 1024 with the accession of Conrad II and the effort of John XIX to come to terms with the Byzantines about the claim of the Holy See to universality, an effort attacked in a letter of St William's which Glaber reports in full.³ This preoccupation with Italy continues in the next two chapters, which concern the outbreak of heresy at Monteforte and the incident of the false-relic-seller whom Glaber and his master met at Susa while travelling to Italy in 1027–8. The fourth chapter begins gloomily with the record of a series of deaths which portended the coming of the millennium of the Passion in 1033, those of Benedict VIII in 1024, Robert of France and St William of Dijon in 1031, and Fulbert of Chartres

¹ On which see 4. Preface. 1; 4. ii. 5.

² For the date see W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren elften Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1981), pp. 57–8 n. 44. Thanks are due to Dr J. Shepard for this reference.

³ 4. Preface. 1, 4. i. 2–3.

⁷ Bulst, p. 276; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas, and S. I. Tucker (London, 1961), p. 101 n. 5.

in 1028; these lead into the famous account of the famine of 1031–3. Suddenly, in the year of the millennium of the Passion, the whole tone changes. There is peace and plenty, the faithful flock to Jerusalem while Christianity is triumphant in Spain and Eastern Europe over its enemies.¹ But at the last eclipses and signs portend evil brought about by the sins of men, for, as we have already been warned, mankind is ‘prone to evil, like a dog returning to its vomit . . .’.² The last event referred to is the death of Fulk of Anjou in 1040.³ The overlap in time between Books 3 and 4 is confined to the last chapter of Book 3. In the third chapter of Book 3 Glaber indicates that he was writing at a time when he had left Cluny, which must mean when he had returned to Saint-Germain-d’Auxerre, after 1036 or 1037.⁴ Furthermore, Book 5 of the *Histories* seems to have been composed towards the time of Glaber’s death and well after the events described in Book 4, to which it refers inaccurately.⁵ It is very likely that Books 3 and 4 were written very close together, and this is reinforced by the reference forward in the last chapter of Book 3 to Conrad II already noted.⁶ In Books 3 and 4 he refers to the writing of the *Life of St William* as something in the past.⁷ We cannot be certain when the first two chapters of Book 3 were completed, though Glaber might have been told by St William about the events in Italy recounted in chapter 1, and this could have formed an element of the ‘greater part’ of the work which had been completed at the time of the vision of the saint. However, the bulk of Book 3 was written at Auxerre after c. 1036 or 1037. Because he was writing at that time he was unable to break off the story of the struggles of Robert II and his sons and their conflict with the house of Blois at a time appropriate to Book 3. This, and the fact of the millennium of the Passion of 1033, impelled him to begin a new fourth book. It contains material about events as early as 1024, carefully selected to avoid repetition. The reassessment of the work occasioned by the commencement of a new book led him to revise Book 1. He called in a professional scribe who completed Book 3, copied Book 4, and produced the final version of Book 1. This process was probably completed by c. 1041.

There are indications in Book 5 that Glaber intended to return

¹ The gloomy tone of 4. i. 1–4. iv. 13 changes in 4. v. 14–4. viii. 23.

² 4. ix. 24–5; 4. v. 17. ³ 4. ix. 26.

⁴ See above, pp. xxx, xxxiii. ⁵ 5. i. 17.

⁶ See above, p. xxxvi. ⁷ See above, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi.

to the plan used in Books 1 and 3. After a long and sombre opening section, much of it biographical, he dealt with German affairs then turned to France with accounts of the wars of King Henry I, Geoffrey Martel and the house of Blois, and the troubles of the see of Lyons.¹ Thereafter any sense of order evaporates in a series of anecdotes about the life of the Emperor Henry III. Book 5 has a lot of chronological errors. These are by no means rare in the rest of the work but here they are very marked. The marriage of Henry III to Agnes of Aquitaine is dated 1045 instead of the correct 1043, while an eclipse of the moon is attributed to 1046, not 1044.² After recording very precisely the date of Easter 1041, Glaber announces the death of Conrad II in that same year, although he died in 1039—and Glaber had already recorded it in Book 4, where the date 1037 is probably a scribal error for 1039.³ Book 5 ends, as already noted, very awkwardly and the assumption that this was brought about by Glaber’s death fits very well with Mme Garand’s comments about the ageing and uncertain hand of the last folios of A.

In the *Histories* Glaber set out to record the ‘many events which occurred with unusual frequency about the millennium of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour’ in ‘the four parts of the globe’. Whatever opinion we may have of his success in achieving this ambition, his work certainly bears witness to a life spent wandering through the monasteries of Burgundy. The fact that he lived in so many during his lifetime, and that the *Histories* provide strong indications as to dates in most cases, gives grounds for thinking that his work took shape over a long period of time. What we can infer from the *Life of St William* and the *Histories* about how he worked, suggests that he began to write at Saint-Bénigne at the command of St William and had completed ‘the greater part’ of what was intended as an account of events around the year 1000, probably the first two books and perhaps a little of a third, when news of the death of his great patron impelled him to write the *Life*. It is not possible to say precisely when he began to write the *Histories*, but a passage in Book 2 suggests that it may have been in the mid- to late 1020s.⁴ The *Life* was written at Cluny, but it was only after he left that abbey and returned to Saint-Germain-d’Auxerre about 1036 or 1037 that work on the *Histories* was resumed, which

¹ 5. i. 14–5. iv. 21–2. ² 5. i. 17–18.

³ 5. i. 14; 4. ix. 26, cf. below, p. lxxvii.

⁴ See above, pp. xl–xli.

seems to have continued until the end of his life.¹ Mme Garand's examination of A suggests that much of the manuscript was written by a single writer who worked over a long period of time, perhaps as much as twenty years; this was probably Glaber himself. The impression of a manuscript which grew over a period of time is reinforced by examination of the physical condition of the codex. While he was writing the long final chapter of Book 3 Glaber called in a professional scribe, who copied the rest of it and also Book 4, together with a new version of Book 1 incorporating material collected by Glaber while at Cluny.² It seems that Glaber called in a scribe at a moment when he realized that he would have to add a fourth book to his work. It is reasonable to infer that he wanted a fair copy of a work which he was now seeking to bring to an end. It is in no way strange that the scribe was also instructed to make a fair copy of the opening book of the *Histories*, and that Glaber took the opportunity to change its content and to dedicate it to Odilo of Cluny. This decision was probably the result of the circumstances of his life at Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre. In Book 5 he records bitterly that a monk of Cluny came to Auxerre and told some kind of story against him which alienated his brethren.³ Moreover, Glaber seems to have disliked Abbot Odo of Auxerre very strongly.⁴ Since it is unlikely that he would have gone to serve under an uncongenial abbot of his own free will, and since Saint-Germain must have seemed something of a backwater after Cluny and Saint-Bénigne, it is at least likely that Glaber had left Cluny under a cloud. The decision to finalize the *Histories* with a fourth book, to make a fair copy, to rework Book 1 to include much material of interest to Cluny, and above all to dedicate it to Odilo, were all part of an effort to reopen the gates of Cluny which he must have left only reluctantly. If this was his intention, we can be certain that it failed, for late in life he added a fifth book at a time when he was growing old and embittered at Auxerre.

It is possible, therefore, to draw up a schedule of when and where the two major works of Rodulfus Glaber were written:

<i>Histories</i>	Book 1 (original)		
	Book 2	Saint-Bénigne at Dijon	Before c. 1030
	Book 3 (c. i–ii)		
<i>Life of St William</i>		Cluny	1031–c. 1036
<i>Histories</i>	Book 3 (cc. iii–ix)		
	Book 4	Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre	c. 1036–c. 1041
	Book 1 (revised)		
<i>Histories</i>	Book 5	Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre	c. 1045–6

3. *Sources and References in Glaber's works*

Rodulfus Glaber was clearly very proud of his 'literary ability'. It was presumably because of this that he was employed at Auxerre in renewing the inscriptions on the altars of that abbey. When he was driven out of Saint-Germain, the brethren, he tells us, were confident that his abilities would ensure that some other house took him in. He admits that he was driven out of Saint-Germain because of his intolerable behaviour and it is interesting, in view of the large numbers of monasteries which he inhabited, that he tells us that the view of the brethren that 'literary ability' would provide him a home was proved true 'many times'. It was this ability which led houses to accept one whose temperament seems to have been difficult, and, presumably, which brought him to the attention of St William and St Odilo.¹ The work on which he embarked while at Saint-Bénigne, the *Histories*, was extraordinarily ambitious. It was to be a universal history in the sense that he sought to tell of all the significant things which happened 'in the Roman empire and in distant and barbarous provinces' around the millennium of the birth of Christ. But history, for Glaber, must teach men lessons 'in prudence and caution'; in other words it is part of the continuing revelation of the divine will, and the writer's purpose must be to reveal this.² This is why Glaber saw nothing strange in those excursions into theology which have so damned him in the eyes of modern writers. At the very start of Book 1 the chapter on the 'Quaternities' is an assertion of the unity of all things under the providence of God, and at its end a meditation underlines His role in human history; this latter point is made in a different way by the portents in Book 2 and elsewhere. The report of the destruction of the Orléans heresy, which nicely demonstrates church and state

¹ On Glaber's life see above, pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

² See above, p. xxix, for Glaber's period at Cluny.

³ 5. i. 8.

⁴ R. A. Shoaf, 'Raoul Glaber et la *Visio Anselli Scholastici*', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, xxiii (1980), 215–19 suggests that the unnamed monk to whom the devil appeared is none other than Abbot Odo. The portrayal of him is not flattering. See below, pp. xlix–l, and 5. i. 1.

working together, provides a quite natural opportunity to answer the errors of the heretics in a very long theological discussion.¹ The same impulse underlies the numerous moral tales with which the work is larded and his interpretation of the grim fate of Odo II of Blois as the vengeance of the Lord 'unto the third and fourth generation'.² This didactic purpose was fulfilled by many kinds of writing, including saints' lives and miracle-books, which were popular in his age. At the same time, as we have noted, there was no accepted model of historical writing, so that Glaber had to write the rules himself for the ambitious task which he undertook. The indications are that he did not have the greatest of intellects and that he was not versed in any classical or later models. It is notable that the *Life of St William* is a better example of a saint's life than the *Histories* of historical writing, presumably because the former was in a genre with which Glaber was familiar.

But Glaber was aware of the basic need of the historian to seek authenticity, as has been noted.³ In the Preface he shows his concern for chronology by using the reign of Henry II of Germany and Robert II of France as a reference point. With the exception of Book 2 Glaber did use a chronological framework, but this was overlain by other concerns.⁴ At the very start of the *Histories* Glaber mentions the works of Bede and Paul the Deacon as though he believed them to be the last examples of proper historical writing and he mentions no other history which we can identify. In much of Book 1 he wrote about events which happened long before his own lifetime and so he must have had some source or sources before him, but it is not possible to identify them. He records the death of Robert I of France at the battle of Soissons in 923 and the later capture of Charles the Simple very briefly and in terms not incompatible with those of Flodoard.⁵ But the statement that at Soissons Robert was killed by the Saxons is wholly mistaken, as is the comment that the deposition of Charles the Simple marked the first break with the Carolingian line, and neither could have been derived from any known source. He provides an intriguing account of the death-bed confession of Herbert of Vermandois about the capture of Charles the Simple which is unique.⁶ As he is generally

¹ 3. viii. 28–30.

² 3. ix. 38.

³ See above, pp. xxii–xxiii.

⁴ On the structure of Book 2 see above, pp. xxxix–xl.

⁵ Flodoard, pp. 14–15; and cf. below, 1. i. 5.

⁶ 1. i. 5.

well informed about the house of Blois, it is possible that this may be a family story.

Glaber's work does bear some resemblance to the *Chronicle* of Adhémar of Chabannes at a number of points; but it is unlikely that this is due to direct borrowing or a common source. Since Adhémar died in 1033 he could hardly have used Glaber's work, but it is possible that Glaber used his, or that both used some unknown common source. Adhémar's text has come down to us in three versions: the H text, which represents an original draft by Adhémar; the A text, which is a further draft; and the C text, which was his final version.¹ Both writers give essentially similar accounts of the destruction of Crescentius of Rome by Otto III, but Adhémar's H text says that Crescentius was 'Prefect of Rome' and mentions the papal name of Gerbert of Aurillac, Sylvester, which Glaber never does.² What is striking is that both give a potted biography of Gerbert, though Adhémar puts the biography before his account of events. Some of the additions to this biography made in the C text, especially the remark that Gerbert came of humble origins and had been made archbishop of Rheims by Hugh of France, are rather reminiscent of what Glaber tells us. However, the C text adds a great deal of detail about Gerbert's education in Spain and mentions his early life at Aurillac, elements totally lacking in the *Histories*. Glaber's account of the fall of Crescentius corroborates Adhémar's, but he may well have got it from Odilo, who was in Rome at the time.³ One telling detail in which the accounts differ: both mention Crescentius' wife without naming her, Adhémar to say that she betrayed the fortress 'Intercaelos', in which her husband had taken refuge, and Glaber to say that she later married Otto III.⁴ The only real resemblance between the two versions is the fact that both give a potted account of the life of Gerbert. It is unlikely that they took that material from a common source for the elements in the biography added by Adhémar in his final version, and which resemble what is mentioned by Glaber, are associated with other material which Glaber would surely have used had he come across it. In 1009 the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem

¹ The first two books of the chronicle of Adhémar de Chabannes depend on known sources. Book III is the history of his own time, and is the part of interest to this discussion. On the various versions of the text of Adhémar of Chabannes see Delisle, 'Notice'.

² Adhémar de Chabannes III. xxxi, and compare 1. iv. 12.

³ Sackur, p. 387.

⁴ 1. iv. 15.

was destroyed by the Caliph Hākīm, as both chronicles report.¹ Much of the detail given about this event is very different in the two versions, but what is striking is the extraordinary story of a Jewish plot in which the Jews of the West incited the Caliph against the Christians. Both set the story in the context of a persecution of the Jews which was already taking place. At the very start of the story Adhémair says that the bishop of Limoges had set in train a prosecution there, and Glaber's account follows a strongly anti-Semitic story about Raynard of Sens, the 'Judaizer'.² Since Glaber's account is far more sharply anti-Semitic than Adhémair's, and his story is much more elaborate, involving a Christian renegade from Moutiers-Sainte-Marie who acts specifically as the agent of the Jews of Orléans, it is unlikely that Glaber used any version of Adhémair's work or a common written account. At this time, when heresy was growing in Western Europe, the newly resurgent church was becoming more aware of the Jews as an alien element within the Christian polity.³ Hence when the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed, a scapegoat story sprang up to explain events. This may have been circulated in different versions in church circles, so that the accounts of Glaber and Adhémair represent the different versions which came to their ears. A third point of similarity between the two accounts is the story of the Orléans heretics. Here, however, very significant differences exist between the two accounts.⁴ Because we know that Glaber later met Bishop Ulric of Orléans, who told him about the lighting of the Holy Fire at Jerusalem, it is possible that he got his account of the Orléans heretics from him.⁵ So the evidence of Adhémair of Chabannes does not point to any written material underlying the *Histories*.

Glaber records the text of three letters in his works. The first, that of St Mayol asking the monks of Cluny to ransom him from captivity by the Saracens, was presumably in the archives at Cluny.⁶ It is interesting to note, in view of Glaber's general reputation for a love of the fabulous, that his account of Mayol's captivity is much more prosaic than Syrus' and stresses the relative

¹ Adhémair de Chabannes III. xlvi, and compare 3. vii. 24.

² 3. vi. 23.

³ R. Chazan, '1007-1012: Initial Crisis for Northern European Jewry', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, xxxviii-xxxix (1970-1), 101-17. See also id. (ed.), *Church, State and Jew in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1980).

⁴ For a very full discussion of the different accounts see Bautier, 'L'hérésie'.

⁵ 4. vi. 19n.

⁶ See above, p. xxxviii.

humanity of the captors. Later in the *Histories* Glaber gives the text of a letter written by St William to Rome protesting against the apparent willingness of Pope John XIX to accept Byzantine proposals which would have placed Rome and Constantinople on a similar footing.¹ In another letter, recorded in the *Life*, St William admonishes another pope of the same name for tolerating simony within the church.² It is possible that Glaber was St William's secretary and wrote these letters on his behalf.

One range of material to which Glaber makes fairly frequent reference is the lives of saints and other notables. Glaber's concept of history clearly embraced such works, which he uses as sources of information. That mingling of fabulous and historical material which writers have so often criticized in Rodulfus Glaber was not simply characteristic of his work: it is even more marked in the 'Miracles of St Benedict'.³ In this age Glaber's references to saints' lives come as no surprise. In a number of cases he had clearly read the lives of saints in the versions which have come down to us. He had certainly read a life of St Germanus, St Gregory's life of St Benedict, and Faustus' life of St Maurus in the form we have them today.⁴ However, his account of the death of St Adalbert is quite different from that given in the *Passio*,⁵ and the story of the journey of St Brendan is quite different from our known versions.⁶ He was interested in the relics of St Vincent and mentions the legend of St Polycarp.⁷ In the *Life of St William* Glaber mentions the *Passion* of St Benignus and also the story told by Gregory of Tours that Gregory of Langres was convinced of the authenticity of his tomb by a vision.⁸ A recent study has shown that one of Glaber's wonder-stories bears a very special relationship to the *Visio Anselmi Scholastici*. At the start of Book 5 Glaber tells the story of a vision of the devil which appeared to an unnamed monk, suggesting that there was no need to live an ascetic life because the annual descent of Christ into Hell at Easter would release all souls from suffering.⁹ Glaber uses this vision to remark that the descent does

¹ 4. i. 3.

² *Life*, c. x.

³ See above, p. xxii n. 8.

⁴ 2. viii. 16n.; 3. iii. 12n.; 3. v. 17n.

⁵ 1. iv. 10n.; Iohannes Canaparius, *Vita Sancti Adalberti Episcopi Pragensis*, *MGH SS* iv. 581-95.

⁶ 2. ii. 2n.

⁷ 3. ii. 8; 5. iv. 21n.

⁸ Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Martyrum*, ed. and tr. H. L. Bordier (Paris, 1857), pp. 147-51; *Passio Sancti Benigni martyris*, *AA SS Boll.* Nov., i. 152-3.

⁹ 5. i. 1.

not release all souls, according to the Gospel, and points out that such manifestations must be regarded with care. Since the unnamed monk is apparently partly seduced by the demon, and made the subject of this theological exhortation, the whole passage is hardly flattering to him. Precisely the same story features in the *Visio*, where the central figure is Odo, abbot of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre (1032–52), whom Glaber never names in his work.¹ The suggestion is that Odo was annoyed by the unflattering picture of him in the *Histories* and had an official version of his vision produced without Glaber's gloss. But there is more to this story than mere monastic spite. Throughout the *Histories* Glaber is concerned by the problem of good coming from evil, and particularly from malign interventions. There is a whole chapter devoted to the question in Book 3 and just after this account in Book 5, and apropos of one of his own visions, he refers to St Gregory's warnings on the subject.² He may have known St Odo's caution against visions given in the *Vita Geraldi*,³ but in any case this was an age in which the church was turning sharply against visions and Glaber here and elsewhere in the work reflects this preoccupation. Undoubtedly the war against a still living paganism influenced the church, and this was reinforced by the growth of heresy.⁴

In Book 3 Glaber gives a fairly detailed account of the death of the famous Abbo, abbot of Fleury, though the date of his death is never made precise and the name of the abbey where he was killed is not mentioned. However, far more detail is given than would have been available to the writer from the circular letter sent round by the monks of Fleury announcing the sad event. In fact it is very similar to that given by Aimo in his *Vita Abbonis*,⁵ except that Aimo gives more detail. According to him it was a turbulent monk who caused the trouble at La Réole on 13 November 1004. Like Glaber he says that Abbo's injuries were caused by a spear-thrust, but he details them and describes Abbo's death-bed demeanour. It is possible that Glaber is giving a résumé of Aimo's account, but the evidence is only suggestive. Much the same can be said about

the evidence which links Glaber's account with another source for the life of Hervé, treasurer of the church of Tours, the *Dialogus ad Fulbertum*.¹ Glaber's account of Hervé's vision on the eve of the consecration of the new church of Saint-Martin at Tours, which he had been responsible for building, is like that given in the *Dialogus* which was written between 1012 and 1023. According to this account Hervé was 'fundator monasterii' and, as in Glaber's account, he is described as living close to the abbey in a cell. When he learned that the canons of Saint-Martin were expecting some startling miracle on the occasion of the consecration of their new church he berated them for their presumption. Nevertheless, a vision of St Martin was granted to Hervé, and it was revealed to him that the saint had freed from hell three former brethren. Glaber's account is quite different in emphasis, for according to him Hervé himself sought a vision and was reproved for it by St Martin, and those freed from hell by the saint were brethren who had indulged in warfare. The most striking similarity between the two accounts is the remark in the *Dialogus* that the vision was told only to the senior clergy, which is like Glaber's statement that it was reported to the 'better clergy'. Glaber uses none of the rich detail of the *Dialogus*, and there is no verbal similarity; it would seem reasonable to conclude that he had heard a similar story, perhaps from some wandering brother, to that which formed the base of the account in the *Dialogus*.

Glaber's citations give an indication of his education, and the sources of his ideas. His discussion of the 'Quaternities' in Book 1 is derived from the *De Paradiso* of St Ambrose and the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor in the translation of Eriugena, texts which would have been available to Glaber in the library of Cluny.² Since interest in this subject seems to have been a tradition at Cluny, and is given form in the capitals of the choir of the great church of Cluny III, it is possible that Glaber chose this subject in order to flatter St Odilo. But it is one of the very few serious theological references in the whole of the *Histories*. He certainly knew Augustine's *City of God* and Gregory the Great's *Expositio in Librum Iob*.³ Perhaps he had seen Adson's *Liber de Antichristo*, but this is doubtful.⁴ There are a very few classical references: he quotes from

¹ 3. iv. 14–15. On the *Dialogus* see 3. iv. 14n.

² See above, p. xxxviii.

³ 1. v. 26n.; 5. i. 5n.

⁴ 5. i. 10.

¹ On Glaber's residence at Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre during Odo's abbacy, see above, pp. xxix–xxxi and p. xliv n. 4.

² 4. iii. 6; 5. i. 5.

³ Odo, *Vita Sancti Geraldi*, PL cxxxiii. 643.

⁴ As, for example, Leutard, 2. xi. 22. Glaber was well aware of pagan survivals, as he shows in 4. iii. 8.

⁵ 3. iii. 11; Aimo, *Vita Abbonis*, PL cxxxix. 375–411.

Terence, Lucan, Ovid, Persius, and Vergil (thrice), and in connection with the heretic Vilgardus he mentions Juvenal, Horace, and Vergil.¹ His fondness for etymology suggests a knowledge of Isidore of Seville's famous book, to which there is one probable reference, and he certainly knew *De Natura Rerum*.² There is only one classical reference in the *Life*,³ besides the allusion noted to the miracles of St Benignus: presumably Glaber did not think it appropriate to lard that kind of work. In one passage of the *Histories* Glaber gives a few garbled words of Greek, but these were mechanical borrowings; there is no reason to suppose he knew the language.⁴ He is generally interested in the heavens and in eclipses, and in the place just cited speculates upon the natural causes of an eclipse of the moon, as well as asserting the divine cause. Behind this astronomical interest lies the monastic concern in the calculation of Easter.⁵ All in all Glaber's works bear witness to a fairly limited education. The references to the classics are hardly more than could be gleaned from contemporary grammars. His Latin is very difficult. He can handle simple narrative, but once beyond this, obscurities creep in. Too often his sentences have no verbs and stagger from one participle to another, and sometimes the thread is entirely lost. His use of adverbs is difficult: he refers to the three visions of the devil as having happened *nuperime*, yet the first of these must have happened at Saint-Léger before 1020, and the second at Dijon before 1031, and he was writing in the mid-1040s.⁶ When he evinces suspicion of classical education, as we have noted,⁷ it is from the perspective of one who is not well versed in it. The basis of Glaber's education reveals itself very clearly in his references to the Bible: he refers to some eighty passages in all, roughly equally divided between the Old and New Testaments.⁸

Glaber's chronicle is a record of what he saw and what he heard 'by certain report' of the world's events. Sometimes Glaber specifically tells us that he was present at events which he is describing: he tells us that he witnessed the burning of a starving wretch at

Mâcon and he portrays himself as supporting his master St William against the seller of false relics at Susa.¹ There are other occasions when he describes events so vividly that it would seem likely that he was present. Thus in Book 2 we are given a vivid picture of the siege of Auxerre in 1003, while the descriptions of the famine and the Peace Councils in Book 4 are very vigorous. The passage about the world covered in a 'white mantle of churches' in Book 3 is a dramatic statement of what Glaber saw about him, while the description of the new church of Saint-Bénigne in the *Life* shows his familiarity with it.² Sometimes he clearly indicates where he got his information. The friends of Lethbaud told him about that worthy pilgrim's life and death; Ulric of Orléans gave him the description of the miracle of the 'New Fire' at Jerusalem; Guy, archbishop of Rheims, told him (perhaps by letter) about the erratic behaviour of a star. In the *Life* Gerald of Sta Cristina described the illness of St William at Vercelli.³ Occasionally we may be able to infer his sources. If he learnt about Jerusalem from Ulric of Orléans, it is likely that Ulric also told him about the Orléans heresy to which Glaber devotes a very long chapter in Book 3.⁴ St William must have provided him with the information about Italy with which the work is studded and told him the stories about his childhood embodied in the early chapters of the *Life*.

One of the most interesting themes in the *Histories* is the author's interest in Islam. In Book 1, as part of the account of the captivity of St Mayol, he provides us with a description of the Muslim religion which includes the first mention of Muhammad in any north-European source,⁵ and in that story the captors of the saint are described in moderate, almost sympathetic terms. It is impressive that he seems to have known of the Aghlabid dynasty of Tunisia, which raided Italy, and that in his account of the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre he tells us quite accurately that the mad Caliph Hâkim had a Christian mother.⁶ The likely inspiration for this interest in Islam was the group of Spanish monks that Glaber

¹ 4. iv. 11; 4. iii. 7.

² 2. viii. 15; 4. iv. 9-13; 4. v. 14-16; 3. iv. 13; *Life*, c. viii.

³ 4. vi. 18, 19; 5. iii. 20; *Life*, c. ix.

⁴ 3. viii. 26, 31. Bautier, 'L'hérésie d'Orléans', p. 67, suggests that Ulric was Glaber's source.

⁵ 1. iv. 9n. On knowledge of Muhammad and his faith in southern Europe see B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslim* (Princeton, NJ, 1984), pp. 18-41.

⁶ 1. v. 17n.; 3. vii. 25.

¹ 2. xii. 23; 3. vi. 22; 3. ix. 32, 35; 4. i. 2; 4. iv. 10; 5. i. 7.

² See 2. vi. 13 for the name of Vesuvius; 3. v. 18 on the meaning of the name 'Cluny', and 2. v. 9 on that of Orléans; 1. v. 18 suggests the origins of the term 'Normanni'. For *De nat. rer.* see 5. i. 18, and for *Etymologiae* see 2. iii. 4.

³ *Life*, c. iii.

⁴ 5. i. 18.

⁵ 5. i. 14.

⁶ 5. i. 2.

⁷ See above, p. xxii.

⁸ See the Index of Quotations and Allusions, below, pp. 305-6.

tells us he met during his stay at Cluny. This was almost certainly the delegation led by Paternus and despatched by Sancho the Great of Navarre, which came to Cluny in 1032.¹ Glaber mentions Spain fairly frequently in the *Histories*, most notably in the discussion of the Spanish date for the Annunciation and the description of the defeat of 'Motget', probably Mujāhid ibn 'Abdullāh, king of Denia, which produced a rich booty for Cluny.²

Glaber's reliance upon what he himself saw and what he regarded as 'certain report' obviously limited the scope and value of his work. In Books 3 and 4 Glaber was writing about a time when he had resided in important monasteries which were great centres of communication. He presumably made notes which he later worked up into the books which we now have. These two books, and to a certain extent the revised Book 1, bear the stamp of a man residing at the very heart of events, who had learnt something of the writer's trade. But even here there is much that is fairly local. The 'white mantle of churches' refers to those of Burgundy and the valley of the Loire, while the famine in Book 4 is a Burgundian famine and the Peace Councils are also local. However, the perspective from which these books were written is clearly quite different from that of Books 2 and 5, which appear to have been composed at Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre. Book 2 is the unrevised material of one who was just starting to write and who is recalling a period when he lived in obscurity. Much of it is about very local events such as the 'Hail of Stones' at Joigny and the story of Wulferius at Réome and Auxerre.³ The same preoccupation recurs in Book 5, as in the story of the house of Seignelay, but there is a greater awareness of the wider world, though the information about it is imprecise.⁴ All this must remind us of how uncertain communication was in this age, and how few and important were the great centres like Cluny. Even within Cluny itself it was probably only a limited circle, which did not include our author, who genuinely lived in the international world of the medieval church. Glaber stood on the fringes of this élite and the uncertainty of his position is reflected in the unevenness of his work. It is valuable precisely because of this perspective, and we should not over-

¹ 3. iii. 12; 4. vii. 22 n.

² 3. iii. 12; 4. vii. 22 n.

³ 2. x. 21; 2. ix. 19–20.

⁴ 5. i. 8.

emphasize his limitations, for Glaber was aware of the great issues of his age and, as in the case of St William's connections with Otto-William, was sometimes discreet.¹

In the preface to Book 1 Glaber affirms his intention of using the reigns of Henry II of Germany and Robert II of France to chart his passage in time. In fact most of what he tells us about Henry II concerns his relations with Robert II or affairs in Italy, and he is similarly erratic in what he tells us about Conrad II.² But the secular figure which dominates the *Histories* is Robert II of France, who is mentioned more often than any other single person. Our chronicler shows an obvious interest in Orléans, which he specifically characterizes as the 'the principal royal seat of the Frankish kings'.³ But Sens also figures in the *Histories*, and unmistakably in the context of the power of the house of Blois.⁴ Glaber was very well aware of the great conflict of the Capetian house and the counts of Blois-Champagne, which reached its climax in the reign of Count Odo II (996–1037), and which divided the whole French realm.⁵ He is very well informed about the house of Blois, reporting the death of Herbert II of Vermandois in a unique way and the marriage of his daughter to Theobald the Deceiver.⁶ Although Odo I is only mentioned in passing, Glaber reports a great deal about his son, Odo II; at the very end of the work he recorded the defeat of his sons Theobald and Stephen at the battle of Nouy in 1044, and their subsequent loss of Tours.⁷ Glaber may well have been informed about the house of Blois through the abbey of Saint-Florentin, which Odo II's son Theobald gave to Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre in 1038,⁸ but we need to look at the context of what he tells us to understand his interest. Glaber is unremittingly hostile to the house of Blois: the long excursus on their doings at

¹ See above, p. xxv, and below, pp. lvi–lvii, lxxiv.

² On Henry II he tells us of the founding of Bamberg, 3. Preface. 1. On Conrad II his information is very erratic, notably in giving the date of his death (1039) wrongly at 4. ix. 26 (1037) and 5. i. 14 (1041).

³ 2. Preface. 1; 2. v. 8.

⁴ See especially 3. vi. 19–21; 3. ix. 37. It is worth noting that Arlebaud, who suffered so many troubles, held land of the abbey of Sainte-Colombe at Sens: 2. ix. 21.

⁵ The best account of the struggle between the Capetians and their vassals, the counts of Blois, is to be found in Bur, *Comté de Champagne*. See also Bautier, 'L'hérésie d'Orléans', and his edition of Odorannus for the impact on church and intellectual circles.

⁶ 1. iii. 7; 3. ix. 39.

⁷ On Odo I, 2. vii. 14; 3. ii. 5. On Odo II, 3. ii. 5; 3. ix. 37–9. On Theobald and Stephen, 5. i. 16, and for their defeat at Nouy in 1044, 5. ii. 19.

⁸ See above, p. xxx.

the end of Book 3 is a clear illustration for Glaber of the theme that God visits the sins of the father upon the children, and the passage ends on a grim note of triumph.¹ By contrast Glaber is just as well informed about the counts of Anjou and in particular Fulk Nerra (987–1040), who is mildly reproached for his evil deeds. Glaber mentions the controversy over the founding by Fulk of the abbey of Loches on land taken from the church of Tours and uses the opportunity to talk about ecclesiastical order, but speaks ambivalently of the count, whose murder of Hugh of Beauvais is reported in a neutral fashion.² In fact Glaber was so interested in the Angevin counts that their chronicler used his work extensively.³ The unmistakable leaning towards the house of Anjou and the considerable volume of information given about its doings is interesting in its context and because of the contrast with his attitude to the house of Blois. Robert II of France, who figures so largely in the *Histories*, is portrayed in a very favourable light, and the delicate subject of his marriage is never mentioned.⁴ Glaber was interested in the great struggle which divided the French kingdom in his lifetime and reports the doings of its protagonists, the kings of France and the counts of Anjou and Blois, and even Conrad II, of whom he otherwise strongly disapproves, in some detail. There is no doubt that in this conflict Glaber was a partisan of the French royal house. This interest in the politics of his age is somewhat masked by his discretion. In Book 2 he describes the siege of Auxerre, almost ignoring the political context, but he later shows himself very well informed about the family connections of King Robert's enemies, Otto-William, count of Mâcon, and Bruno of Langres.⁵ In the *Life* he reveals the family connection of St William and Otto-William and later adds that the saint's enemies accused him of favouring Bruno and Otto-William in the war against Robert II.⁶ He also reports that William was accused by his enemies of supporting Arduin of Italy against Henry II of Germany; although Arduin appears in the *Histories* the connection with St William is not mentioned.⁷ Respect for his great patron

evidently tempered Glaber's support for the house of Capet. But there is no need to search for sources which might have given Glaber information about the houses of Blois, or Anjou, or Capet: he was interested in the politics of his age, he lived in Burgundy, which was much involved in the doings of the royal house, and he spent much of his life in Auxerre, quite close to the centres of power of the house of Blois.¹ In contrast, although Glaber approved of the dukes of Normandy to the point of excusing their fondness for concubines, and is anxious to portray them as patrons of the monastic reform, transformed by their conversion to Christianity, he tells us very little about the history of Normandy and there is no sustained passage about it.² The reason is probably that the Normans were less involved in the great events of which Glaber was aware and so were relegated to a minor role in the *Histories*.

Glaber's *Histories* are a record of the events which he lived through, witnessed, or heard reliable reports of. Although he was an educated monk, his education was limited and presented him with few or no clear models to work from. He was not an original thinker, nor was he, by the highest standards of the age, a learned man. His perception of events was at its best for periods when he was living at Saint-Bénigne, and more especially Cluny, for these were great centres of communication. Because he was only on the fringes of the ruling élite of the Western church, his vision was sharply focused on the local and his knowledge of the wider world is much less certain. But Burgundy was deeply involved in the politics of the French kingdom and he provides us with an interesting and useful picture of the main outlines of political conflict there. Beyond France he had much less certain information, though in the light of his connection with St William we ought to respect what he has to tell us about Italy. Sometimes his interest was engaged, as by the religion of Islam, which is explored in an interesting way, then dropped. He was interested and obviously felt involved in contemporary politics, but he was, above all, a churchman, a monk, and an admirer of Cluny.

¹ 3. ix. 8–9.

² 2. iv. 5–7; 3. ii. 7. On the life of Fulk Nerra (987–1040) see Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 15–55.

³ See below, p. cii.

⁴ Helgaud also avoids the subject in his life of Robert the Pious.

⁵ 2. viii. 15–16; 3. ii. 6nn.

⁶ *Life*, cc. vi, xi.

⁷ *Life*, c. xi; 3. Preface. 1.

¹ See e.g. J. Dhondt, 'Note sur les deux premiers ducs capétiens de Bourgogne', *Annales de Bourgogne*, xiii (1941), 30–8.

² 1. v. 21; 4. vi. 20. On Richard II of Normandy and Fécamp see *Life*, c. vii.

4. *Glaber and the abbey of Cluny*

Glaber was deeply impressed by Cluny. In the *Life* its renown fires St William with enthusiasm to go there, while in the *Histories* we are told that it excelled all others. It is given a very special place in the transmission of the Benedictine Rule (see below), and at the very end of the work Glaber tells the story of a hermit of Africa who assured a French traveller that 'hardly a day passes without some souls being torn thereby from the power of the devils' because of its sanctity. He almost certainly learnt this story, which is told by Jotsald as inspiring St Odilo to found the Feast of All Souls, while at Cluny.¹ The chapter on the 'Quaternities' reflects Cluniac intellectual tradition. While Cluny was not at the forefront of the new learning, it had a fine library and the example of the literary activity of St Odo gave respectability to scholarship.² But how far did Glaber regard himself as a Cluniac and what was his view of the place of that house in the monastic movement of his day?³

In Book 3 of the *Histories* Glaber is at pains to explain to us that the glory of Cluny springs from its preservation and transmission of the Rule of St Benedict.⁴ In c. v of the *Life* he was at pains to spell out what this means in practice: '... one common will, equal agreement, common work, and the method of praying and psalmody and eating and their entire dress was uniform ...' and its goal was 'attaining ... poverty and extremity of holiness'. Cluny's way of life, to whose fame he constantly testifies in both works, is its glory. The elaboration of its rule and customs, and above all its liturgical splendour, were known to Glaber.⁵ The codification of the customs of Cluny was one of the great achievements of the reign of Abbot Odilo, and Glaber is at pains to show that St William's greatness is derived from his spreading of that rule which he had learnt at Cluny, for he was 'a more fruitful sower of

the Rule' than any who had gone out from Cluny before him.¹ The position of St William is similarly established in the *Life* by virtue of his relationship to St Mayol.² It is striking that St William, St Odilo, and St Mayol are portrayed as an interrelated group, and the emphasis upon the notion that Mayol made Odilo abbot of Cluny establishes him in a parallel with St William as abbot of Saint-Bénigne.³ Once at Saint-Bénigne St William is portrayed as submitting its clergy to the Rule in all its vigour. The same Rule 'which father William had learnt from the holy Mayol at Cluny' was imposed upon the monks at Fruttuaria. The emphasis upon the glory of the Rule reflects the legislative activity of Cluny in the reign of St Odilo and the widespread transmission of the Cluniac Customary to other houses, including Saint-Bénigne.⁴ But Glaber does not see Cluny as the superior of Saint-Bénigne in a formal juridical sense. St Mayol's supervision of the early abbacy of William is purely personal and was clearly not transmitted to his successor Odilo. Glaber's respect for Odilo was profound, but he and William were no less the disciples of Mayol. The story that William persuaded Odilo to leave the secular clergy and join the monastic order makes this point even more forcefully.⁵ In fact, although the elaboration of the Cluniac 'Order' was the work of St Hugh in the generation after Glaber, its nucleus already existed, though perception of it was as yet unclear, for the Cluniac Order would be the first of its kind.⁶ Quite early in the *Histories* Glaber is at pains to emphasize the autonomy of the individual house; since his monastic experience was deeply rooted in this tradition, and his home monastery was Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre.⁷ St William of Dijon reformed many houses, as Glaber describes in the *Life*, and became their abbot, but the union was merely personal and there was never an 'Order' of Saint-Bénigne. After his death, and even before, the houses of his reform went their own way.⁸ It is the personal relationship between the three great exponents of the

¹ *Life*, c. v; *Histories*, I. v. 23; 3. iii. 12; 5. i. 13 and n.

² On Cluny and culture see Leclercq, art. cit. (above, p. xxxviii n. 8), replying to K. Hallinger, 'Le climat spirituel des premiers temps de Cluny', *Revue Mabillon*, xlv (1956), 117-40, who restated the view so evident in his *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (Rome, 1950-1), that Cluny was in essence ascetic and uninterested in culture.

³ Early commentary on Glaber assumed him to be a monk of Cluny, as suggested in the Pithou edn. The articles by M. Vogelsang under the general title 'Der cluniacensische Chronist, Rodulfus Glaber: Ein Beitrag zur cluniacensischen Geschichtsschreibung' see him in the Cluniac tradition.

⁴ 3. v. 17-18.

⁵ 5. i. 13.

¹ 3. iii. 18.

² *Life*, cc. x, vi.

³ *Life*, cc. x, ix; also for what follows.

⁴ On the formation and transmission of the 'Customs' of Cluny see the recent volumes of *CCM*, especially x (1980), ed. P. Dinter, and vii/1-2 (1983-4), ed. K. Hallinger.

⁵ *Life*, c. x.

⁶ J. Hourlier, 'Cluny et la notion d'ordre religieux', and P. Cousin, 'L'expansion clunisienne sous l'abbatit de saint Odilon', in *Cluny*, pp. 219-26, 186-91.

⁷ See above, pp. xxiv-xxv.

⁸ For a discussion of St William's attitude to monastic privileges, and the relationship between the abbeys reformed by him, see below, pp. lxxviii-lxxx.

monastic life, Mayol, William, and Odilo, which matters for Glaber, just as it is the example of Cluny which is held up for admiration, not any supposed domination.

Glaber was aware of the growing unease in the French church at the development of what came to be called a Cluniac Order, because he clearly takes up a position on the vexed question of *Exemptio*. In 991 a Council of the French church met at Saint-Basle-de-Verzy in order to try Archbishop Arnulf of Rheims, who had supported the Carolingian claimant to the French throne against Hugh Capet.¹ Arnulf, bishop of Orléans, of whom Glaber speaks notably well in another context,² defended the deposition of the archbishop and argued that the pope could not intervene because a provincial synod could judge a bishop where the law was clear.³ Abbo, abbot of Fleury, supported the pope's right to decide the matter. At the Council of Chelles in 993–4 the quarrel took on a new dimension when the bishops proclaimed that the pope could do nothing contrary to ancient canonical decree, a statement which advanced the notion of conciliar and episcopal authority against that of the pope. Fleury had been reformed by St Odo c. 930, although by this time Cluny enjoyed no authority over it.⁴ But like Cluny and its daughter houses, Fleury enjoyed an immunity from all secular interference, including that of the local bishop, and looked to the papacy for support. Most of the monasteries of France shared with Cluny a profound respect for the papacy; this made Abbo a powerful enemy. Since Fleury lay in the diocese of Orléans, Bishop Arnulf used his undoubted spiritual authority to threaten Abbo, whose response was to write the *Collectio Canonum*⁵ and send it to the pope with the purpose of laying a foundation in canon law for a claim for exemption from the spiritual authority of Arnulf. In this he was eventually successful, and when this exemption was extended to Cluny and its family of houses in 1024 the bishops responded at the Council of Anse of 1025, which reiterated the position they had taken at Chelles. In 1027–8 Odilo went to Rome with St William and obtained from John XIX four bulls which asserted papal authority and the privileges of Cluny: this

¹ For a good modern account of this conflict and all that follows see Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, pp. 29–36.

² 2. v. 9.

³ E. Kempf, *The Church in the Age of Feudalism* (New York, 1969), pp. 22–36.

⁴ *Dict. d'hist. et de géog. ecclésiastiques*, xvii (Paris, 1971), cols. 448, 467–8 (J. Laporte).

⁵ *PL* cxxxix. 473–508.

was followed by energetic papal action to cow the recalcitrant bishops. Glaber could not have been unaware of this controversy, which raged in the 1020s when he was writing Books 1 and 2 of the *Histories*. In Book 2 he defends in absolute terms the autonomy of a local bishop, 'who embodies the Saviour' in his diocese. The occasion of this defence was the refusal, probably in 1007, of Archbishop Hugh of Tours (1007–23) to consecrate the new abbey of Loches founded by Fulk of Anjou on the grounds that this magnate had stolen from the church much of the endowment of the new abbey. Fulk appealed to the pope, who overruled the archbishop and ordered the consecration of Loches. Glaber defends the position of the archbishop in terms which precisely reflect the episcopal position taken at Verzy, Chelles, and Anse: 'it was shameful that he who ruled the Apostolic See was breaking the original apostolic intention and the tenor of the canons, especially when it is an old and well-founded rule that no bishop may presume to exercise any authority in the diocese of another unless he is asked, or at least permitted, to do so by its own bishop'.¹ This very clear statement indicates that he was consciously hostile to the novel assertion of papal power which accompanied the development of the new orders of the reform monks. Glaber was not simply hostile to the papacy, for he shared the high view of its dignity expressed by St William in his letter of 1024 deploring papal acceptance of Greek pretensions to universal authority.²

Glaber had entered the monastic life at Saint-Germain, which was reformed by Mayol's disciple Helderic, but was never subject to Cluny. He moved to Saint-Bénigne under St William, who was also a pupil of Mayol. St William's reform owed much of its early success to his aristocratic family connections, and in particular to his close co-operation with his relation Bruno, bishop of Langres.³ The abbeys of St William's reform did not normally seek exemption,⁴ and it may have been because of this that the bishops of Lorraine invited him to bring a new 'Cluniac' rigour to the reformed houses of their area.⁵ The *Life* reports St William's

¹ 2. iv. 6. Glaber attributed the pope's acceptance of the consecration of Loches to greed for the bribes offered by Fulk of Anjou.

² 4. i. 3.

³ See above, p. xxviii, and below, p. lxxiii.

⁴ Fruttuaria (1001) and Fécamp (1006) are exceptions which reflect local circumstances, on which see below, p. lxxx.

⁵ Bulst, p. 110, and see pp. 81–114 for St William's reform of the abbeys of Saint-Arnoul of Metz, Gorze, Saint-Epvre of Toul, Saint-Mansui of Toul, and Moyennoutier in Lorraine.

reforms in the empire only briefly,¹ and gives no hint of that opposition, *Gorze-Cluny*, which has become such a feature of modern discussion of eleventh-century reform.² Glaber was an admirer of Cluny, which he obviously saw as the greatest of all the reform abbeys, but he clearly disapproved of the subordination of houses to a Cluniac obedience, which became the main thrust of its institutional development in his lifetime. The codification of the customs of Cluny and their transmission to other houses provided a sound basis for the regular life, reinforced by the personal authority of holy men. Beyond this Glaber seems to have felt reluctant to go, perhaps because it would disrupt the traditional order of things. The enemies of the reform monks portrayed them as the disciplined and mighty army of Odilo, but this is the common error of the partisan who makes of his enemy a monolith.³ In reality the reform had many facets, and though Glaber seems to have seen himself as part of the Cluniac family, he was never a soldier of Odilo. He was touched by the intellectual tradition of Cluny, though perhaps only superficially. He quite evidently shared Cluny's social awareness. Abbot Odo of Cluny wrote his *Vita Geraldi* as an 'example to the mighty', to teach them how to behave.⁴ Glaber was not afraid to criticize kings and emperors.⁵ He clearly admired the way in which St William admonished even the greatest for their sins, rebuking King Robert for his past pride, and his consort for the wildness of her strange followers.⁶ Glaber had no wish to change the order of church and state, for he expressly approved the notion that kings should appoint bishops, but he displays deep concern at the corruption of the church by simony, to which he devotes a long passage in Book 2 to which he later refers back.⁷ This bitter hatred of simony is one of the great themes of the life of St William, and finds very strong expression in the *Life*.⁸

¹ On Gorze see *Life*, c. xiv: on Toul, c. xi.

² See above, p. lviii n. 2.

³ The aristocratic Adalbero, bishop of Laon (977–1030), was deeply offended by the rise of Cluny and its threat, in alliance with Rome, to traditional episcopal rights, and satirized the Cluniacs in his *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem Francorum*, PL cxli. 771–822. In particular, he portrays a monk, fantastically dressed as a soldier, who is made to confess that he is no monk, but a soldier at the command of his king, Odilo: col. 775, ll. 110–15.

⁴ Odo of Cluny, *The Life of Saint Gerald*, tr. G. Sitwell (New York, 1958), p. 92 (PL cxxxiii. 641–2).

⁵ 2. vi. 11. On Conrad II see especially 4. Preface. 1.

⁶ 3. ix. 35; 3. ix. 40; *Life*, c. xii.

⁷ 2. vi. 11: 4. v. 17.

⁸ See especially *Life*, c. iv.

Glaber presumably learnt it at his master's knee, but with it goes a real concern for the well-being of the church in the widest sense, for in these passages Glaber is not simply concerned with monastic reform and corruption. It is no accident that one of his sharpest denunciations of simony and corruption within the church follows hard on the heels of his description of the bishops taking the leadership in Christian society in the propagation of the Peace Movement.¹ There can be no doubt of Glaber's commitment to the monastic life and his admiration for the abbey of Cluny. He belonged to the Cluniac tradition not least in respect of his outward-looking nature. Glaber sees the world through monastic windows but he does see the world, and he is concerned that it be led to peace and salvation through a reformed and dynamic church. He clearly had doubts about the institutional development of Cluny and clung to the traditional Benedictine model of the independent abbey under the rule of its master the abbot. But he was a reformer, and his concern that Christian society should be led by a partnership of right-minded kings and good clergy is patent. Reform in Glaber's mind was not simply a matter for the cloister: it affected the destiny of the whole world.

5. *The chronicler of the millennia*

The two millennial years through which Glaber lived clearly left their stamp on the *Histories*. The Preface to Book 1 declares his intention of recording events about the time of the millennium of the Incarnation, and at the start of Book 3 he records that its coming was presaged by the deaths of noble men.² Thereafter the tone changes, especially in the great celebration of church-building around 1003 which produced the famous 'white mantle of churches'.³ This pattern was much more consciously developed in Book 4 with regard to the millennium of the Passion. The dates in Book 4 are by reference to the Passion, not to the Incarnation. The book opens in a gloomy tone, mentioning prodigies which portend the millennium of the Passion comparable to those before that of the Incarnation, then proceeds, by way of a bitter denunciation of Conrad II and the rebuttal of the pretensions of the Byzantine church, to record another outbreak of heresy in Italy.⁴ The

¹ Peace Movement: 4. v. 14–16 and the denunciation, 4. v. 17.

² 3. Preface. 1.

³ 3. iv. 13.

⁴ 4. Preface. 1–4. ii. 5.

culmination of this section is the long description of the great famine of 1031–3,¹ but with the millennial year comes peace and abundance and the time of great pilgrimage.² Inevitably, despite the benefits showered by God, mankind returns to sin ‘like a dog returning to its vomit’.³ There is no hint in any of this that Glaber had expected the world to end at either of the millennia. He tells us that the great crowds of pilgrims to Jerusalem in the year 1033 inspired men to ask the meaning, and that ‘the more watchful of the age’ suggested that it might portend the coming of Antichrist, but he seems to dissociate himself from these ‘watchful’ people and to report such speculation only to impress on his readers the unique scale of the pilgrimage.⁴ It should be noted that Glaber was perfectly well aware that the conversion of St Stephen and the Hungarians to Christianity had opened the way to overland pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁵ The significance of the millennial years to Glaber was not that they presaged the end of the world, though he did believe he was living in the last age before the end,⁶ but that in them God offered men a new and special opportunity for salvation, an opportunity inevitably spurned through sin.

The *Histories* of Rodulfus Glaber have all too often been seen as a record of doom and gloom written by one who trembled in the shadow of the unknown and the unknowable and looked forward only to the end of all things. The wonders and portents and the terrible travails inflicted upon mankind have given the work the status of a case-study in morbid religious psychology. But in fact the sense of anxiety and tension which informs the *Histories* springs not from an expectation of the coming of Antichrist but from the author’s perception that he was living in a world which was changing dramatically. In an age when Byzantium was beginning to falter and the tide of Islamic expansion to ebb, Glaber recorded with wonder the expansion of his Latin Christian world and at the end of Book 1 discussed the dynamism of the Christianity of Western Europe, which he clearly perceived as something individual and worthy of explanation. That explanation is, inevitably, given in religious terms,⁷ but this should not hide the reality it exposes. The sense of the Latin Christian identity in part explains his interest in what lay outside, especially the Islamic world, about

¹ 4. iv. 9–13. ² 4. v. 14; 4. vi. 18–21.
³ 4. v. 17. ⁴ 4. vi. 21. ⁵ 3. i. 2.
⁶ 1. v. 26. ⁷ 1. v. 24.

which he was intensely curious and quite well informed,¹ his deep concern for the Holy Sepulchre and pilgrimage, and his hostility to the Jews.² The balance of power in the known world was changing in favour of what he called ‘our continent this side the sea’³ and Glaber was perceptive enough to register the fact. And within Latin Christendom itself great changes were taking place. The Capetian monarchy of France lacked the ancient ancestry and legitimacy of its Carolingian predecessors⁴ and faced the challenge of new princely houses, especially the counts of Blois;⁵ Glaber and his native Burgundy were caught up in the subsequent conflict. Above all the church was changing. Glaber, as we have noted,⁶ had a profound respect for the old order of the church dominated by the bishops and archbishops. But the papacy figures very large in his pages, as we would expect from one who was a reform monk. The conflict between papal and episcopal authority, and the new development of Cluny, were not entirely congenial to Glaber. By contrast he welcomed the new leadership of the church and the bishops in lay society, expressed in the Peace Movement. He saw the need for the church to reform itself, and undoubtedly his hostility to the Emperor Conrad II sprang from his addiction to simony, which Glaber despised. Glaber’s own lively mind reflects the intellectual growth of the age, though he had doubts about classical learning, which could give rise to heresy. Underlying the growth of the new monasticism and the building of new churches, Glaber was aware of the wealth of his world, and he uses the city of Sens to illustrate its dangers.⁷ This changing world was still subject to the old scourges of war, plague, and famine, which Glaber can only understand as part of the divine will. It is the precariousness of life in a world of change which Glaber conveys so vividly.

Rodulfus Glaber had a perceptive mind which registered the changes taking place in his world. Our ability to understand what he has to tell us has been hindered by a number of simple factors. His meaning is often elusive and his Latin difficult.⁸ The startling

¹ See above, pp. liii–liv.

² For the frequent mention of Jerusalem in every book except the fifth see Index. On Glaber’s attitude to the Jews see in particular his bitter comments on the ‘Judaizing’ count of Sens, 3. vi. 20, and the story that the Jews provoked the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre and suffered massacre, 3. vii. 24–5.

³ 1. Preface. 1.

⁴ 3. ii. 5.

⁵ 3. vi. 19–21.

⁶ 1. ii. 6.

⁷ See above, pp. lx–lxi.

⁸ See above, p. lii.

number of neologisms to be found in the *Histories* and nowhere else bear witness to a mind which had only a superficial knowledge of Latin and which thought in the vernacular. Glaber was proud of his knowledge of letters but the citations betray the narrow education of this writer of inscriptions. Above all, because his education was limited he had no real model for writing a volume of *Histories*. Though he tried to plan, and though there is more of a sense of order in the work than has been thought, he lacked the intellectual discipline which would have given his work a more acceptable form.

In particular Glaber's chronology is very variable. In the Preface to Book 1 he carefully and accurately establishes that 1002 was the first year of the reign of Henry II of Germany, 'while the millennial year itself was the thirteenth of Robert king of the Franks'; and Robert was crowned in 987 (2. Preface. 1). It is understandable that he is vague about events in the early tenth century, which he surveys briefly in Book 1, cc. i (paras. 4-5), ii (para. 6), iii (para. 7), iv (para. 8), and v (paras. 17-22), and gives only the most perfunctory indications of dates. It is very odd that having so precisely dated the start of Henry II's reign as 1002, Glaber informs us that Henry was crowned emperor in the ninth year of his reign, suggesting 1011, when the actual date was 1014 (1. iv. 16). It is possible that a scribe miscopied this passage, but at the end of Book 2, which is almost certainly in Glaber's own hand, there is an inexplicable contradiction. He tells us in 2. xi. 22 that the heretic Letuard was active towards the end of the year 1000. In 2. xii. 23 he reports the incident of the heretic Vilgardus, which he suggests happened about the same time as Letuard appeared, but indicates that Vilgardus was dealt with by Peter, archbishop of Ravenna (927-71), who reigned some thirty years earlier. Sometimes he dates events in a very general way, reporting, for example, the deaths of various notables which happened in the period 991-8 as happening at the same time (2. vii. 14). A similar list of deaths, which occurred, according to Glaber, as the year 1033 approached (4. iv. 9), extends from 1024 to 1031. The pilgrimage of Ulric of Orléans to Jerusalem took place in the period 1025-8, but Glaber appears to date it to 1033 (4. v. 19, and see p. liii). Sometimes what appears to be sheer carelessness of expression makes his dating hard to understand. At 2. vii. 13 he reports an eruption of Vesuvius in the seventh year 'de supradicto millesimo', and the list of deaths

occurring in the 990s in para. 14, already noted, bear out that this must mean 993. However at the start of 2. vii. 15 we are told that Henry, duke of Burgundy (965-1002), died in the third year 'de supradicto millesimo': since the death of Henry ushered in a train of events with which Glaber later shows himself very familiar, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Glaber meant 1002. A similar muddle probably underlies the apparent dating of the discovery of the Orléans heresy to 1017, when virtually all other authorities accept 1023 (3. viii. 26). In this case Glaber seems to have been trying to say that it happened 'in the third year from the twentieth after the millennium'. But the oddest feature of Glaber's chronology is the apparent dating of events at the end of Book 4 and the start of Book 5 two years early or late. At 4. ix. 26 the death of Conrad II is dated in the manuscripts four years after the Millennium of the Passion, suggesting 1037, when he actually died in 1039. At 5. i. 14 we are told that Easter occurred at its earliest possible time in 1041, and that Conrad died in the same year. At 5. i. 16 we are told the sons of Odo II of Blois broke into revolt; 'in the same fifth year after 1040', Henry III married Agnes of Aquitaine, a marriage which actually occurred in 1043 (5. i. 16-17). 'In the following year, the forty-sixth after the millennium', there was an eclipse of the moon, which can be dated accurately to 1044 (5. i. 18); about the same year the sons of Odo II were defeated by the count of Anjou (5. ii. 19) at the battle of Nouy, and Tours fell, events which happened in 1044 but which Glaber appears to fix in 1046. Finally, in this same year, apparently 1046, there was an eclipse of the sun, which we know happened in 1044 (5. iii. 20). Since it is likely that Glaber was writing shortly after, in 1046 or early 1047, such errors seem very odd indeed, and it has been suggested that he was confused by different dating systems.¹ In fact it is not necessary to invent such a notion because the errors here can be explained more simply. It is likely that the scribe who was copying 4. ix. 26 misread 'iv' years after 1033, for 'vi', which would give the correct date of 1039 for the death of Conrad II. Glaber is quite

¹ Vogelsang 1, p. 35, suggested that in the troubled times of the 10th c. Glaber's monastery might have made errors of calculation in reconciling the Germanic sun-year of 364 days with the Julian calendar. However, Glaber clearly had access to an accurate calendar, as he shows in the statement about the early date of Easter in 1041. Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre was quite a major house and would certainly have kept up its calendars. Sackur, p. 400, was nearer the mark in pointing to the inadequacy of Glaber's chronology.

correct to say that Easter fell at its earliest possible date in 1041 (5. i. 14), and the revolt of the sons of Odo II began in that year, which fits well with his mention of it in 5. i. 16. It is the date of the marriage of Henry III to Agnes (5. i. 17) which is wrong; the eclipse of the moon, the battle of Nouy, and the eclipse of the sun are given correctly as happening in the same year, but that year is made to appear as 1046 because Glaber did not recognize his error on the date of Henry III's marriage. In 5. i. 14–17 Glaber made only two errors: at 5. i. 14 he stated that Conrad II died in 1041, a totally irrational error because he apparently already knew it happened in 1039, and at 5. i. 17, when he misdated the marriage of Henry III. Glaber's dating is always poor, but at the end of his life its vagaries make his narrative more than usually opaque.

Glaber's framework of explanation is religious and highly intrusive to the modern reader, since he attributes every event to God's will. He was deeply attached to allegory as a method, which does not now make for easy understanding,¹ while his relentless determination to draw lessons from the events he describes, even in the form of theological dissertations, is alien. Glaber lived in an age of poor communications; only at Cluny and Dijon did he reach important centres. Even then he did not belong to the highest level in the church and so was excluded from much. It is easy to criticize the ignorance and mistakes which he makes and to denounce the false deductions, but many shared his ignorance. When, in Book 1, Glaber tells us that the pope should choose the emperor, he is obviously naïve, for the reality was precisely the opposite.² Glaber has registered an observation, that in the coronation ceremony the pope crowns the emperor, and rather hopefully elevated it into a principle. That may be characteristic of the circles in which he lived, but his attitude speaks volumes for the force of public ritual in the minds of contemporaries. Sometimes Glaber shows discretion, which makes for apparent obscurity. The account of the Burgundian civil war reveals nothing of its political background, but later in the work we begin to learn something of the network of family relationships surrounding it, and in the *Life* Glaber was concerned to clear St William of the charge that he collaborated with Bruno of Langres against King Robert II.³ Glaber's support

¹ See especially 5. i. 10; 3. viii. 30.

² 1. v. 23.

³ 2. viii. 15–16; 3. ii. 6n.; *Life*, c. xi.

for Robert conflicted with the political leanings of his patron St William, hence the discretion. Again, he tells us nothing of St William's involvement in Italian affairs in the *Histories*, and this is made clear only in the same passage of the *Life*.¹

The *Life* and the *Histories* pose many difficulties for the modern reader, and should certainly be read together, for the one illuminates the other. The *Life* is a good example of its genre and presents a vivid portrait of St William as an administrator and educator. In a passage of the *Histories* which is a summary of the *Life* Glaber's praise for his old master culminates in the remark: 'He himself firmly promised that the monks of any house should want for nothing if they observed the Rule. This was manifestly obvious in the houses put into his care.'² It is a nice comment on the saint as administrator. The *Histories* is a more complex and difficult piece of writing. There is much about it that is faulty and irritating. But although they are untidy and sprawling the *Histories* provide us with a vivid series of snapshots of a vigorous and expansive world. They are snapshots from a monastic window with all the special perspective which that implies, but they do convey something of the violence and upheaval of a changing world. And there is one aspect of change which Glaber is unique in observing and presenting to posterity. He was perhaps an aristocrat, yet in his pages we see that hitherto shapeless, dim, and unseen mass which we call 'the people' start to emerge on to the stage of history. Richer was in many ways an admirably clear and literate historian, yet the jest that he was 'a salon historian' hits the mark,³ for in his world kings and princes and the *importanti* parade as stylized figures against a cardboard backdrop. Glaber was far more closely tied to the commonplace and local world of Burgundy and he sees his changing world in a much closer focus. The mad heretic Leutard is dangerous because he can stir up the people; this propensity for religious enthusiasm is again seen in an unfavourable light in the story of the false-relic-seller of Susa.⁴ The same phenomenon, so new to Western Europe, is presented in an altogether more favourable light elsewhere. It was the scale of popular participation in pilgrimage to Jerusalem which astonished contemporaries. No wonder

¹ *Life*, c. xi. Bulst, p. 23, suggests that St William was related to Arduin.

² 3. v. 16.

³ B. Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (London, 1974), p. 79.

⁴ 2. xi. 22; 4. iii. 7.

the more fearful thought it might be a sign of the coming end of the world. The Peace Movement was the brainchild of the bishops, but popular enthusiasm was its essential driving force. Outbursts of popular enthusiasm must have occurred before, but Glaber shows us a new propensity for such enthusiasm, deeply rooted in contemporary society, which can be systematically exploited by the church. Scholars seeking to understand the origins of the crusading movement have always found the *Histories* to be a valuable source. In particular, Glaber's enthusiasm for the Holy War against the infidel in Spain has been especially remarked as evidence of a new Christian attitude to war.¹ Even more striking, Glaber reveals to us the medieval church systematically enlisting this new religious consciousness behind the interwoven phenomena of the cult of saints, pilgrimage, and the Peace Movement. The Crusades have struck the imagination of generations of historians as a mass movement of striking force, but they were foreshadowed and made possible by the religious movements described in Glaber's *Histories*. Rodulfus Glaber can tell us very little about the economic and social changes which helped to make this possible, but in the clarity of his vision it appears as a new and deeply disturbing force. For all Glaber's faults as a historian it is he who most clearly reveals how mass religious enthusiasm had created a new force in the society of his age. In a famous passage about the Peace Councils we see this enthusiasm at work with shocking clarity: '... sick people were cured at these gatherings. . . . Lest any doubt this, let it be recorded that as the bent legs and arms were straightened and returned to their normal state, skin was broken, flesh was torn, and blood ran freely.'²

6. *St William and the Life of St William*

Rodulfus Glaber was not just a simple monk at Saint-Bénigne. He enjoyed a particular relationship with St William, the son of a Lombard noble, who under the influence of Cluny came to be one of the leading monastic reformers of the early eleventh century, and accompanied him on a visit to Italy. William inspired him to write the *Histories*, as he tells us in a passage in which he also admits that he later quarrelled with his patron and left him for

¹ 2. ix. 18 and n.

² 4. v. 16.

another monastery not under his jurisdiction. It seems to have been remorse and a sense of guilt which led him to write the *Life* after William's death.¹ The precise nature of the relationship is never made clear. However, William was a great educator who selected young men to carry on his work into the next generation, and the chronicler of Saint-Bénigne provides us with a list of names of those who went on to greater things.² One such protégé, who was amongst the earliest singled out by William, but who did not rise to any great eminence, was Girbertus, who 'ab officio scriptor est appellatus'.³ It is possible that Glaber, who was so proud of his literary ability, enjoyed a similar position.⁴

Glaber knew William well, and he was able to draw on the recollections of others to supplement his own memory.⁵ He almost certainly wrote at Cluny and completed the work in a comparatively short period of time.⁶ The *Life of St William* has a clear and simple structure which indicates careful planning. The first six chapters are a chronological account of the early life of St William down to his appointment as abbot of Saint-Bénigne and early rule there, during which time the abbeys of Bèze and Vergy were given to him. In cc. vii–ix Glaber selected key events from the career of St William which showed the range of his activities and the extent of his fame as a reformer. Chapter vii is wholly concerned with the reform of Fécamp and gives a special prominence to the establishment of a school there. In c. viii we see William the builder, discovering the tomb of St Benignus and constructing for it a splendid church: it is interesting that it is as a builder that Glaber first introduces William in the *Histories*.⁷ Since the reform of Fécamp began in 1001 and the foundation-stone of Saint-Bénigne was laid in 1002, the events in these two chapters follow what has gone before, but in c. ix we turn back to 996–7 for William's reform of Saint-Arnoul at Metz, then pass on to his journey in 999 to Rome, which led to the foundation of Fruttuaria on the family estate of Volpiano in 1001; its consecration followed in 1003.⁸ In

¹ *Histories*, 4. iii. 7, *Life*, c. xiii.

² e.g. Hunaldus, later abbot of Saint-Michel-de-Tonnerre: *Analecta Divionensia*, pp. 149–50.

³ *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 162; Chevrier and Chaume, *Chartes et documents*, ascribe two texts, nos. 276 and 298, to Girbertus.

⁴ On Glaber's literary pretensions, see above, pp. xlv–xlvi.

⁵ Such as Gerald of Sta Cristina, see above, p. liii.

⁶ See above, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi.

⁷ *Histories*, 3. v. 16.

⁸ On the consecration of Fruttuaria see *Life*, c. ix.

cc. x–xi William is portrayed at the height of his fame. In c. x the story that William persuaded Odilo to enter the monastic life emphasizes the equality of these two pupils of Mayol and the letter of admonition to a ‘Pope John’ clearly makes the point that William moved in the highest ecclesiastical circles. In c. xi Glaber reports that those ill disposed to William told the Emperor Henry II and King Robert II of France that he should be numbered amongst their enemies. These stories, and William’s reconciliation with the two monarchs, emphasize his importance in the secular world, paralleling that in the ecclesiastical. In cc. xii and xiii Glaber treats of the personal qualities and concerns of his patron. His generosity to the poor and concern for those suffering injustice are fairly conventional qualities. There is considerable emphasis, as in c. vii, on his educational work; but it is upon St William’s eloquence that Glaber here dwells heavily, reporting his sermon on the consecration of the new church of Saint-Bénigne in 1016. Eloquence is extraordinarily difficult to convey, especially when the style of the reporter is not good, but what is clear from this long sermon is the severe puritanism of William. In the final chapter Glaber recapitulates William’s connections with the highest authorities of Christendom, in Italy, France, and Lorraine, and records his death at Fécamp on 1 January 1031.

Glaber wrote his work to edify, as he indicated when mentioning it in the *Histories*.¹ It is certainly not a full and exhaustive account of St William’s life, a biography in the modern sense, and Glaber knew that he had missed out much, for it was, by his own account, only ‘the little book on his life and virtues’ and he was clearly aware of its limitations. In c. xii he referred to ‘some forty houses, both monasteries and cells, large and small, of monks’, which were under St William’s authority, although in the course of the *Life* only eight are mentioned by name.² Recent research suggests that Glaber’s figure is not far wrong; some thirty-three monastic houses have been identified as having been at one time or another under St William’s rule.³ The author of the chronicle of Saint-Bénigne provided a very long list of the

¹ 4. iv. 9.

² Those mentioned are: Saint-Bénigne, Saint-Vivant-de-Vergy, Bèze (c. vi); Saint-Arnoul of Metz (c. ix); Saint-Epvre-de-Toul (c. xi); Fruttuaria (c. ix); Fécamp (cc. vii, xiv); Gorze (c. xiv).

³ Bulst provides the fullest and most up-to-date account of William’s reforms.

houses subject to St William.¹ Although this writer used Glaber’s *Life of St William*, his perspective was quite different.² The unknown author of the chronicle seems to have entered Saint-Bénigne shortly after Halinard of Sombernon was made prior in 1027,³ and Halinard, who succeeded William, is the real hero of his story. He is, however, very much concerned to explain to posterity how the prestige of Saint-Bénigne rose under St William. This explains why he provides a full, but not complete, list of the monasteries that the saint reformed.

The scale of St William’s monastic activities in Italy, Normandy, Burgundy, and Lorraine is carefully brought out in the *Life*, and impressively reinforced in the Saint-Bénigne chronicle. There can be little doubt that William’s reputation was founded upon his personal qualities, as Glaber emphasizes, but at the very beginning he must have been greatly helped by family connections. His father Robert was entrusted by King Berengar II (950–62) of Italy with the protection of his consort Willa. According to Glaber, when Robert surrendered in 962 before the German attack, the Emperor Otto I became William’s godfather.⁴ Glaber tells us that William was related to Berengar II’s grandson, Otto-William, count of Mâcon, whose mother Gerberga married Henry, duke of Burgundy. Otto-William acquired the county of Mâcon by his marriage to its heiress Ermentrude, the sister of Bruno of Roucy, bishop of Langres.⁵ Bruno of Langres was a Carolingian, as the Saint-Bénigne chronicler is at pains to indicate.⁶ According to Glaber, St Mayol met William on a journey to Italy and arranged secretly to bring him back to Cluny in 987.⁷ It has been suggested that this was no accident, because Mayol had reformed the abbey of the Holy Saviour in Pavia and so may well have heard of this brilliant young man.⁸ But perhaps it should also be noted that William was brought to Burgundy only a few years after the accession of Otto-William to the county of Mâcon, within which Cluny stood. In his early career his relations’ patronage was

¹ The Saint-Bénigne chronicler fails to mention only Farfa, Bernay, Moyenmoutier, Saint-Mansui, and Vézelay amongst those identified by Bulst.

² See below, pp. civ–cv.

³ *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 182.

⁴ *Life*, c. i.

⁵ *Life*, c. i; *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 162; *Histories*, 3. ii. 6nn.

⁶ *Analecta Divionensia*, pp. 128–9.

⁷ *Life*, c. v.

⁸ Bulst, pp. 25–6.

great.¹ It was Bishop Bruno's initiative which brought him to Saint-Bénigne and soon after charged him with control of Bèze.² Henry, duke of Burgundy, seems to have conferred Saint-Vivant-de-Vergy upon William at about the same time, within a couple of years of his accession to Saint-Bénigne in 989 or 990, while the Saint-Bénigne chronicler reports lesser gifts by Henry and by Otto-William, who chose to be buried at Saint-Bénigne.³ These family connections were highly beneficial to St William, but they also involved him in political difficulties. When Henry, duke of Burgundy, died in 1002, his adopted son, Otto-William, contested the claim of Robert II, king of France, to the duchy; Otto-William was supported by his brother-in-law Bruno of Langres and his son-in-law Landri of Nevers. In Book 2 of the *Histories*, written at a time when he was under the authority of St William, Glaber described the Burgundian civil war without mentioning the role of his abbot's family, though he hinted at it later, in Book 3.⁴ In the *Life* he felt obliged to clear the reputation of his great patron from any suspicion of treason against Robert, and in the same passage denied any involvement by his master in the rebellion of Arduin of Ivrea against Henry II of Germany.⁵ It is possible that William was related to Arduin, perhaps through his mother Perinza.⁶

But however much help William may have received at the start of his career, it was his personal reputation which attracted the attention of princes and potentates all over Europe, and this was founded on his achievement as a monastic reformer. Glaber stresses that William was deeply impressed by Cluny, whose customs his houses adopted.⁷ William seems to have had an unusually severe temperament. In later life he remembered the *cellula* of Saint-Sernin on the Rhône, which was briefly entrusted to him at the very beginning of his career, as a place ideal for 'attaining the poverty and extremity of holiness to which he aspired'. Upon the monks there, Glaber says, he imposed uniformity of obedience, prayer, work, and living 'after the manner of Cluny'.⁸ But in this

¹ M. Chaume, 'Les origines paternelles de Saint Guillaume de Volpiano', *Revue Mabillon*, xiv (1924), 68-77; Bulst, especially pp. 22-61.

² *Life*, c. vi; *Analecta Divionensia*, pp. 130-1.

³ *Life*, c. vi; *Analecta Divionensia*, pp. 135, 133-6, 162.

⁴ *Histories*, 2. viii. 15-16, 3. ii. 6, and see above, p. lvi.

⁵ *Life*, c. xi.

⁶ Bulst, p. 23.

⁷ On the Customary of Saint-Bénigne and its place in the Cluniac tradition see CCM vii/1, ed. K. Hallinger (Rome, 1984), pp. 101-4.

⁸ *Life*, c. v.

little summary of William's monastic ideal there is a hint of the severity which comes out in the sermon preached by St William at the consecration of the new church of Saint-Bénigne, and which is mirrored also in the two letters to popes, one recorded in the *Life*, and the other in the *Histories*.¹ The sermon is reported by Glaber to illustrate his master's eloquence, but it is, in fact, a thundering puritan denunciation of novelties in manners and dress of a kind which even its deliverer thought inappropriate (though necessary) for a festive occasion.² The language of the two letters to popes is anything but temperate. In that reported in the *Life* the pope is roundly condemned for conniving at the practice of simony. Glaber records St William's steadfast opposition to simony even as a young monk, when he refused to bow to the will of the bishop of Vercelli;³ and this undoubtedly remained one of the mainsprings of his reforming activity, and one which impressed itself upon Glaber, who inveighed against the practice.⁴ St William's mordant comments about his enemies, as reported by Glaber, strengthen the impression of an overbearing and domineering personality.⁵ And yet there was another side to his character. Glaber speaks of the devotion of his monks, who appealed to his memory and example in times of trouble; he himself may have quarrelled with his mentor, but none the less undertook the composition of the *Life*.⁶ In the vision which inspired him to this task, St William appears as a gentle, reproachful master, anxious only that a pupil should fulfil his promise, and this vignette clearly illustrates what was probably the dominant aspect of St William's life and work: he was a great teacher.

According to the *Life* William was educated at Vercelli and Pavia and very soon became a master in the schools.⁷ We know nothing of the details of this education, for Glaber reports only that he was well instructed in grammar, but later he refers to his gift of eloquence and knowledge of church music, which raised the standard of singing in his monasteries.⁸ The new abbey church of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon was very much his conception, which

¹ *Life*, c. xii; *Histories*, 4. 1. 3.

² *Life*, c. xii. The same diatribe is reported in a different context in *Histories*, 3. ix. 40.

³ *Life*, c. iv.

⁴ *Histories*, 2. vi. 11-12, 4. v. 17.

⁵ *Life*, c. xi.

⁶ *Life*, cc. xii, xiii.

⁷ *Life*, c. iii.

⁸ On his eloquence see *Life*, cc. x, xii; for his musical knowledge and teaching see c. xii. On William's musical works, see c. xiii.

suggests a man with wide-ranging interests.¹ It is unfortunate that almost none of St William's writings have survived.² But we do get from the *Life* a sense that he was a systematic thinker and administrator with a special gift for teaching. In c. vii, Glaber reports his reform of Fécamp in Normandy; almost half the chapter is concerned with the establishment of schools there and elsewhere. In c. xii the emphasis is again on William the teacher. Most notable here is William's concern for the less learned amongst his monks, those drawn from amongst the common people, for whom he devised a simple form of prayer. At this time the Psalter was the staple of monastic devotion: a disciple of St Peter Damian once achieved the extraordinary feat of reciting the Psalter twelve times in one day.³ For the less able, repetition of the *Pater noster*, perhaps following some simple mathematical pattern, was common.⁴ St William devised a simple prayer with a versicle: this was to be said 150 times, but in blocks of ten to aid counting, and this cycle was to be regarded as equivalent for such brethren to a recitation of the Psalter.⁵ It is to be noted that William was much concerned about monks drawn from the poor: in the account of the school at Fécamp Glaber stresses that rich and poor alike could come, and that food and sustenance was provided for the less well-off. The Saint-Bénigne chronicler tells us that William brought Italian monks to Dijon; he also records visits by Italian bishops, and provides us with the names of William's notable pupils.⁶ Other young Italians followed him from Italy to Normandy. About the year 1030, almost at the very end of St William's life, Lanfranc, a young lawyer from Pavia, crossed the Alps and after travelling in the Loire valley, settled as a teacher at Avranches. A quarter-century later Anselm crossed into Burgundy, then travelled across France to Normandy.⁷ There can be little doubt of the importance of St

¹ A. Martindale, 'The Romanesque Church of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon and Ms. 591 in the Bibliothèque municipale', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxv (1962), p. 47.

² E. de Levis, *Sancti Willelmi Diconensis abbatis et Fructuarie fundatoris opera, additis veterum scriptorum ejusdem actis* (Turin, 1797), offers a collection of works ascribed to William. These are discussed by Bulst, pp. 249–58, who rejects almost all of them, concluding: 'Bei der Beschäftigung mit Wilhelm von Dijon und seinen Klosterreformen wird man demnach auf die bisher vorliegenden "Opera Willelmi" verzichten müssen'.

³ H. Thurston, 'The Rosary', *The Month*, xcvi (1900), 408.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

⁵ *Life*, c. xii.

⁶ *Analecta Diconensia*, pp. 137–8, 153–4, 152, 149–50.

⁷ M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 11–22; Eadmer, *Vita Sancti Anselmi*, ed. and tr. R. W. Southern (Nelson's Medieval Texts, 1962; OMT, 1972), p. 8.

William in creating a bridge between the cultures of Northern and Southern Europe. But along with this educational interest William brought to bear the mind of a highly competent administrator who understood all too clearly the importance of a sound material base for the spiritual success of his monasteries. It was, perhaps, as a warning against too deep a concern with such matters that Bishop Bruno of Langres asked Otto-William to counsel his relation, as Glaber reports.¹ In the account of the reform of Fécamp, St William, we are told, encouraged its material prosperity and saw that it was properly equipped with workshops; later it is emphasized that his monks were never in want. On his death-bed he called together his advisers in the manner of a dying grandee, to discuss future dispositions.² It is possible that his education at Pavia had involved some study of the law, which would help to explain his systematic and clear view of practicalities.³

In both the *Histories* and the *Life* Glaber is at pains to emphasize the independence of St William from any Cluniac direction by stressing the friendship and equality of the abbots of Saint-Bénigne and Cluny.⁴ This independence was probably conditional in the early years of William's rule at Dijon, for the promises of aid and support made by Mayol to his protégé may well have implied a degree of supervision, especially if, as seems likely, the *Willelmus abbas*, who signed the act of 994 by which Mayol designated Odilo as his successor, was St William.⁵ But with the death of Mayol in 994 any hint of subordination to Cluny vanishes, and William and Odilo appear as friends and collaborators, working together in the reform of Farfa in 999 and again travelling to Italy in order to appeal to Conrad II for support for their monasteries.⁶ Odilo signed the foundation-charter for Fruttuaria and in 1015 dissuaded Robert II of France from wreaking vengeance upon the abbey of Saint-Bénigne during the Burgundian war.⁷ In a letter of 1026 St William wrote to Odilo about a matter of common concern, the expulsion of the abbot and monks of Vézelay by Landri of Nevers.⁸

¹ *Life*, c. vi.

² *Life*, cc. vii, xii, xiv.

³ *Life*, c. iii n.

⁴ See above, pp. lix–lx.

⁵ *Life*, c. vi; Bernard and Bruel, iii, 177, no. 1957; cf. Bulst, p. 187.

⁶ On the reform at Farfa see Bulst, p. 189.

⁷ There is a photographic reproduction of the foundation-charter of Fruttuaria in the rear endpapers of Bulst; see too *Analecta Diconensia*, p. 173.

⁸ Chevrier and Chaume, *Chartes et Documents*, p. 248.

There would seem to be no reason to doubt the statement by Jotsald, in his *Vita Odilonis*, that Odilo and William were affectionate friends and equals.¹ On the other hand Glaber insists very firmly in the *Life* on William's admiration for Cluny and its life. For the monks of Saint-Sernin he was, according to Glaber, 'their instructor after the manner of Cluny', and upon Fruttuaria he imposed 'the principal institutions of the holy Abbot Benedict, which father William had learnt from the holy Mayol at Cluny', and there can be no doubt that the Rule insisted on at Vergy and Fécamp was the same.² St William took with him to Saint-Bénigne the customs of Cluny and spread these to the houses which he reformed. It is difficult to know, however, how far he insisted upon uniformity. At Saint-Bénigne, Bèze, and Vergy, in Normandy and elsewhere, monastic decay had so far progressed that reform was root-and-branch, while at Fruttuaria he began with a *tabula rasa*. The Lorraine monasteries, however, were much more of a going concern, where the problem was that reform had lost its momentum. At Saint-Arnoul the customary has survived and clearly follows that of Saint-Bénigne, but that of Gorze dates from the time of Archbishop Anno of Cologne (1056-76) and appears to derive from Fruttuaria.³ Though positive proof may be lacking in such cases, there can be no doubt that William spread Cluniac notions of order and discipline, embodied in the customs of Cluny.

St William lived at a time of constitutional experiment in the Benedictine Order. Cluny had long been *de facto* the head of an association of monasteries; under Odilo this was beginning to take conscious shape and by the mid-century the remarkable structure of the Order of Saint-Vanne was emerging.⁴ Because St William has been so closely identified with Cluny, some historians have spoken of an 'ordre de Saint-Bénigne'.⁵ More recently, Hallinger has spoken of 'the Dijon abbey group' of monasteries, but this is part of his general view of St William as a spearhead of Cluniac

imperialism against the Lorraine tradition.¹ In fact there is very little evidence to support the view that St William aimed at a constitutional and permanent association of houses under the aegis of Saint-Bénigne. After his death the houses which he had ruled went their separate ways. It is certainly true that particular kinds of tie existed between them. St William's pupils must have shared a personal bond and a special sympathy for their old abbey at Dijon. The necrologies of Saint-Bénigne and Gorze, for example, bear evidence of ties of sympathy, in the way that each abbey prayed for the dead of the other.² William's pupil John, abbot of Fécamp, was briefly abbot at Saint-Bénigne after 1052, but the development of this great house and its sisters in the duchy of Normandy, reformed by William, was quite separate from Saint-Bénigne and the other houses obedient to him.³ William's own behaviour suggests that he saw his rule as essentially personal. He reformed Saint-Arnoul at Metz, surrendered it to one whom he presumably regarded as a competent abbot, then took it over again after his death.⁴ He may never have been abbot of Fruttuaria, perhaps being content to supervise its growth before he appointed Abbot John *c.* 1026.⁵ We do not know how or precisely when William became abbot of Réome, but in 1003 King Robert was able to deprive him of it apparently quite legally.⁶ It is inconceivable that William, who was a highly educated man with the very best connections, should have been ignorant of the developing trend towards association of monasteries which was so evident and so abhorrent to his contemporary Adalbero, bishop of Laon.⁷ He was certainly aware of the associated demand for greater and greater freedom for monasteries from their local bishops, as was his biographer, yet he seems to have sought exemption for only two of his monasteries, Fruttuaria and Fécamp.⁸ In the case of Fécamp he was virtually refounding the ancient abbey. It was a step in the dark which must have required great courage, for the Normans had a formidable reputation and William probably knew little of this area. His only

¹ Jotsald, *Vita Odilonis*, PL cxlii. 911.

² *Life*, cc. v, ix, vi, vii; on Fécamp and Fruttuaria see Bulst, p. 268.

³ Bulst, pp. 84, 89-90.

⁴ See above, pp. lviii-lxiii; H. Dauphin, *Le Bienheureux Richard, abbé de Saint-Vanne de Verdun* (Louvain and Paris, 1946).

⁵ U. Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne*, (4 vols., Dijon, 1739-81), i. 246; G. de Valous, *Le Monachisme clunisien des origines au XV^e siècle* (2 vols., Paris, 1935), ii. 10.

¹ K. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (Rome, 1950), p. 445; Bulst, pp. 208-10, discusses this theme. On Glaber's view of Cluny and its relations with other houses see above, pp. lviii-lxiii.

² Bulst, p. 89 n. 41. Examples could easily be multiplied.

³ See below, pp. lxxx-lxxxii.

⁴ *Life*, c. ix n.

⁵ *Histories*, 3. v. 16 n.

⁶ See above, p. xxvi n. 4.

⁷ On his attitude to Cluny see above p. lxii n. 3.

⁸ Bulst, pp. 115-61, 268-9.

reference-point was the obvious desire of Duke Richard to introduce reform, about which Glaber is very eloquent.¹ It was perhaps for this reason that exemption was sought for Fécamp, but it was an exemption bestowed upon the dukes, and Fécamp remained their *Eigenkirche*. In the case of Fruttuaria, William was probably anxious to remove his new foundation from the turbulent politics of Italy, in which his family were deeply involved. The special role of the imperial bishops may well have led him to take advantage of this new development, for we know that he was deeply hostile to at least one of them, and that he was suspected of disloyalty to the empire.² So William must have considered the question of a more formal association, but he was perhaps the prisoner of his own early success. The patronage of his family seems to have had a tremendous impact upon his early career, and in particular the support of Bruno of Langres. The pattern of co-operation with established authority which this imposed was not in any way broken by the establishment of Fécamp, and perhaps became a habit of mind. It has been suggested that he was called to Lorraine precisely because he did not seek special privileges or exemptions for houses under his rule.³

Glaber portrays St William as a deeply religious and dynamic individual who had been very impressed by Cluny and was 'a more industrious labourer and a more fruitful sower of the Rule than anyone who had gone from that house before him'.⁴ We tend to judge him in different terms. We are aware of the success of the Cluniac 'Order' and even more of the Cistercian success which followed. In these two great institutions it is the establishment of procedures and organizations transcending individuals which impresses us, for that is the way in which our modern western world has developed. We tend to reproach St William with his failure to grasp what we know was the key to the future. It is true that his influence was relatively short-lived. His greatest achievement was the introduction of reform ideas into the Norman duchy, and at Fécamp his tradition lived on under Abbot John (1028–78); but the leading Norman abbey of the next generation was Bec,

¹ After a horrendous account of the doings of the pagan Normans, in *Histories*, I. v. 18–20, Glaber gives a contrasting glowing view of their life once converted, *ibid.* I. v. 21.

² For the charge of disloyalty to the emperor and William's comments on Leo of Vercelli, see *Life*, c. xi.

³ Bulst, pp. 108–9.

⁴ *Histories*, 3. v. 18.

which owed little directly to William's work.¹ St William brought Cluniac influence into the German empire in Lorraine, but the decisive impact of the Cluniac reform in Germany came with the foundation of Hirsau, which owed nothing to him.² Yet Glaber and his contemporaries would have been familiar with the cycle of decay and reform and they had other values to which they clung, especially the autonomy of the individual house embodied in the Rule of St Benedict. Glaber was not alone in his hostility to the emerging associations. In a letter of uncertain date, probably from the middle part of the eleventh century, St William's disciple and successor at Fécamp, Abbot John, roundly denounced as uncanonical the accumulation of control of many monasteries in the hands of a single abbot.³ William must be judged as an individual leader of the monastic reform movement; his achievement, measured in those terms, was considerable. We know of some thirty-three houses which he ruled. It is conceivable that more will be discovered, for there are no grounds for thinking that the present list is definitive. When Glaber proclaimed that his master's reputation had spread into 'all the provinces of Latium and Gaul' he was not exaggerating greatly.⁴ St William was a major figure and his impact on the world about the year 1000 can reasonably be compared to that of his friend and contemporary, Odilo of Cluny. The galaxy of talent which at that time was attracted to the Rule of St Benedict was astonishing, the more so when the career of reformers of the second rank, such as Helderich of Auxerre, is considered.⁵

There are many gaps in Glaber's account of the life of St William. The Saint-Bénigne chronicler tells us much more about the growth of that abbey and the scale of William's reforming activities, as has already been noted. It is difficult to understand from the *Life* that William kept in close touch with events in Italy: between the commencement of his abbacy at Saint-Bénigne and the end of his life William made at least seven, and perhaps as

¹ M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 24–5.

² Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, pp. 196–213.

³ J. Leclercq and J. P. Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI^e siècle, Jean de Fécamp* (Paris, 1946), p. 202.

⁴ *Life*, c. xiv.

⁵ On Helderich, who like St William was an Italian brought to Burgundy by Mayol and given an important abbey—Auxerre—to rule, see above, p. xxiv, n. 4, *Histories*, 2. viii. 15–16, 2. ix. 20n. He later ruled Flavigny and, after 1003, Réome: Bulst, p. 62.

many as nine visits to Italy.¹ Italian bishops, abbots, and monks were invited to Saint-Bénigne and William was in touch with the eremitic movement of St Romuald of Ravenna and his disciples.² The lack of this kind of information is a serious gap in the *Life*, but it does help to explain Glaber's interest in Italy so evident in the *Histories*. Yet the *Life* is the only source which gives us any impression of what William was like as a man. Personality is the most transitory of the influences which shape history and only a truly skilled and creative biographer can convey its impact across the centuries. Judged by that standard the *Life* is inadequate, but Glaber did not set himself any such high target when he wrote the *Life of St William*, the 'little book on his life and virtues' for the edification of future generations. Nevertheless, his sketch of a great teacher speaks to us across the centuries.

II. TEXTUAL

I. *The manuscripts of the Histories*

Only four manuscripts of Glaber's *Histories* survive. One is of the eleventh century and of outstanding importance, for it may have been written under the author's eye and contain in some passages his autograph.

A *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 10912* (formerly suppl. lat. 1014), eleventh-century, 55 ff., 345 × 184 mm. In three places the original parchment has been lost and replaced by paper sheets, on which the lacunae have been filled in a hand of the sixteenth century (Ax). In addition, the last folio is damaged at the top right-hand corner, destroying the endings of lines on f. 55 and their beginnings on f. 55^v.³ In the sixteenth century the manuscript came into the possession of the distinguished bibliophile Antoine Loisel (1536–1617), whose signature, much faded, appears on f. 55^v. Loisel was a close friend and collaborator of the first editor of Glaber's work, P. Pithou, who based his edition on a manuscript of Poitevin origin, now Bibliothèque nationale, latin 6190, cited here as

¹ Chevrier and Chaume, *Chartes et documents*, in their 'Regeste', pp. 243–7, think that William made seven journeys, but Bulst, pp. 270–7, suggests he made nine.

² *Analecta Divionensia*, pp. 152–4.

³ 2. ix. 20–3. i. 4; 3. viii. 26–8; 4. iii. 8–end of Book 4; 5. v. 25–6. See app. crit. for details.

B. Pithou refers to another manuscript of the *Histories*, which, he says, belonged to Loisel and came from Senlis, and he noted some of its variants alongside his own text. This can be none other than the present manuscript.¹ It has recently been the subject of a very close examination by Monique-Cécile Garand, who suggests that the sixteenth-century hand on the paper folios is that of Loisel.² Apart from the statement by Pithou that it came from Senlis we know nothing of the early provenance of the manuscript. After Loisel the next known owner was Claude Le Pelletier (1630–1711), a minister of Louis XIV, who bought the remains of the Pithou collection in 1687. It seems to have passed to his descendant, Le Pelletier marquis de Rosambo, and finally to the duchess of Berry, for it bears the *ex libris* of the Bibliothèque de Rosny. Most of this famous library was sold to the Bibliothèque du roi in 1837, including this manuscript under the number 2404.³

The script of A is very similar to that found in other Burgundian manuscripts of the general area where Glaber spent his life.⁴ Close examination reveals that in a number of places it changes, or appears to change. A small neat and pointed hand on ff. 1–9^v gives way on ff. 10–12 to a faded and untidy handwriting, which gives the impression of having been produced in a hurry. At f. 12^v a rather similar, but tidier, hand follows and continues to f. 17^v, where the first major lacuna begins. On ff. 24–29^v the text continues in a neat small hand, using an ink which has remained clear and black to this day. After the second lacuna, ff. 32–39^v are the work of a scribe whose hand is not unlike that of the opening folios. The third lacuna covers the remainder of Book 4. On ff. 47–54^v there is a sprawling and untidy hand. The handwriting has a rushed appearance and wanders about the page. The last folio, 55, appears to be different again, though it too is very untidy. This apparent variety of hands, all writing in a generally similar style, was noted by Prou, who simply suggested

¹ P. Pithou, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores ab anno Christi DCCC ad an. MCCLXXXV* (Frankfurt, 1596). The Preface refers to a Loisel MS, and the marginal notes correspond to the variants of A from his own MS, our B. For example, a note on p. 38 reads: 'In alio ex Sil. Ant. Oss. additum est in margine sed recentiore manu', and there follows the text of the major addition to A 'Narrant plerique . . .' as below, p. ix. 38.

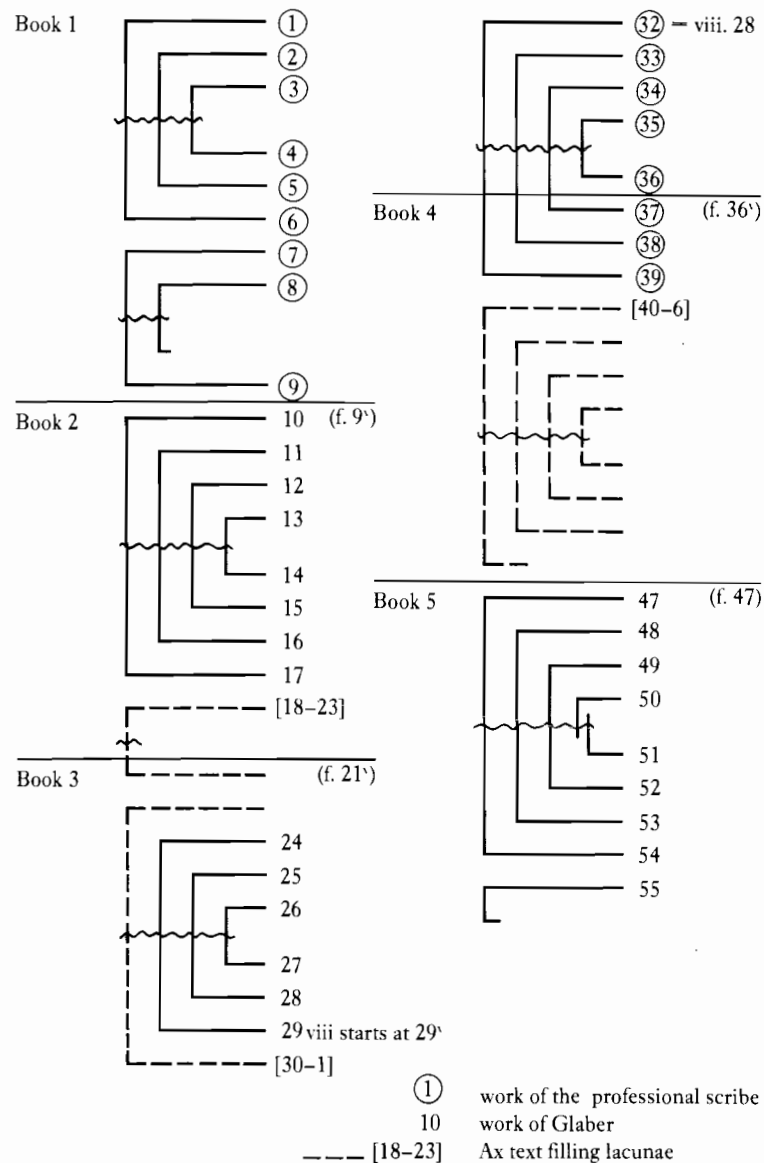
² Garand, 'Un manuscrit d'auteur de Raoul Glaber?', pp. 6–7.

³ Delisle, *Bibliothèque impériale*, ii. 294.

⁴ Garand, pp. 10, 22–3, comments on the similarity of the hands in A to those found in other houses connected with Saint-Bénigne. See also the Customary of Cluny in B.N. lat. 4339, a sample of which is used as an illustration in *CCM* vii/1 (1984), ed. K. Hallinger, pl. 3. For Glaber's life see above, pp. xxiv–xxxiv.

that each of the original parts of the manuscript was written by a different scribe.¹ Garand's examination of the handwriting establishes very clearly that two parts of the manuscript, ff. 1-9^v (which correspond precisely to Book 1 and the Chapter Table of Book 2) and ff. 32-39^v, were the work of hand 1. In particular, the cross-piece of the *t*, the formation of the *e* and the tails of the *p* and *q* are strong indicators. It is notable that *ae* coexists with *ɛ*. The genitive plural abbreviation *or(um)* is very consistent. But perhaps the outstanding characteristic of the hand is the formation of the sign for *et*, whether used as an ampersand or at the end of a verb, which is very elaborate and very stylized. In addition it is only in these folios that any effort is made to use decorated capitals; at the opening of the work and the start of Book 4² a little red colours a few capitals. Both sections of text seem to have been written at about the same time, probably by a professional scribe who took great care in preparing his folios for writing. The only punctuation used is the stop at mid-height.³

It is Mme Garand's contention that the whole of the rest of the manuscript was written by a single hand over a period of time and was the work of Glaber himself.⁴ On this view the apparent changes of hand were the result of pauses in the composition of the work and the ageing of the writer. The strictly palaeographical argument is interesting, but inconclusive. Essentially she argues that the small hand of the early part of the work grows in size and changes its slope from right to left without seriously changing its characteristics, and so the neat hand of maturity, ff. 24-29^v, becomes with age the sprawling and wandering hand of ff. 47-55^v. There is force in this: the ampersand continues throughout in a looped form with a very characteristic bar through the rear foot. However, it might be possible to see such similarities as the work of a group of scribes in a single scriptorium using much the same conventions. There are differences within the section attributed to Glaber. The writer of ff. 10-17^v prepared his folios poorly and used the '*;*' as well as the stop at mid-height, while the scribe of ff. 24-29^v used only the stop at mid-height and prepared his pages for the script in the manner of the professional scribe; in the final folios preparation was negligible, the '*;*' reappears and the whole is written on folios of poor quality. The examination of the make-up of A carried out by Mme Garand is interesting. As the diagram opposite reveals, Books 1 and 5 seem to

¹ Prou, pp. xi-xii.² Ff. 1, 36^v.³ Garand, pp. 9-10.⁴ Ead., pp. 9-11.

be quite separate; as for the rest, there is little relationship between the gatherings and the books of the work, and the way that the individual folios are put together points to a codex that just grew rather than was neatly put together in a well-trained scriptorium.¹

The overall impression of A is that it is a patchwork. Hand 1 stands out by its neatness and uniformity. On the rest of the original folios the handwriting is so similar as to suggest that it was the work of one person, hand 2, though this cannot be absolutely proved. It is evident, however, that the manuscript took shape over a long period of time, which strongly reinforces the idea that differences in this handwriting can be accounted for by the ageing of a single writer. Mme Garand has made a strong case for the view that hand 1 is that of a professional scribe working for Glaber, hand 2 that of Glaber himself. The case falls short of demonstration, but MS A assuredly brings us close to the author.

B *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 6190* (formerly Colbert 1400 and Royal 8394), twelfth-century, a manuscript of 66 parchment folios, 270 × 200 mm. On f. 1 are the last lines of the *Getica* of Jordanes ending with the rubric: 'Explicit de antiquitate Getharum actibusque eorum'.² The *Histories* extend from ff. 1^v to 52. The main bulk of this text is written in a hand of the late twelfth century, but this ends at f. 49^v with the words 'tenere totius iustitie'³ and the remaining ff., 50–2, have been restored on paper by a sixteenth-century hand (Bx) using A at the time it was owned by Loisel, and another using D when it belonged to Nicholas Lefèvre.⁴ Mme Garand has suggested that the former is the hand of Loisel.⁵ Pithou, who used the manuscript as the base for his edition of Glaber's work, obtained it from Georges Biton, a canon of Saint-Hilaire at Poitiers, and much else connects it with Western France. The manuscript contains an autograph fragment of the *Historia Aquitaniae* of Adhémar de Chabannes (ff. 53–7) and nine folios of the *Chronicon Floriacense*.⁶ It was originally one manuscript with what is now Bibliothèque nationale, latin 5766, containing Caesar's *De bello Gallico* and Jordanes' *Getica* in a volume which bears all the hallmarks of Poitevin origin.⁷ On f. 35^v of A, with

¹ Garand, p. 20.

² Jordanes, *Getica*, §§ 315–16, in *MGH Auct. Antiq.* v/1. 138.

³ 5. iv. 24.

⁴ Delisle, *Bibliothèque impériale*, ii. 295.

⁵ Garand, pp. 6–7.

⁶ Delisle, 'Notice', pp. 332–3.

⁷ Garand, p. 6 n. 7.

reference to additions not found in B, a hand of the early modern period, almost certainly Loisel's, has noted: 'Non sunt haec in Pictav. exemplari'; on f. 54^v the same writer, with reference to the words 'totius iusticie' with which the original text of B ends, remarks: 'Quae sequuntur desunt in Pictav. ex.'¹ When it belonged to the scholar and collector Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), who purchased the Pithou collection in about 1586, it was bound with the *Gesta consulum Andegavorum* and the *Gesta dominorum castris Ambosiae*, which now form Bibliothèque Nationale, latin 6006. De Thou's descendants sold his collection to Colbert in 1679, and from him it passed to the royal library.²

In 5. i. 13 Glaber recounts the story of a traveller from Marseilles who met a hermit in Africa; he sang the praises of the monks of Cluny, whose prayers released souls from hell. On f. 47 of B a hand, which is rather later than that of the main text, has erased 'Cluniense' and substituted the words 'maioris monasterii', meaning the abbey of Marmoutier, which Glaber mentions once only, at 3. ix. 38. The description of the traveller as 'cuius Marsiliensis' is also erased, and for it are substituted the words 'genere Teiphalus'. The 'Teiphali' (or 'Taifali') were a people of Gothic origin who, in late Roman times, were settled close to the south bank of the Loire between Angers and Nantes in the area centred on Tiffauges in the Vendée.³ The purpose of these emendations was to attach a story which later in the eleventh century became famous, because Jotsald reported it in his *Vita Odilonis* (see 5. i. 13 n.), to the abbey of Marmoutier near Tours. Since the term 'Teiphali' seems to have had only local significance, it is very likely that at some stage in its history this manuscript was at Marmoutier or a daughter-house or dependency in the immediate vicinity. Further, as noted below (p. cii), the compilers of the various versions of the *Gesta consulum Andegavorum* made considerable use of Glaber's work, and they had very close connections with Marmoutier. This manuscript, therefore, comes from the area of Poitou, or perhaps the lower Loire.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 13834 (formerly Saint-Germain, C latin 1600), a late sixteenth-century manuscript of 66 paper folios,

¹ 3. ix. 38; 5. iv. 24.

² Delisle, 'Notice', p. 332; id., *Bibliothèque impériale*, i. 470.

³ A. Longnon (ed.), *Les Noms de lieu de la France* (Paris, 1920–9), p. 129; J. Moreau (ed.), *Dictionnaire de géographie historique de la Gaule et de la France* (Paris, 1972), pp. 263, 269, 363.

of which Glaber's work occupies the first 29. On the flyleaf it bears the inscription in red ink 'Guillelmus Brosse. Guillaume. Guillelmus Brosse. A Dieu mon cœur'. The identity of this person is uncertain, though Mme Garand has suggested that Guillaume Brosse may be of a family connected with Auxerre. The compiler of this volume also copied the autobiographical poem of the fifteenth-century poet, Paulinus of Pella, the *Eucharisticon*, and the *Epigraphs* and part of the *Opuscula* of Odorannus of Sens.¹ The volume bears the name of Pierre Séguier (1588–1672), chancellor of France and a famous bibliophile, who became protector of the Académie Française on the death of Richelieu. His great library was neglected by his family until it came into the possession of his grandson, Henri Charles (1664–1732), bishop of Metz from 1697, and duke of Coislin. He ordered the compilation of a catalogue. This was undertaken by the great Benedictine, Montfaucon, whose work so impressed him that by a will of 1 May 1731 he made the whole collection over to the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près, whence it passed, at the time of the Revolution, into the Bibliothèque nationale.²

C is a very inaccurate and much abbreviated copy of A, which notes but does not fill the major gaps in that manuscript.³ It is textually valueless, and its variants do not figure in the apparatus criticus of this edition. It is interesting only because the copyist carefully purged the text of all of what one might call 'superstitious material'.⁴ In Book 1 he misses out much of the Preface, the chapter on the Quaternities, the stories of SS Mayol and Adalbert, the story of Otto III and St Paul's at Rome, the reflections on the divisions of the world between east and west, and the meditation on the cross.⁵ The editor was very consistent in editing out saints' lives, omens, miracles, and theological speculation. On the other hand he was evidently interested in genealogy, so that Glaber's account of the early life of St William is included without the wonder-stories.⁶ The editor normally left a gap when he omitted

¹ Garand, pp. 27–8, indicates that Brosse copied from the edition of the *Eucharisticon* of Maguerin de la Bigne in *Bibliotheca Patrum* (Paris, 1579), App. viii.

² Montfaucon's catalogue was published as *Bibliotheca Coisliniana olim Segueriana* (Paris, 1715); Delisle, *Bibliothèque impériale*, ii. 78–9.

³ For example, on f. 17, at a point in the text corresponding to the first lacuna of A, there is a note: 'deest finis lib. ii et initium lib. iii'.

⁴ Garand, pp. 27–8, deduces that this copy was made after 1579, when the *Eucharisticon* was published, but before Loisel's restoration of A's text from B.

⁵ 1. Preface. 1; 1. i. 2–3; 1. iv. 9; 1. iv. 10; 1. iv. 14; 1. v. 24–6.

⁶ 3. v. 16.

material, and sometimes these gaps have been filled in with notes, written in a seventeenth-century hand in a mixture of French and Latin, conveying the substance of the omission.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis lat. 618, a D fifteenth-century manuscript of 144 ff., of which the work of Glaber occupies the first 93. It is written on paper in an untidy and fussy hand. Its origins are unknown, but f. 1 bears the signature of Nicolas Lefèvre, the sixteenth-century scholar and tutor of Louis XIII, who left almost all his collection to his friend de Thou when he died in 1612.¹ What happened to this manuscript is not known, but it reappears in the collection of the Queen of Sweden, whence it passed into the Vatican Library.² Its text is complete.

Relations between the Manuscripts

It is clear that the texts of manuscripts A, B, and D are all extremely close. Because the old folios of A are, at least in part, very probably an autograph, it has a special authority.³ Within the text of A there are a certain number of apparently contemporary corrections. Their appearance or non-appearance in the other manuscripts are vital clues in understanding how they are related.

In his account of the struggle for the control of Rome in the years 996–9, Glaber refers to Crescentius, the leader of the anti-imperial party in the city, ten times.⁴ On eight of these occasions the name 'Crescentius' appears to be written over an erasure. Examination of the manuscript shows that the surface is very rough where the name is written; it is crammed in or written partially above the line, and the surface around it, even in the photostats, has a rubbed look. On each of these occasions the correction is made in the same hand as the text—that of the professional scribe. But twice the name 'Iohannes' in the text has been lightly crossed out and corrected above to 'Crescentius', and this creates a strong presumption as to what underlies the erasures. Both these latter corrections were made in a different hand. It is not possible that these changes were corrections of mere scribal error, for

¹ Delisle, *Bibliothèque impériale*, i. 470.

² *Les Manuscrits de la reine de Suède au Vatican* (a re-edition of the Catalogue of Montfaucon), ed. A. Raes (Rome, 1969), p. 69; Montfaucon 1252: 'Glaber Rodolphus Historiarum Libri 5 ab anno 900 ad 1045. Adamannus Presbyter, de loco sancto Jerosolymitanae ecclesiae.'

³ On the evidence that A is in part an autograph, see above, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxvi and below, pp. xc–xci.

⁴ 1. iv. 12–15 and nn.

'Crescentius' is not a credible mishearing or misreading of 'Iohannes'. The reasons for the change must be connected with difficulties over the name of this Roman notable.¹ He is usually called 'Crescentius', but a contemporary chronicler, John of Venice, who was used to surnames, referred to him as 'Iohannes Crescencius'.² Glaber knew something of Venice and its area through his great patron St William of Dijon, so it is possible that he decided to alter his original rendering of the name. The hand which made the two corrections which left 'Iohannes' legible is very like that attributed to Glaber later in the text, and they may represent his first effort to change the original which his scribe later, and more systematically, followed. Both B and D follow the corrected readings of A, but at one point both have mistaken the force of the correction. At the last mention of Crescentius, Glaber did not cross out the original 'Iohannis', but dotted underneath and wrote 'Crescentii' above; B and D reproduce both names.³ Hugh of Flavigny, whose use of Glaber's work is extremely simple-minded, and who certainly used this passage, adopted the compound form.⁴

A similar piece of editing is to be found at the start of Book 4 on ff. 37^v–38.⁵ Glaber reported, apparently verbatim, a letter of St William of Dijon to the pope, protesting against Byzantine diplomatic overtures. This was originally addressed to 'pape gregorio', but the name has been crossed out and above it has been written, quite correctly, in what is probably the hand of the scribe of these folios, the name 'Iohanni' (John XIX) in a curious semi-capitalized form. A little later we are told something about this pope, and an original 'gregorius' has again been corrected to 'Iohannes'. But the problem is compounded because the author originally named John XIX's predecessor as 'Iohannis'; this was properly corrected to 'Benedicti', though in a different hand from that used for the two earlier corrections and one which Prou characterized as 'more recent'.⁶ The sharply bent 'd' might indeed suggest a later hand. However, in fact the hand is very like that which made the two lighter corrections in the chapter about Crescentius, and the 'd' is perhaps bent only to avoid the descender of a 'p' in the line above.

¹ See the discussion by Otto Gerstenberg, 'Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Adels im Ausgang des 10. Jahrhunderts', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, xxxi (1937), 1–26.

² Iohannes Diaconus, *Chronicon Venetum*, MGH SS vii. 30–1.

³ 1. iv. 15.

⁴ See 1. iv. 12n.

⁵ 4. i. 3.

⁶ Prou, p. 94 n. 1.

Hugh of Flavigny, using this passage, accepted the three corrections.¹ The likelihood is that all these corrections were the work of Glaber himself; the adoption of the compound name at 1. iv. 15 in B, D, and Hugh of Flavigny suggests that they all derive from A.

But not all the additions to the text of A are to be found in both B and D. The author of the *Gesta consulum Andegavorum* made considerable use of Glaber's work—to put it another way, he seems to have had access to A—but he sometimes corrected what he knew to be manifest errors in the information, and often corrected the grammar. At some stage the text of the *GCA* was compared with that of A, and these corrections were written back into A's text in a hand of the twelfth century.² One group of these corrections concern the lineage of Robert II of France's wife Constance. Glaber tells us that she was a relative of Hugh of Chalon, a daughter of William duke of Aquitaine, and a relative of Fulk Nerra of Anjou, but the corrector followed the *GCA*, and on f. 24^v of A made insertions to the effect that she was the niece of Fulk and the daughter of William count of Arles (the relationship with Hugh of Chalon being allowed to stand).³ The same hand made Fulk her *auunculus* rather than her *cognatus* on f. 34^v.⁴ Another group of additions, in the same twelfth-century hand, derived from the *GCA*, relate to the fate of Odo II of Blois at the battle of Bar and his burial; these are found on f. 35^v.⁵

All these twelfth-century additions to A have found their way into the text of D, though not of B, often in a very slavish form. The additions relative to Constance have been copied together with the material they contradict. In the case of the material about the death of Odo II, the scribe of D simply added into his text the gruesome details about Odo's fate, but accepted the corrections about the burial-place. All this, and the close similarity in general of the two texts, leads to the conclusion that D is a direct copy of A.⁶ This gives it a certain value, for it means that D can aid B and A_x in the filling of the major lacunae of A.⁷ Moreover, D enables us to

¹ See 4. i. 3n.

² The insertions from the *GCA* must have been made after Thomas of Loches had compiled the work, i.e. not before 1155; see below, p. cii.

³ 3. ii. 7; *GCA*, p. 110.

⁴ 3. ix. 36; *GCA*, p. 112.

⁵ 3. ix. 38; *GCA*, p. 115.

⁶ Note too that the verses at 3. ix. 33 appear in a confused order, caused by the scribe's misunderstanding the layout in A.

⁷ See above, p. lxxxii.

recover yet another addition made from the text of the *GCA*. At the end of Book 4 in B, which is the major source for the reconstruction of A before the lacuna occurred, there is a brief reference to the death of Fulk Nerra at Metz. In D this is followed by a partially repetitive, but much more detailed account, derived from the *GCA*.¹

There is every likelihood that D is a copy of A. What of B? The evidence above is very suggestive, especially the acceptance, shared with D, of 'Crescencii Iohannis'. Prou seems not to have recognized the force of the evidence about the alterations to the text of A, and therefore rejected the suggestion, admittedly unsubstantiated, of Waitz,² that B is a copy of A. In support of his doubt, Prou pointed to 'un certain nombre de fautes d'orthographe' in A which do not appear in B.³ Now it is true that there are quite a few places where errors of A, and not merely orthographical ones, are avoided in B. What Prou neglected to consider is that B is a very carefully written manuscript, and that none of these errors was beyond the power of even a modest Latinist to correct. Indeed the scribe of D, although in general more careless than that of B, himself corrected some.⁴ As for B, it is very striking that at 2. ix. 19, where A's 'reoma/magensse' is the result of the scribe's starting a new line in mid-word, B reproduces the fault slavishly, though a corrector underlined the first 'ma'. In the light of this the derivation of B from A would seem to be established. It is true that B has much tidier rubrication at the start of Book II, but D also has cleared up the obvious absurdity of A.⁵ The scribal additions to the story of the hermit in Africa represent an attempt to appropriate this story for the benefit of the abbey of Marmoutier.⁶ It seems fair to conclude that B and D are copies of A, although the former was made before the corrections and additions from the *GCA* were added to the text of A.

As for Ax, there seems no reason to suppose that it derives either from B or from D.

The Text

The present text is based where possible on the medieval parts of A. Glaber wrote a deplorable Latin, and it must remain a matter

¹ p. 214.

² Prou, loc. cit.

³ See app. crit. *passim* for examples where B and/or D improve on A.

⁴ See above, p. xxxvii.

⁵ Prou, p. xiii; *MGH SS* vii. 50.

⁶ See above, p. lxxxvii.

of opinion what incorrectnesses he was capable of. In these circumstances editorial correction has been kept to a minimum.¹ In the major lacunae of A, the text is based on B, but corrections have been made where AxD agree against B.

2. Editions and translations of the Histories

The first printed edition of Glaber's work was produced by Pierre Pithou in his *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, published at Frankfurt in 1596, pp. 1–59. Pithou used B as his base, and referred to A. André Duchesne published the text in vol. iv of his *Historiae Francorum scriptores coaetanei* (Paris, 1641), pp. 1–58; he used B, but his text shows signs of descent from Pithou's. In 1846 G. Waitz printed the whole of Book 1, together with such parts of the other books as concern Germany, in *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, *Scriptores* vii, pp. 48–72; he employed both A and B. Duchesne's work continued to be influential. His text was reprinted, now with Waitz's introduction and with intelligent corrections, in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, cxlii (1853), 611–98. Selections from Duchesne were gathered in M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. L. Delisle, viii (Paris, 1871), 238–40, and the whole work was printed in vol. x of the same work (Paris, 1874), again following Duchesne, though with a collation of B, made apparently in ignorance of the fact that this manuscript was the basis of Duchesne's edition. Finally in 1886 M. Prou published his quite uncritical edition under the title *Raoul Glaber: Les cinq livres de ses histoires*, in the series 'Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et l'enseignement de l'histoire'. The edition was based on A, and the lacunae were filled by reference to B and D. Prou followed A's division into chapters, and in addition subdivided the chapters into numbered paragraphs. There is not always warrant for these paragraphs in the manuscripts, but Prou's numbering has been retained here for ease of reference.

There are two complete translations of the work into French. That of Guizot appeared in vol. vi of his *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* in 1824. Another is included in E. Pognon's

¹ Perhaps twenty minor slips (of the type *orientalium* for *orientalium*) have been silently corrected. Places where the scribe has corrected himself are also normally not signalled. Bad Latin such as *deguit*, *isdem* nom. sg. masc., *iddem* nom. acc. sg. neut., and ξ for classical e is neither changed nor noted.

collection of translations, which appeared under the title *L'An mille* in 1947.

3. Manuscripts and editions of the Life of St William

Only one medieval manuscript of Rodulfus Glaber's *Life of St William* survives, although the work was printed in whole or in part five times before the French Revolution. What we know of the sources for these editions is limited.

F Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale*, latin 5390 (formerly Bigotianus 179, Royale 4196. 2), c. 1060–70, 235 ff., 305 × 220 mm. The work of Glaber covers ff. 222–30. The beginning and end of the prologue and the opening of chapter one are in red. Thereafter initial letters of chapters are alternately green and red, though one is blue. The name of St William is always in red capitals. Bound with the *Life* are two works in the same eleventh-century hand, Adson's *Epistola ad Gerbergam reginam*, ff. 230^v–233, and the *Vaticinatio Sibillae*, ff. 233–235^v, and a third in a hand of the fourteenth century, James of Voragine's *Legendarium Sanctorum*, ff. 1–221^v.¹ This copy of the *Life* was almost certainly made for the abbey of Fécamp in Normandy which St William had reformed, because it bears the title 'Incipit uita domni Willelmi abbatis primi Fiscannensis'.² Moreover, the early thirteenth-century *Ordinarium Fiscannense* contains a list of works 'Que sunt legenda ad prandium per totum annum et ubi sint inuenienda' and prescribes that on 2 January shall be read 'Vita domni Willelmi abbatis Fiscannensis in Omeliis Gregorii'.³ This collection, the *Omeliae Gregorii*, is mentioned in a list of books at Fécamp dating from the time of St William's successor, Abbot John (1028–78).⁴ Examination of the hand of the *Life* and the other two works which follow it in F suggests that they resemble other products of the Fécamp scriptorium dating from the third quarter

¹ For editions of the Sibylline text and Adson's letter see E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudomethodius, Adso und die tiburtinische Sibylle* (Halle, 1898), in which, however, it is suggested, pp. 104, 177, that this manuscript is of the 11–12th c. James of Voragine's *Legenda Sanctorum* was edited by T. Graesse (Dresden–Leipzig, 1846); there is an English translation by G. Ryan and H. Ripperger (New York, 1841).

² See below, *Life*, c. in.

³ The *Ordinarium* is contained in MS 186 of the Musée de la Bénédicte de Fécamp, ff. 180^v–186, and is cited by D. B. Grémont, 'Leçons ad prandium à l'abbaye de Fécamp au XIII^e siècle', *Cahiers Léopold Delisle*, xx (1971), 4.

⁴ G. Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Paris, 1971), p. 9. On John of Fécamp see *Histories*, 3. v. 16n.

of the eleventh century;¹ it therefore seems fair to conclude that what we have is the copy made at the time of Abbot John and bound in a codex known as the *Omeliae Gregorii*. As a disciple of St William, John of Fécamp would quite naturally have wanted a copy of the life of his mentor; and he had every opportunity to have one made. Glaber wrote the *Life* shortly after William's death in 1031, and there was certainly a copy at Saint-Bénigne shortly after that, because use was made of it by the author of the Chronicle of Saint-Bénigne, which was written between 1058 and 1066.² John of Fécamp was abbot of Saint-Bénigne in the years 1052–4 and could easily have discovered the *Life*.³ In the early seventeenth century this manuscript came into the possession of the bibliophile Jean Bigot, but it is not possible to say whether he dismembered the *Omeliae Gregorii* or whether it was already a fragment at the time of his purchase. Jean Bigot's son, Emery, died in 1689, and the manuscript together with others was bought in 1706 for the Royal Library, now the Bibliothèque nationale.⁴

Copenhagen, Royal Library, Ny kongelig samling 17, fol., seventeenth-century. Ff. 1–2 contain a copy of the *Epistola ad Gerbergam reginam*. F. 2^v is blank and the text of the *Life* is found on ff. 3–6^v. On f. 1 a short note, whose first letters are almost lost in the binding, reports: 'x MS./ Bigot De/ mmesnil./ prile. 1638', revealing that this manuscript was at Somménil in 1638, the property of J. Bigot and copied from one of his codices. It bears the name of the scholar P. F. Suhm (1728–98), who bequeathed his collection to the Royal Library. There is no indication of how or why this copy came to be made, but in 1638 the Duchess of Savoy was seeking to have William canonized.⁵ It is a copy of F, though with a few

¹ The author wishes to thank Dr François Avril for permitting him to examine his unpublished thesis of the École des Chartes, 'La décoration des manuscrits dans les abbayes bénédictines de Normandie aux XI^e et XII^e siècles' (1963).

² On the composition of the *Life* see above, p. xlv. On the Saint-Bénigne chronicle see below, pp. civ–cv.

³ *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 158. For the circumstances of John's reign after 1052 see Bulst, pp. 161, 218, 206.

⁴ Two other manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale are known to have formed part of the *Omeliae Gregorii*: lat. 2253, lat. 3776. On these see L. Delisle, *Bibliotheca Bigotiana manuscripta: Catalogue des manuscrits rassemblés au XVII^e siècle par les Bigot* (Paris, 1877), pp. 4 n. 21, 17 n. 56; Nortier (p. xciv n. 4), p. 235; Grémont (p. xciv n. 3), p. 22. On 2253 only see P. Lauer (ed.), *Bibliothèque nationale, Catalogue générale des manuscrits latins* (Paris, 1940), ii. 376. Nortier notes that the damp stains in F correspond closely to some in 3776, evidence that the MS may have been badly stored at Fécamp.

⁵ On the proposed canonization see A. Zimmermann, *Kalendarium Benedictinum: Die*

minor errors, and is therefore ignored in the apparatus to the present edition.

- Me N. H. Menard, *Martyrologium sanctorum ordinis diui Benedicti* (Paris, 1629), pp. 161–9. Menard, p. 169, says that his text is drawn from ‘M.S. in coenobio sancti Benigni Diuionensis, cuius exemplar est penes me’. He provides a summary of his exemplar, but some passages, especially those with direct speech, appear to be verbatim, and these are helpful evidence for the text.
- R P. Roverius, *Reomaus, seu Historia monasterii S. Joannis Reomaensis* (Paris, 1637), pp. 121–44.¹ Roverius, p. 562, says that he printed a copy, provided for him by Jacques Sirmond, ‘ex veteri codice Monasterii Diuionensis’. It is the first published complete version of the *Life*. There are about 170 variants from the text of F, some clearly due to efforts to ‘improve’ the text made by the seventeenth-century editors. There are 9 minor variants in which it agrees with B (below) against FM. In 45 cases its text agrees with F against BM.
- D A. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores coetanei*, iv (Paris, 1641), p. 147, published part of c. xi of the present edition,² but without indicating any source.
- B *Vita S. Guillelmi* in *AASS Boll.* Jan. i. 58–64. This edition is based on a copy of a manuscript provided by Jacques Sirmond (p. 57), but we do not know what manuscript he copied. A printing error inverted the sequence of the chapters, and there are a large number of obvious errors in the text. It agrees with F against RM in only four cases.
- M *AASSOSB*, saec. vi, i. 322–34.³ Mabillon, p. 320, explained his methods: ‘ex ms. codice sancti Benigni Divionensis cum alio et editis collato’. The notes to the text make it clear that the edition referred to is B. There is no indication that the edition of Roverius was used. Among the early printed editions,⁴ M offers the best version.

Heiligen und Seligen des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige (Metz, 1933), i. 33. There is a short description of this manuscript, which erroneously suggests that it is of the 16th c., in G. Waitz, ‘Untersuchung der handschriftlichen Sammlungen zu Kopenhagen im Herbste 1836’, *Archiv*, vii (1839), 146–67.

¹ For this history of Réôme, one of the abbeys in which Glaber resided, cf. above, p. xxvi n. 6.

² This corresponds to c. xviii of R, c. xi of B, c. 21 of M.

³ There are no significant differences in the later edition (Venice, 1733–40), viii. 286–97.

⁴ There are a number of more recent edns. E. de Levis, *Sancti Willelmi Divionensis opera* (Turin, 1797) follows the text of B with some reference to M. *MGH SS* iv. 655–8, contains extracts from both B and M. *PL* cxlii. 703–20, follows M, but very inaccurately.

É. Baluze (1682) quotes ‘ex vet. cod. ms. S. Benigni’, later referred to as ‘in cod. ms. Vitae B. Guillelmi abbatis S. Benigni’ (S. Baluzius, *Epistolarum Innocentii III libri undecim* (Paris, 1682 = *PL* ccxvi. 405–6)).

The Text

RBM, whose text depends on a lost Dijon manuscript, were the only known witnesses to the complete text of the *Vita* until Professor Neithard Bulst discovered F. His collations suggest that the Dijon MS was independent of F, though rarely superior to it; his text¹ wisely follows F wherever possible. We are fortunate to be able to reproduce it here. Some misprints have been corrected, and the whole has been repunctuated to conform with the ‘English’ punctuation of the *Histories*. The much abbreviated apparatus aims to show (a) where the text diverges from that of F, and (b) where the early editions provide particularly plausible variants, some of them no doubt the result of emendation and normalization, but others going back to their lost exemplar. Further information should be sought from the original edition.

4. *The use of the Histories and the Life in the Middle Ages*

Only three manuscripts of Glaber’s *Histories* earlier than 1500 have survived, one drawn up under the author’s eye, probably written in part by the author himself, the other two copies of it. There is no known evidence, either from library catalogues or from the early printed editions, that any others existed. Many copies may have been lost, but there is no evidence to this effect, and the simplicity of the textual tradition, which is wholly French, speaks against it. Relatively few medieval writers used the *Histories*, which tends to confirm the evidence of the textual history that it never enjoyed a wide circulation. Manuscripts of the *Life* seem to have circulated more widely, but it was not much used by later writers.²

ately. M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. L. Delisle, x (Paris, 1874), p. 371, contains a small part of D, with some reference to M. Extracts from B and *PL* are provided by V. Mortet, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l’histoire de l’architecture* (2 vols., Paris, 1911–29), i. 5.

¹ Published in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, xxx (1974), 450–87.

² From what has survived it seems that a considerable number of copies of the *Life* circulated in the Middle Ages; see above, pp. xciv–xcvii. However, as indicated below, pp. ci, cv, it was very little used by medieval writers. It would be reasonable to assume that a number of houses connected with St William used the *Life* for readings, but that beyond this narrow circle it was little known.

*The Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium*¹

Long before Glaber's time it had been the custom of the cathedral church of Saint-Etienne at Auxerre that a record should be kept of the reign of each bishop. In the record of the life of Bishop Hugh of Chalon (999–1039) there is an account of the siege of Auxerre in 1003 which is strikingly like that given in the *Histories*. In the life of the tenth-century Bishop Robert the anonymous writer recorded that it was the custom that the life of the deceased bishop should be written very soon after his death, and admitted regretfully that he was working some three years after his subject's death.² Sackur suggested that the biography of Hugh was the work of Glaber,³ and many have accepted this. However, we cannot be certain that lives of bishops of Auxerre were always written so quickly, and Sackur's investigation rested rather too closely on the account of the siege of Auxerre found in the life of Hugh of Chalon. Beyond a doubt this is the account of Glaber, as the following summary indicates:

Histories, 2. viii. 15–16

Sequenti denique anno ascendit Rotbertus rex in Burgundiam cum magno exercitu pugnatorum, ducens etiam secum Ricardum Rotomagnorum comitem cum triginta milibus Normagnorum, quoniam Burgundiones ei fuere rebelles, nolentes eum suscipere in ciuitatibus et castris, quæ fuerant ducis Heinrici, eius uidelicet auunculi, quin potius sibi in proprias diuisere partes. Deueniens quoque primitus rex cum omni exercitu ciuitatem Autisiodorum, eam obsidione circumdedit. Qui diu ibi crebris assultibus fatigatus residens non aduersus eam preualuit, quæ fertur numquam fraude uel hoste fuisse decepta. Relicta namque ciuitate, rex cum uniuerso bellico apparatu conuertit se ad castrum beati presulis Germani expugnan-

Gesta episcoporum, pp. 387–8

Contigit etiam tunc temporis, post mortem scilicet Henrici ducis, qui eius germanam uxorem duxerat, ut Burgundionum permaximi regi Roberto rebelles existerent, ita, ut illius ditioni nollent omnimodis esse subditi nec eius parere imperiis, preripuere insuper sibimet usurpantes sedes et castra prefati ducis, auunculi scilicet eiusdem regis. Preterea rex Robertus, collecto in unum exercitu ualido, tam de gente Francorum quam Normannorum, habens secum Ricardum potentissimum ducem ipsorum, occupans deuastauit permaximam Burgundie partem: cumque primitus ad ciuitatem Autissiodorum deuenisset, uolens eam capere, quod fertur urbi illi nunquam contigisse, ciues eiusdem urbis fortiter ei restiterunt: de hinc

dum, quod munito aggere prepolens heret ciuitati. Vallauerat enim illud Landrici comitis exercitus, necnon eiusdem loci familiares uiri, hostium siquidem metuentes sacri gregis directionem. [*There follows the story of the attempt by St Odilo to prevent a royal attack on the abbey.*] Sexto igitur obsidionis die inlucescente, nimio rex arreptus furore, indutus lorica simul et galea, omnemque exercitum dictis exacuens, habens etiam secum Hugonem eiusdem urbis pontificem, solum ex omni Burgundia parti regis fauentem. [*The second intervention of St Odilo*] Alterius quoque partibus diu multumque decertantibus, domus suæ parti Dei subito adfuit presens auxilium. Nam eiusdem castri uniuersa capacitas ita repleta est in hora prelii teterrima nebula, ut nemini hostium a foris peruius foret iaculandi aditus, cum ab intro repugnantibus cernerent se graui cede prosterni. Sicque cum suorum, maxime Normagnorum, concisione dimiserunt castrum incolume, quos, licet tarde, penituit aduersus magni meriti locum arma sumpsisse. [*The story of the mass which saved the church.*] Sequenti igitur die egrediens rex inde processit, igne cremando res hominum preter ciuitates et castra tutissima, usque in superiores Burgundie partes. Qui Frantiam rediens, post hæc tamen, licet tardius, reuersis ad se Burgundionibus, prospere uniuersam optinuit regionem.

cum ad beati Germani castrum expugnandum tota regis falans isdemque rex loricator intenderet, nutu diuino territus, cum multa cede suorum inde rediens penetrauit Ararim usque superiora Burgundie, predicto Hugone cum eo gradiente: reuertens quoque rex Franciam, tunc nec quicquam egit preter cladem regionis. Post aliquot uero annos dierum, iam dicti primores Burgundie in deditionem regis pacifice deueniunt.

The passage from the *Gesta episcoporum* is obviously much briefer and reads like a summary of that in the *Histories*, which we

¹ Duru, i. 309–520.

² Id., i. 397.

³ Sackur, p. 408.

now know was written in the 1020s.¹ It seems unlikely that Glaber would have missed out the interventions of St Odilo and the story of the mass had he written this passage. Moreover, when we look at the account of the life of Hugh as a whole, it suggests a quite different kind of writer. The author had access to the cathedral archive, for he reports a letter of a Pope John forgiving Hugh for a crime, which seems to have been deserting his flock during the Burgundian civil war. He records Hugh's refounding of Moutiers-Sainte-Marie, but with emphasis on the generosity of the bishop rather than the sanctity of the monastic life. He is well informed about the secular churches of Auxerre and mentions grants establishing communities of canons in them. Then there is a long description of Hugh's munificence in decorating the church of Saint-Étienne, and in particular the gift of two copes, one of them presented by Otto III. The whole emphasis of the life of Hugh suggests that the biographer was a secular cleric, not a monk. The frequent mention of the cathedral church, to which Glaber never refers in his works, inclines one to think that the writer was a canon of that church. He evidently knew Hugh well, for he tells us that the bishop was gentler (*mansuetior*) when he returned from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1036. If he did write immediately after the death of Hugh in 1039, perhaps he summarized Glaber's account of the siege written some ten years earlier.

*The Gesta abbatum Sancti Germani Autissiodorensis*²

This series of biographies of the abbots of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre from the time of Helderich (989–1010) was begun by Abbot Guido in 1290. The passage on Helderich is a summary of Glaber's account of the siege of Auxerre, mentioning the interventions of Odilo and adding the detail that the monks of Saint-Germain took refuge at Réome during the siege.

*The Vita Heriuei Sancti Martini Archiclauiis*³

This manuscript of unknown date precisely reproduced the account of the life of Hervé found in the *Histories*.⁴ It adds one piece

¹ See above, pp. xl–xlvi.

² Guido, *Gesta abbatum Sancti Germani Autissiodorensis*, in Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, ii. 570–93. This writer is often called 'Guido Burgundus', but Lebeuf, *Mémoires*, ii. 496–7, clearly establishes that he was Guy de Munois, abbot of Auxerre (1285–1309).

³ Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus*, iii. 570–93.

⁴ 3. iv. 14–15.

of information, the name of Hervé's father: 'Comperiens vero pater eius *Landricus, qui castrum Bungentiacum possidebat, quod . . .*'. The only other variants from Glaber's text are obvious scribal errors.

*The Chronicon of Hugh of Flavigny*¹

Hugh abbot of Flavigny (1096–1115) wrote a chronicle of world history from the creation to 1102 in two books, the first of which ended in 1002. He made very considerable use of the *Histories*, as can be seen from Pertz's edition. Hugh mined the *Histories* for raw information and fitted it crudely into what he had learnt elsewhere.² Some impression of how uncritical his use was can be gathered from the fact that he accepted Glaber's misdating of the coronation of Henry II of Germany and the death of Henry of Burgundy.³ The value of Hugh's usage is that he was so uncritical that he did not edit, and thus is a witness to the text of the *Histories*.⁴ His familiarity with them is not surprising, for Flavigny had been made subject to Helderich during his reign at Auxerre, so the connection between the two houses was close.⁵ It is quite possible that Hugh worked from the autograph which forms the basis of the present edition. Some parts of Glaber's *Histories* found their way into the *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi* attributed to Clarius because the compiler of this work used Hugh's *Chronicon*.⁶

Hugh of Flavigny may also have been familiar with the *Vita Willelmi*, for at the very end of Book 1 he advises any curious to learn of his deeds to consult the work 'a Rodulpho monacho edito', but he may just be quoting *Histories* 4. iv. 9.⁷

¹ Ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* viii. 280–503.

² Sackur, p. 414, is scathing about the 'frivolous methods' of Hugh.

³ 1. iv. 16n., 2. viii. 15.

⁴ See above, pp. xc–xci.

⁵ Guido, in Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, ii. 572.

⁶ The latest editors of this work, R. H. Bautier and M. Gilles, suggest that the compiler could have abbreviated a now lost universal chronicle which Hugh of Flavigny expanded: *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi*, pp. xxxii–xxxv. This seems unlikely because such a lost chronicle would have made very similar use of the *Histories* to Hugh's, who then added other passages from Glaber's work. For passages which found their way into the Sens chronicle see *Chronicon*, pp. 102 (1. iv. 13), 106 (2. viii. 15), 120 (5. ii. 20).

⁷ Hugh of Flavigny, p. 368.

*The Gesta Consulum Andegavorum*¹

The *GCA* contains a large number of passages taken from the *Histories*, and indeed refers quite explicitly to the work.² It seems likely that it was Thomas of Parcé, Prior of Loches, who made use of Glaber's work when, about 1160, he revised an earlier version of the history of the counts of Anjou by Odo, abbot of Marmoutier (1124–37). Subsequently Thomas's own text was revised, about 1170, by John of Marmoutier, who was writing what amounted to an official history for Henry II of England; but he made no additional use of our author's work.³ Thomas of Loches wanted to increase his knowledge of the history of the counts of Anjou, but this naturally involved him in retailing much wider information about their great rivals, the house of Blois, and also the Capetians. Thomas corrected Glaber's information, notably on the descent of Constance, wife of Robert of France, upon whom he seems to have been better informed, and these corrections found their way into the textual tradition of Glaber's work in the form of marginal and interlinear additions to A.⁴ The editors of the *GCA* carefully note the points at which Thomas of Parcé used the *Histories*. Sackur suggested that the Angevin's account of the death of Robert the Magnificent of Normandy was also based on that of Glaber, and this seems very likely.⁵

Sigebert of Gembloux

In his *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*,⁶ Sigebert set out to give a list of all ecclesiastical writers. He records: 'Rodulphus scripsit Historiam Francorum a suo tempore.' This is not very explicit, and the entry, numbered 50, is set between Gregory of Tours (538–94) and Isidore of Córdoba, a writer of the fourth or fifth century. It is possible, therefore, that this is another 'Rodulphus' unknown to us. However, grounds have been found for believing that Sigebert used the *Histories* in his most important work, the *Chronographia*,⁷ a

¹ Ed. P. Marchegay and A. Salmon, *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou* (Paris, 1856), i. 34–157.

² The reference to the *Histories* in the *GCA* is noted in 2. iii. 4 and other passages used by the *GCA* are noted below.

³ *GCA*, pp. xxi–xxx.

⁴ 3. ii. 7, 3. ix. 36 (see app. crit. and nn.).

⁵ 4. ix. 26 app. crit.; Sackur, p. 416.

⁶ *PL* clx. 547–92, at col. 559.

⁷ Ed. L. Bethmann, *MGH SS* vi. 300–535.

history of the world from 381 to 1111. D. Hirsch first suggested this, and the idea was given currency when L. C. Bethmann adopted it in his edition of the work in the *Monumenta*.¹ Sackur was scornful of this notion, and pointed out quite rightly that the references to Abbo of Fleury and Adalbert of Prague were very vague.² Sackur's discussion was centred on the two writers' accounts of the rebellion of Crescentius in Rome, which had been seen as proving Sigebert's dependence on Glaber.³ He pointed out that Sigebert refers to 'Crescens', a form of the name never used by Glaber, that the monk of Gembloux never mentions that the defeated rebel was cast off the wall of the city, and that his account of his degradation is rather different from Glaber's. He concluded that the only real similarity was that in both accounts Crescentius ends hanging on a gibbet: he might have added that Glaber never uses the title of 'Patrician' for Crescentius, as Sigebert does. Sigebert seems to be giving a different version of the story, and he knows much more than Glaber about related material. He tells us that Crescentius' widow enticed Otto III into a relationship, then poisoned him, and gives much more detail about the journey of the German army over the Alps with Otto's corpse.⁴ In other places where the two chronicles treat of the same subject-matter, it is in very different ways. Sigebert mentions the battle of Bar only in passing, while Glaber set it in context.⁵ His account of the Peace Movement is very different from Glaber's, and its inspiration is attributed to an angelic letter.⁶ However, there are two passages which may possibly indicate that Sigebert knew the *Histories*. Sigebert's account of the career of Gerbert of Aurillac is much fuller than Glaber's, especially on the affair of the archbishopric of Rheims, yet he records Gerbert's entry into imperial service in similar terms:

Histories, 1. iv. 13

Qui satis honorifice ab eodem
[Otto] susceptus, quem etiam sta-
tim Rauennę, inde uero ut diximus
Romanę urbis sublimauit pontifi-
cem.

Sigebert, *MGH SS* vi. 353

Quem imperator receptum, primo
eum Ravennae archiepiscopum, et
postea constituit papam Romanum.

¹ D. Hirsch, *De vita et scriptis Sigeberti monachi Gemblacensis* (Heidelberg, 1839).

² *MGH SS* vi. 352, 355; *Histories* 3. iii. 11, 1. iv. 10; Sackur, p. 417.

³ *MGH SS* vi. 354; *Histories*, 1. iv. 12–15; Sackur, pp. 417–18.

⁴ *MGH SS* vi. 354.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vi. 354 and see *Histories*, 3. ix. 38.

⁶ *MGH ut supra*, and see *Histories*, 4. v. 14–16.

This is by no means conclusive, but later Sigebert gives what may be a summary of what Glaber tells us about Henry II's foundation of Bamberg.¹ Glaber says that when Henry found that his wife could not have children, he made gifts to the church, including this important foundation; Sigebert records: 'Heinricus imperator aecclesiam episcopalis sedis honore sublimat, *et quia liberis carebat eam omnium suarum rerum heredem facit.*' None of this is conclusive proof, but it remains possible that Sigebert knew the *Histories*.

*The Chronicon Sancti Benigni Diuionensis*²

This history of the abbey of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon from 511 to the mid-eleventh century was written by an unknown monk of that house between 1058 and 1066. The precise date of termination is not known because the original manuscript which has survived shows clear signs of damage.³ Its author was born at Salins between 1010 and 1020, and probably entered Saint-Bénigne after Halinard became its prior in 1027.⁴ He was a skilful writer who employed a wide range of source-material, including the chronicles of Fredegar and Gregory of Tours, and the *Vitae Pontificum* of Anastasius.⁵ In that part of the work which deals with St William he applied a series of laudatory epithets to the abbot which were derived from the *Vita Maioli*.⁶ He also incorporated into this account of William's life a substantial part of the Cartulary of Saint-Bénigne recording gifts made to the abbey in that period.⁷ The unknown author admired William's successor at Saint-Bénigne, Halinard of Sombernon, later archbishop of Lyons.⁸ His account of William's rule is detailed but flat and rather dull. Even his long description of the abbey which William built is grudging.⁹ He obviously wrote to promote the prestige of his abbey, but

¹ MGHSS vi. 354, and see *Histories*, 3. Preface. 1.

² The standard edition of the Saint-Bénigne chronicle is that given in *Analecta Divionensia*, pp. 1–230. There is another edition in *PL* cxli. 875–98. The long description of St William's new church has been carefully edited from the original by A. Martindale, 'The Romanesque Church of S. Bénigne at Dijon and Ms. 591 in the Bibliothèque municipale', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, xxv (1962), 47–50.

³ Bulst, pp. 17–18; *Analecta Divionensia*, p. viii.

⁴ See above, p. lxxiii.

⁵ *Analecta Divionensia*, pp. xiii–xv.

⁶ Bulst, p. 37 n. 47.

⁷ *Analecta Divionensia*, pp. 160–73.

⁸ See 5. iv. 21 n. On Halinard see also B. de Vrégille, 'Dijon, Cluny, Lyon et Rome; à propos de deux documents sur Halinard de Sombernon', *Annales de Bourgogne*, xxxi (1959), 6–24.

⁹ Martindale, p. 26.

certainly the glory of Halinard eclipses totally the splendours of William's reign. It was perhaps because of this that he made little use of the *Life of St William*. The Saint-Bénigne chronicle adds no personal details about St William. It owes the brief account of his origins at Lucedio to Glaber.¹ The description of William's work at Vergy and Bèze is clearly a summary of c. vi of the *Life*; the chronicler drew heavily on c. ix for the account of the foundation of Fruttuaria.² The account of the foundation of Fécamp is clearly from Glaber, as is the record of St William's death.³ There is no indication at all that the unknown author ever knew the *Histories*.

*The Annales Besuenses*⁴

In these twelfth-century annals, the entry for the year 1033 describing the eclipse of the sun of that year is clearly a copy of Glaber's account in 4. ix. 24 with the hours changed.

Histories, 4. ix. 24

Anno igitur eodem, dominice passionis milesimo, die tercio kalendarum Iuliarum, sexta feria, luna uicesima octaua, facta est eclipsis seu deliquium solis ab hora eiusdem diei sexta usque in octauam nimium terribilis. Nam sol ipse factus est saphirini coloris, gerens in superiori parte speciem lune a sua reilluminatione quarte. Intuitus hominum in alterutrum uelut mortuorum pallor conspiciebatur, res uero quecumque sub aere croci coloris esse cernebantur. Tunc corda humani generis stupor ac pauor tenuit inmensus, quoniam illud intuentes intelligebant portendere quiddam fore superuenture cladis humano generi triste. Nam eadem die, natale uidelicet apostolorum. . . .

Annales Besuenses (MGHSS ii. 249)
Tercio Kal. Iul. uidelicet in die sollempnitatis apostolorum Petri et Pauli 6. feria, luna 28. facta est eclipsis seu deliquium solis ab hora 7. diei usque in horam nonam, ita ut horribilius numquam dinoscatur contigisse. Nam ipsa species solis in modum lune quarte a sui reaccensione effigiata fuisse uisa est. Identidem uero safirini intuebatur coloris. Res quecumque sub celo crocicolor humanis uisibus apparebat. Retro et ante solem stelle cluere. Tunc reuera terror insolitus inuasit humanum genus.

¹ *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 131.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 114–15.

³ *Life*, cc. vii, xiv; *Analecta Divionensia*, pp. 156–7, 177.

⁴ MGHSS ii. 247–50.

In the Middle Ages the *Histories* of Rodulfus Glaber do not seem to have been widely known. The few writers who used the work all came from Burgundy and the valley of the Loire, the area which Glaber lived in and knew best. The Loire was a navigable river in Glaber's day, and along it ran the old Roman road; this helps to explain how he heard about events in Anjou and Orléans, which so interested him. The fact that there is no trace of the *Histories* in the libraries of Cluny or Saint-Bénigne suggests that a copy, probably the present A, was lodged at Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre. The only writer from beyond the bounds of the valley of the Loire who may have used the work was Sigebert of Gembloux near Namur in what is now Belgium. But Sigebert was a painstaking scholar who sought to compile a list of all ecclesiastical historians, and it cannot be proved that he was familiar with the text of the *Histories*, though it is possible. Glaber, who aspired to write a history of all the events which, about the year 1000, occurred 'in the Roman Empire and in distant and barbarous provinces', would have been mortified to know that his chronicle was primarily a mine of useful local information. Beyond the twelfth century it was hardly used and there is no trace of it until, at the very end of the Middle Ages, a copy was made which is now found in the Vatican library.

Why did Glaber's chronicle fall into such obscurity? It seems that he died at Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre and his autograph probably stayed there. This was a major monastic house, but its importance was essentially local and Burgundian. There was little in the *Histories* to excite the minds of scholars of the next generation, when, indeed, it might well have seemed distinctly *passé*. Above all Glaber's clear dislike of papal centralization meant that the work could not enlist the enthusiasm of a developing force in the monasticism of the second half of the eleventh century. The *Histories* clearly bear the stamp of the age in which they were written, and this is what makes them especially interesting to us.

RODVLFI GLABRI OPERA

⟨RODVLF I GLABRI
HISTORIARVM LIBRI QVINQVE⟩^a

A, f. 1. **I.** CLARORVM uirorum illustrissimo Odiloni, Cluniensis coenobii patri, Glaber Rodulfus.¹ Iustissima studiosorum fratrum querimonia interdumque propria sepius permotus, cur diebus nostri temporis non quispiam existeret, qui futuris post nos multiplicia haec quae uidentur fieri tam in ecclesiis Dei quam in plebibus minime abdenda qualicumque stili pernotatione mandaret, presertim cum, Salvatore teste, usque in ultimam extremi diei horam, Sancto Spiritu cooperante, ipse facturus sit in mundo noua cum patre,² et quoniam in spatio fere ducentorum annorum nemo ista appetens extitit, id est post Bedam, Britanniae presbiterum, seu Italiae Paulum, qui historialiter quippiam posteris scriptum misisset;³ quorum uterque historiam propriae gentis uel patriae condidit, dum uidelicet constet tam in orbe Romano quam in transmarinis seu barbaris prouinciis perplura deuenisse quae, si memoriae commendarentur, proficua nimium hominibus forent atque ad commodandum quibusque cautelae⁴ studium potissimum iuuarent. Non secius ergo quae dicuntur, quin solito multiplicius circa millesimum humanati Christi Saluatoris contigerunt annum. Et idcirco, prout ualeo, uestrae preceptioni ac fraterne uoluntati obedio, primitus dumtaxat ostensurus, quamquam series annorum a mundi origine pernotata secundum Hebreorum historias a Septuaginta Interpretum translatione discrepet, illud tamen certissime commendamus, quod annus incarnati Verbi millesimus secundus ipse sit regni Heinrici Saxonum regis primus, isdem quoque annus Domini millesimus fuit regni Rotberti Francorum

A = Paris, BN lat. 10912; B = Paris, BN lat. 6190; D = Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Reg. lat. 618.

^a Title supplied by Pithou

¹ Here Glaber speaks of his work's being inspired by St Odilo, abbot of Cluny (904–1049), but in the *Life* c. xiii, he explicitly states that it was begun at the request of St William, in whose abbey Glaber served before going to Cluny. On the importance of this see above, pp. xxix, xxxiv–xxxv.

² Perhaps a reminiscence of Rev. 21: 5; cf. Matt. 28: 20 and Luke 12: 12.

³ Bede (c. 672–735), *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and tr. B. Colgrave

RODULFUS GLABER
THE FIVE BOOKS OF THE HISTORIES

I. To the most eminent of famous men, Odilo, father of the abbey of Cluny, Rodulfus Glaber.¹ I have been inspired by the righteous and oft-repeated complaint of the learned brethren, and sometimes yourself, that there is nobody in our days who is taking upon himself the task of setting out, in however poor a style, for those who will come after us all the many things, not in the least negligible, which are seen to take place in the churches of God and amongst the peoples, especially as the Saviour testifies that together with the Father, and with the aid of the Holy Spirit, he will continue to work wonders in the world until the last hour of the last day.² Moreover, for a period of nearly two hundred years, since the time of the priest Bede in Britain and Paul in Italy, there has been no one anxious to leave any written record for posterity.³ But both of these wrote only of their own countries and peoples, although it is evident that many things have happened in the Roman Empire and in distant and barbarous provinces which, if only they were recorded, would be very profitable for men and would serve as a mighty lesson for everyone in prudence and caution.⁴ This was certainly true of the many events which occurred with unusual frequency about the millennium of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour. Therefore, in so far as I am able, I submit to your command and the will of the brethren. First let it be said that although in the Greek and Hebrew versions of the Old Testament the number of years which have passed since the moment of creation is different, we can be certain that the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord, 1002, was the first of the reign of Henry king of the Saxons, while the millennial year itself was the thirteenth of

and R. A. B. Mynors (OMT, 1969), and Paul the Deacon (c. 730–c. 799), *Historia Gentis Langobardorum*, ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, *MGH, Scrip. rer. Langob.*, pp. 45–187. There is an English translation by W. D. Foulke and E. Peters, *History of the Lombards* (Philadelphia, 1907, 1974).

⁴ *cautela* means literally 'caution', but this does not fit well in English. On the other hand 'prudence' has overtones of 'Prudentia', which our author goes on to speak of at length, and which he clearly did not intend here.

regis tertius decimus.¹ Isti igitur duo in nostro citramarino orbe² tunc christianissimi atque premaximi habebantur, quorum primus, uidelicet Heinricus, Romanum postmodum sumpsit imperium. Idcirco uero illorum memoriale seriei temporum stabiliuimus. Preterea quoniam de quatuor mundani orbis partium euentibus relaturi sumus, dignum uidetur, ut cordi est, qui utique religiosis loquimur, ut uim diuinę et abstractę quaternitatis, eiusque conformem conuenientiam, Domino preeunte, (principio)^a suscepti operis inseramus.

i. *De diuina quaternitate*³

f. 1^v 2. Multiplicibus figuris formisque Deus, conditor uniuersorum, distinguens ea quae fecit, ut per ea quę uident oculi uel intelligit animus subleuaret hominem | eruditum ad simplicem Deitatis intuitum. In his ergo perscrutandis pernoscendisque primitus claruere patres Grecorum catholici non mediocriter philosophi. Cum enim in plurimis exercitatos haberent sensus, perinde in quarumdam quaternitatum speculatione, per quam presens mundus infimus mundusque futurus datur intelligi supernus. Quaternitates uero earumque in sese reflexus, dum a nobis dispertiri immobiliter ceperint, mentes simul atque intellectus se speculantium alacriores reddent. Quattuor igitur sunt Euangelia, quę constituunt in nostris mentibus supernum mundum; tot enim constant elementa quae perficiunt istum infimum; quattuor quoque uirtutes quae ceterarum gerunt principatum, nosque per adunationem sui ad ceteras informant; pari etiam ratione quattuor sensus existunt corporis, preter tactum qui subtilioribus famulatur ceteris. Quod est igitur aether, igneus elementum, in mundo sensibili, idem est prudentia in intellectuali, sursum namque sese

^a Supplied by France

¹ S. Giet, "La Divine Quaternité" de Raoul Glaber', *Revue du Moyen Age latin*, v (1949), 238, points out that in Book 1 of his *Chronicle* Eusebius noted this difference between the Hebrew version and the Septuagint. Although this book was not translated by St Jerome into Latin, he referred to the difference elsewhere in his translation of Eusebius, *PL* xxvii. 233. Henry II of Germany (1002–24) was crowned emperor in 1014. Robert II, 'the Pious', king of France (996–1031), was crowned in 987, the same year that his father Hugh was elected to the French throne, as Glaber tells us below, 2. Preface. 1. There is a contemporary life of Robert by a monk of Fleury, written by 1041: Helgand, pp. 17–20.

² Glaber means Western Europe, the western end of the Mediterranean.

Robert king of the Franks.¹ These two were at that time the greatest and most Christian kings in our continent this side the sea,² and the former, Henry, later assumed the governance of the Roman Empire. Therefore we have established a record of them for the sequence of dates. Furthermore, since we are going to tell of what happened in the four parts of the globe, it seems to us proper, just as it is a pleasure, especially as we are addressing the religious, that, God willing, we should put at the start of this work a dissertation on the glory of the divine and supramundane quaternity, and on its harmonies and correspondences.

i. *The divine quaternity*³

2. God, the author of all, distinguished the objects of his creation by many different shapes and forms, so that by means of what the eyes see and the mind perceives He might raise the wise man to a direct view of God. The fathers of the Greek church were the first to win fame for themselves by examining and becoming familiar with such matters, and they were not mediocre philosophers. Amongst other things, they exercised their sense on the contemplation of certain quaternities, a process by which both this present and lowest world, and that which is to come on high, may be understood. These quaternities and their correlations, once we have begun to divide them out fixedly, will enliven the minds and understandings of those who contemplate them. Four Gospels form our knowledge of heaven, while the same number of Elements makes up the earth. Four Virtues rule all others and mould us by their intimate connection with the rest. Equally the body has four Senses, as well as Touch which is the servant of the finer ones. Aether, the fiery element of the sensible world, is as Prudence in the intellectual, for Prudence raises itself and aspires

³ The sources of this chapter have long been a subject of interest. It seems likely that Glaber combined here two schemes of 'Quaternities': the one based on the four rivers of Paradise is derived from St Ambrose's *De Paradiso*, ed. C. Schenkl, in *Sancti Ambrosii opera*, CSEL xxxii/1 (Vienna, 1897), 272–80, and the other, more interestingly, upon the translation by Eriugena of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor, which is known to have been in the library of Cluny. P. E. Dutton has explored this with great skill in 'Glaber's "De Diuina Quaternitate"'. On its significance see above, pp. xxxviii, li. For a recent discussion of the 'Quaternities' in the context of Cluniac thought during the reign of Odilo, see D. Iogna-Prat, 'Contenance et virginité dans la conception clunisienne de l'ordre du monde autour de l'an mil', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus*, 1985, 127–46.

erigens hanelansque desideranter esse circa Deum. Illud quoque quod aer in mundo corporali, id ipsum fortitudo in intellectuali, qui cuncta uiuentia uegetans et in quemcumque actum promouens^a roborat. Simile quippe modo quod gerit aqua in mundo corporali, idem temperantia in intellectuali; nutrix quippe est bonorum efferensque copiam uirtutum ac seruans fidem per diuini amoris desiderium. Conformem quoque terra gerit speciem mundi infimi iustitiae speciei in intellectuali, scilicet subsistens atque immobilis collocatio recte distributionis. Dinoscitur namque per omnia similis Euangeliorum complexio spiritalis. Euangelium itaque Mathei terrae ac iustitiae mysticam continet figuram, quoniam Christi hominis ceteris apertius demonstrat carnis substantiam. Illud autem secundum Marcum temperantiae et aquae speciem gerit, cum ex Iohannis baptismate penitentiam temperanter indicit.¹ Illud quoque iuxta Lucam aeris et fortitudinis praefert similitudinem, quoniam spaciatis diffusum plurimisque est historiis roboratum.² Illud uero secundum Iohannem ignifici ætheris ac prudentiae^b formam signanter exprimit, dum simplicem Dei notitiam et fidem insinuans introducit. Quibus etiam speculatiuis connexionibus, elementorum scilicet ac uirtutum Euangeliorumque, ille conuenienter sociatur uidelicet homo, cuius haec uniuersa concessa sunt obsequio. Nam et illius uitae substantiam Graeci philosophi microcosmum, id est paruus mundum, dixerunt. Visus quippe et auditus, qui intellectum et rationem ministrant, superiori conueniunt aetheri, quod constat subtilius in elementis, quodque quantum ceteris sublimius, eo honestius ac lucidius. Subsequitur uero olfactus, qui aeris et fortitudinis significantiam sorte exprimit. Gustus namque satis conuenienter aquae et temperantiae parem portendit significantiam. Tactus ergo qui omnium constat infimus, ceterisque solidius ac stabilis terrae ac iustitiae congruentissime praefert indicium.

f. 2

3. Ab his igitur euentissimis complexibus rerum patenter et pulcherrime silenterque predicatur Deus, quoniam dum stabili motu in sese uicissim una portendit alteram, suum principale primordium predicando a quo processerunt, expetunt ut in illo iterum quiescant.³ Constat etiam iuxta predictæ speculationis conductum mente cauta intueri fluuium qui manat ex Eden orientis partiturque

^a promouens *Winterbottom*; promouentia *A* ^b *A adds* quodque ceteris constat sublimius, *deleted by France*; the words seem to intrude from below

to the presence of God. Air in this material world corresponds to Fortitude in the intellectual, for like Air it enlivens all living things and provides the necessary strength for motion in any act. Water in this corporeal world is as Temperance in the perceptual; the fosterer of all good things, it spreads forth plentiful virtue and preserves the faith through desire of the divine love. Earth in this lowest sphere is the image of Righteousness in the higher, a fixed and never wavering rule governing equitable division. A similar spiritual connection can be discerned everywhere between the Gospels. The Gospel of Matthew contains the mystical image of Earth and Righteousness, for more clearly than the others it shows us the substance of the flesh in Christ made man. The Gospel of Mark is the image of Temperance and Water, for by the baptism of John it proclaims penitence temperately.¹ That of St Luke stands for Air and Fortitude, for it is very extensive and strengthened by many stories.² That according to St John represents clearly the form of blazing Aether and Prudence, and by this brings to us and inculcates an unqualified knowledge of God and faith in Him. Man himself, to whose service all this has been given, is in harmony with these philosophic correspondences between Elements and Virtues and Gospels, and the Greek philosophers described the substance of his life as a *microcosm*, a little world. Sight and Hearing which provide Understanding and Reason correspond to that higher Aether, the most subtle of the elements, higher, nobler, and more brilliant than the rest. Then follows Smell, which corresponds to Air and Fortitude. Taste corresponds to Water and Temperance and carries a like significance. Touch is the lowest of all, and, being more solid and stable than the others, it offers most closely a symbol of Earth and Righteousness.

3. God is proclaimed most plainly, beautifully, and silently by this patent chain of correspondences; in frozen motion each thing indicates another, and they do not cease to proclaim the original source from which they derive and to which they seek to return in order to find peace again.³ It is evident to the careful mind that we should consider in accordance with these speculations that torrent

¹ Mark 1: 4.

² The author is trying to say that air is diffuse and great in volume, just as St Luke's Gospel is large or voluminous.

³ This precise thought recurs below, 3. viii. 28.

in nominatissimos quattuor amnes.¹ Horum igitur primus, id est Phison, qui oris apertio dicitur, prudentiam signat, quæ semper est in optimis diffusa et utilis. Per inertiam quippe paradysus sublatus est homini, necesse habet ut preeunte prudentia repetatur. Secundus Geon, qui terrae hiatus intelligitur, temperantiam signat nutricem utique castitatis, quae scilicet frondes salubriter extirpat uitiorum. Tertius quoque Tigris, quem incolunt Assyrii, qui interpretantur 'dirigentes'. Per hunc nihilominus signatur fortitudo, quæ uidelicet reiectis preuaricatoriis uitiis dirigens homines per Dei auxilium ad æterni regni gaudia. Quartus uero Eufrates, cuius etiam nomen habundantiam sonat, patenter iustitiam designat, quæ pascit ac reficit omnem animam illam desideranter amantem. Cum igitur significantia horum fluminum gerat in se species predictarum uirtutum, pariter et figuram quattuor Euangeliorum, non minus easdem uirtutes figuraliter gerunt tempora mundani huius sæculi diuisa per quadrum. A mundi namque initio usque ad ultionem diluuii, in his dumtaxat qui ex simplicis naturae amando suum cognouerunt creatorem bonitate, prudentia uiguit, ut in Abel, Enoch, Noe uel in ceteris qui mentis ratione pollentes utilia quæ agerent intellexerunt. Ab Abraham uero et in reliquis patriarchis, qui signis et uisionibus frui sunt, ut in Isaac, Iacob, Ioseph et in ceteris, temperantia conformata probatur, | qui scilicet inter aduersa et prospera proprium super omnia dilexerunt auctorem. A Moyse quoque et in reliquis prophetis, uiris uidelicet robustissimis, legalium preceptorum institutionibus fultis, fortitudo sancitur, dum laboriosa siquidem legis precepta sollicitè ab eis exercitata monstrantur. Ab aduentu denique incarnati Verbi ac deinceps omne seculum iustitia implet, regit et circumdat, ueluti ceterarum finis ac fundamentum, sicut dixit suo baptistae Veritas, 'Decet' inquit 'nos implere omnem iustitiam'.²

f. 2^v

4. Dicturi igitur ab anno DCCCC^{mo} incarnati creantis ac uiuificantis omnia Verbi ad nos usque qui claruere uiri in Romano uidelicet orbe insignes catholicæ fidei cultores et iustitiæ, prout certa relatione comperimus uel uisuri superfuimus, seu etiam qui rerum euentus quæ perplura contigerunt memoranda tam in

¹ Gen. 2: 10–14. With reference to this passage of Scripture, Isidore of Seville comments: 'Paradisus est locus in orientis partibus constitutus . . . porro Hebraice Eden dicitur': *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), xiv. 3. 2.

² Matt. 3: 15.

which flows from Eden in the east and divides into four famous rivers.¹ The first of these is called Pison, meaning 'the opening of the mouth'; this signifies Prudence, which is ever useful to those good men amongst whom it is spread. Men lost paradise through negligence, so they can only regain it by following Prudence. The second is Gihon, a word which means 'a cleft in the ground'; this signifies Temperance, the nurse of Chastity, which beneficially uproots all the growths of sin. The third is the Tigris in the land of the Assyrians, a people whose name we understand to mean 'steersmen'; this signifies Fortitude, which, rejecting all lying vices, leads men with the help of God to the joys of eternal life. The fourth is the Euphrates, whose name means 'abundance'; this clearly signifies Righteousness, which feeds and refreshes every soul that earnestly loves it. These four rivers correspond to the same Virtues and to the image of the four Gospels, and these Virtues are also figuratively revealed in the division of the world's lifetime into four ages. From the beginning of the world to the vengeance of the flood Prudence ruled, at least amongst those who lived in the good simplicity of nature, loving and recognizing their Creator; amongst these were Abel, Enoch, and Noah and the rest who, guided by the light of reason, understood what was best for them to do. From the time of Abraham and amongst the other patriarchs who were favoured by visions and signs, men like Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and the rest, Temperance is proven, for in adversity and prosperity they loved their Maker above all else. From the time of Moses and amongst the other prophets, mighty men indeed, who rested on the provisions of the Law, Fortitude is established, as they strove relentlessly to enforce its harsh provisions. From the moment of the Incarnation down to our own days Righteousness has nourished, governed, and enveloped all ages, as the end and foundation of the other virtues; as the Truth said to His baptizer, 'It is fitting for us to fulfil all righteousness'.²

4. We intend to narrate the story of all the great men who have lived since the year 900 of the Incarnation of the Word which created and breathed life into all things—all the men in the Roman world, that is, who have distinguished themselves by their devotion to the catholic faith and to righteousness. We are going to tell only of those events at which we were present or of which we have had certain report. Further, as we are going to talk about the many notable things which

sacris ecclesiis quam in utroque populo, primitus ad illud totius quondam orbis imperium principale, scilicet Romanum, conuertimus stilum.¹ Cum ergo omnipotentis Christi uirtus ubique terrarum principes ad suum incuruasset imperium, tanto minus uiguit terror Cesarum quanto iura illorum ueratius comprobantur plus extitisse ex timore ferocitatis quam ex amore pię humanitatis. Sic denique paulatim tota illorum stirps a prefato imperio disper-tita atque euacuata ut maius indigeret sui dominio urbs Romana eiusque populus quam, ut olim consueuerat, promere leges et iura externis patriis ac ciuibus. Ceperuntque plures ex gentibus quas prius subdiderat crebris illam infestationibus uexare, illius nomen etiam imperii preripiendo usurpare nonnulli ex circumiectarum prouintiarum regibus. Tunc perinde ualentiores et permaximi reges gentis Francorum christianitatis iustitia pollebant, armorumque industria ac militari robore ceteris excellabant: quorum uidelicet ditioni triumphaliter per plures annos applicatum est totum imperii culmen. Inter quos etiam excellentissime micuerunt Karolus scilicet, qui dictus est Magnus, necnon et Ludowicus cognomento Pius.² Hi denique prudenti consilio et uirtute quosque in giro belliones³ ita proprio subiugauere dominio ut quasi una domus famularetur suis imperatoribus orbis Romanus, potiusque respublica de paterno gratularetur prouectu quam tuta pompatice extolleretur imperatorum metu.^a Sed quia horum gesta

f. 3 non disposuimus | seu genealogiam historiali more narrare, ad quem tamen finem regnandi uel imperandi illorum genus deuenit, breuiter curauimus intimare.

5. Perdurauere igitur reges ex eorum prosapia uel imperatores, tam in Italia quam in Galliis, usque ad ultimum regem, Karolum Hebetem cognominatum.⁴ Is denique habebat unum inter regni

^a The clause (especially tuta) is very obscure

¹ In his prologue Glaber implied an intention to write about events since the time of Bede and Paul the Deacon, but here he apparently narrows his intended range; see above, pp. xxxvii–xxxix. The peoples mentioned are the subjects of the ‘two . . . greatest and most Christian kings’ referred to in the preface, those of France and Germany.

² Charlemagne (768–814) and Louis the Pious (814–40).

³ Du Cange, i. 621, renders ‘Bellicosus, Belligeratores’, citing only this example. Possibly we should read (<re>)belliones.

⁴ This is an odd choice, for if Glaber believed that the overthrow of Charles the Simple (898–923) marked the first break in the Carolingian line, he must be ignorant of the reign of the Robertian Odo I (888–98) on whom see R. H. Bautier, ‘Le règne

happened both in the holy churches and amongst both peoples, we shall look first at the Roman Empire, formerly the greatest power in the world.¹ When the strength of Almighty Christ had everywhere in the world subjugated the princes of the nations to his empire, then the tyranny of the Caesars waned as it was revealed that their right to rule sprang from the fear inspired by their ferocity rather than their benevolent love of mankind. And so, little by little, their descendants were so scattered and driven from the empire that the city of Rome and its people lost self-government, instead of (as they had grown accustomed to do) giving law and dispensing justice for foreign lands and peoples. Many of those whom Rome had formerly subdued began to harass her with frequent attacks, and many kings from neighbouring provinces took away and usurped the very title of empire. The mighty kings of the Franks were now the greatest of all Christendom, powerful in justice and excelling all in their dedication to arms and their military might. Their dominion signally lasted for many years over the whole empire. Of them all, the most distinguished were Charles the Great and Louis the Pious.² These two mighty men by wisdom and strength subjugated to their own dominion all the rebellious people³ in the countries round about, so that, like a single household, the whole Roman Empire was obedient to its emperors, and the state rejoiced in their paternal progress rather than being proudly puffed up by awe of the emperors. But because it is not our purpose to give a historical account of this family’s deeds and lineage, we have taken steps to indicate briefly how and when the kingdom and empire of their descendants came to an end.

5. Both in Italy and in Gaul kings and emperors continued to be chosen from this family until the time of Charles the Simple.⁴ This king had amongst his nobles one Herbert, whose son he had

d’Eudes (888–898) à la lumière des diplômes expédiés par sa chancellerie’, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus*, 1961, 141–57; but he excuses himself below, ii. 6, from any discussion of the ancestry of this house on the grounds of its obscurity, which suggests that he knew very little about them. On Charles the Simple, see A. Eckel, *Charles le Simple* (Paris, 1899); F. Lot, *Recueil des actes de Charles III* (Paris, 1940). This is the real beginning of Glaber’s account of the history of the West Franks in the 10th c. The main sources for the West Frankish Kingdom in this period are the *Annals* of Flodoard of Rheims (919–66) and the *Histories* of Richer of Rheims, whose work depends on Flodoard down to 966, but thereafter is a very valuable source which terminates in 998. On Glaber’s information about this earlier period, see above, pp. xlvii–xlviii.

sui primates quendam Heribertum,¹ cuius ex sacro fonte filium susceperat, qui tamen ei calliditate sua certissime suspectus esse potuisset, si non excogitatae fraudis similtas interuenisset. Cum enim decreuisset isdem Heribertus predictum regem decipere, fingens cuiusdam deliberandi occasionem negotii qualiter illum, ut postmodum fecit, demulcendo in unum castrorum suorum introduceret ac uinculatum carceri manciparet, tandem uero a quibusdam suggestum est regi ut cautissime se ageret ne Heriberti inuolueretur fraudibus. Dumque ille ex hoc quod audierat credulus cautelam sibi de Heriberto adhibere decreuisset, contigit una die nimis expedite eundem Heribertum cum suo filio in regis palatium deuenire. Surgens itaque rex osculum ei porrexit; ille uero toto se humilians corpore, osculum regis suscepit. Deinde cum eius filium osculatus fuisset, stansque iuuenis quamuis conscius fraudis, nouus tamen calliditatis, regi minime semet supplicaret, pater cernens qui propter adstabat ualenter alapam collo iuuenis intulit, 'Seniorem' inquit 'et regem erecto corpore osculaturum non debere suscipere quandoque scito.' Quod intuens rex cunctique qui aderant abhinc deceptionis fraudisque aduersus regem Heribertum expertem crediderunt. Videns quoque regem contra se placatum nihilominus rogabat adtentius ut ad se ueniens negotium deliberaturus quod dudum poposcerat. Statim uero rex promisit se quo uellet iturum. Designato igitur die uenit rex ubi Heribertus rogauerat, tenuem etiam ducens exercitum amicitiae gratia. Qui nimum pompose die primo ab eo susceptus; in secundo autem quasi ex iussu regis precepit isdem Heribertus ut uniuersi qui cum rege uenerant ad propria redirent, ueluti ipse cum suis obsequio regis sufficeret. Illi quoque audito Heriberto recesserunt, ignorantes quod regem in uinculis reliquissent. Tenuit enim Heribertus uinctum predictum regem usque in diem mortis suae. Genuerat preterea isdem rex filium nomine Ludoguicum, adhuc tamen puerum. Qui ut cognouit quod de patre factum fuerat, arripiens fugam Renum transiit, ibique usque |

f. 3^v ad annos uiriles deguit.²

¹ Herbert II of Vermandois, who died in 943, played a major part in the deposition of Charles the Simple and indeed, according to Flodoard, p. 15, entrapped him at Château-Thierry in 923 in much the same way that Glaber here describes. Herbert continued to play a major role under Charles's successors Rudolf I (923-36) and Louis IV (936-54). On him see Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, pp. 87-97.

² In fact he crossed the Channel. Charles the Simple had married Eadgifu, daughter of Edward the Elder of Wessex (899-924), who bore him the child Louis, who fled to his

received as a godchild from the font of baptism.¹ This fellow might well have been suspect because of his cunning nature, even though no quarrel had arisen through malice aforethought. When Herbert had decided to entrap the king, he made an excuse to discuss some business, in order that he might bring him (as he eventually did) by flattery into one of his strongholds and imprison him in chains. Finally it was suggested to the king that he should conduct himself very cautiously lest he become entrapped in Herbert's treacheries. Believing what he heard, the king determined to beware of the fellow, but one day Herbert and his son, without much trouble, managed to get into the royal palace. As the king rose to embrace him, Herbert prostrated himself before him and received the kiss of peace. When the son had been kissed he remained standing; although privy to the trap he was as yet new to treachery and did not think to kneel before the king. His father, who was standing close by, saw this and gave him a cuff on the neck. 'You had better learn that you must not', he said, 'remain standing when you receive the embrace of your lord and king.' When they saw this the king and the others present thereafter believed Herbert innocent of any deception or evil against the king, while Herbert, seeing the king better disposed towards him, begged persistently that he should come to him to discuss the matter which had been raised before. Immediately the king promised to go where he wished. On the appointed day he came to the place Herbert had designated, bringing with him only a small escort as a sign of his friendship. The king was sumptuously received on the first day, but on the second Herbert proclaimed, as though it were the king's will, that all who had come with the king should return to their homes, on the grounds that he and his people sufficed for the service of the king. The king's retinue heeded Herbert and departed, unaware that they had left the king in chains. Herbert held the king chained until the day he died. The king had a son called Louis who was still a child. As soon as he heard what had happened to his father, he took flight and crossed the Rhine, where he stayed till he reached mature years.²

mother's land for protection at the court of King Athelstan (924-39): F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1971), pp. 345-7. On the international connections of Athelstan see M. Wood, 'The Making of King Athelstan's Empire: an English Charlemagne?', *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 250-72, and especially pp. 266-7.

ii. *De Rodulfo rege*

6. Erat igitur tunc temporis Rodulfus, Richardi ducis Burgundiae filius, aptus uidelicet corpore et intellectu idoneus.¹ Qui etiam uxorem duxerat Emmam nomine, sensu scilicet atque aspectu insignem, sororem uidelicet magni Hugonis cuius siquidem militari industria regnum dirigebatur Francorum. Is quoque Hugo, cernens regnum rege destitutum, ac sciens regis instaurationem suo pendere arbitrio, misit ad sororem consulens illam quem potissimum ad regale eligeret culmen, se uidelicet suum fratrem, an potius maritum praedictum scilicet Rodulfum. Illa igitur prudenter, ut fuerat consulta, respondit magis se uelle regis mariti genu osculari quam fratris. Audiens autem Hugo gratanter annuit regnique solium Rodulfo habere concessit. Qui Rodulfus carens omni prole solus sui generis regni culmine potitus obiit. Fuit enim hic Hugo filius Rotberti, Parisiorum comitis, qui uidelicet Rotbertus breui in tempore rex constitutus et ab exercitu Saxonum est interfectus; cuius genus idcirco adnotare distulimus, quia ualde in ante repperitur obscurum.²

iii. *De Lothario rege*³

7. Interea totius regni primates elegerunt Ludowicum, filium uidelicet predicti regis Caroli, ungentes eum super se regem hereditario iure regnaturum.⁴ Iam enim praedictus Heribertus morte crudeli obierat. Nam cum diutino excruciatu languore ad uitæ exitum propinquaret atque a suis tam de salutē animæ quam de suæ domus dispositione interrogaretur, omnino nihil aliud respondebat nisi hoc solum modo uerbum: 'Duodecim fuimus qui traditionem Caroli iurando consensimus,' hocque plurimum repetens expirauit.⁵

¹ Rudolf I, duke of Burgundy after 921, and king of France (923–36), was the brother-in-law of Hugh the Great as recorded here. He is generally believed to have been a 'compromise candidate' whose election avoided civil war between Hugh and Herbert of Vermandois: Flodoard, p. 14; R. McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 310–15. Richard the Justiciar, who died in 921, was the real founder of the duchy of Burgundy: J. Dhondt, *Étude sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France, IX^e–X^e siècles* (Bruges, 1948), pp. 159–63. On Rudolf I see P. Lauer, *Robert I^{er} et Raoul de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1910).

² As is Glaber's knowledge of this period. Robert I, father of Hugh the Great, was killed at the battle of Soissons, 15 June 923, where his forces were victorious over the army of Charles the Simple: Flodoard, p. 13. His brother Odo had been king of France 888–98; under Charles the Simple Robert had been *dux Francorum*. Robert and Odo were the sons of Robert the Strong, who was killed by the Vikings in 866. The bulk of

ii. *King Rudolf*

6. In those days there lived a certain Rudolf; agile of body and quick of mind, he was the son of that Richard who had been duke of Burgundy.¹ He had married a beautiful and intelligent woman called Emma, the sister of Hugh the Great, who, through his military might, was the effective ruler of the kingdom of the Franks. Hugh saw that the kingdom lacked a king, and, knowing that the choice of a monarch hung upon his decision, sent to his sister to ask her advice on whom he should choose to fill the throne, himself, her brother, or Rudolf her husband. On being consulted, she replied sagely that she would sooner kiss her husband's knee as king than her brother's. Hearing of this Hugh assented graciously and permitted the throne of the kingdom to pass to Rudolf. Rudolf died without issue, the only one of his line to ascend to the throne. Hugh was the son of Robert, count of Paris, who was for a short time king but was killed by the army of the Saxons. We have put off speaking of his ancestry, for if one goes any distance back it becomes very obscure.²

iii. *King Lothar*³

7. In the mean time the magnates of the whole realm elected Louis, son of King Charles, anointing him to rule over them by hereditary right.⁴ By this time Herbert had died a cruel death. When, after a long and painful illness, he was approaching his end, his family began to press him concerning the disposition of his house and the salvation of his soul, but he would say nothing to them except these few words: 'There were twelve of us who swore to betray Charles.' After repeating this several times he died.⁵

Robert's lands and honours perhaps passed to Hugh the Lay Abbot, but when he died in 886 Odo appears to have inherited all the power of his father. On the early history of the Robertian house see K. F. Werner, 'Untersuchungen zur Frühzeit des französischen Fürstentums (9.–10. Jht.)', *Welt als Geschichte*, xix (1959), 146–93. Glaber repeats his mistaken belief that it was the Saxons who killed Robert below, 3. ix. 39.

³ Lothar (954–86) on whom see F. Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens. Lothaire, Louis V, Charles de Lorraine 954–991* (Paris, 1891).

⁴ Louis IV d'Outremer (936–54), so called because of his sojourn at the court of Athelstan on which see above, i. 5 n. On his reign see P. Lauer, *Le Règne de Louis II d'Outremer* (Paris, 1900).

⁵ Flodoard, p. 205, records the death of Herbert of Vermandois in 843, but this story of his death-bed confession is unique. On its importance see above, pp. xlvii–xlviii.

Preterea Ludowicus ex Gerberga, uxore quondam Gisleberti ducis, genuit filium nomine Lotharium,¹ qui confirmatus in regno, ut erat agilis corpore et ualidus sensuque integer, temptauit redintegrare regnum ut olim fuerat. Nam partem ipsius regni superiorem, quae etiam Lotharii regnum cognominatur, Otto rex Saxonum, immo imperator Romanorum, ad suum, id est Saxonum, inclinauerat regnum.² Ipsum denique Ottonem, scilicet secundum, filium primi ac maximi uidelicet Ottonis, conatus est quondam capere positum in palatio Aquisgranis.³ Sed quoniam eidem Ottoni clam prenuntiatum a quibusdam est, noctuque cum uxore uix fuge presidium petens obtinuit.⁴ Tunc denique Otto congregato exercitu sexaginta milia et eo amplius militum, Franciam ingressus uenit usque Parisius, ibique triduo commoratus cepit redire in Saxoniā. Rursus quoque Lotharius, ex omni f. 4 Frantia atque Burgundia militari manu in unum coacta, persecutus est Ottonis exercitum usque in fluuium Mosam, multosque ex ipsis fugientibus in eodem flumine contigit interire.⁵ Dehinc uero uterque cessauit, Lothario minus explente quod cupiit. Hic denique genuit filium nomine Ludowicum, quem iam adultum iuuenem ut post se regnaret regem constituit, cui etiam adduxit ab Aquitaniis partibus uxorem.⁶ Quae cernens uidelicet iuuenem patre minus fore industrium, ut erat ingenio callida, elegit agere diuortium, monuitque illum ficto ut simul de qua aduenerat redirent prouintiam, scilicet iure hereditario sibi subdituram.^a Ille quoque, non intelligens mulieris astutiam, ut monitus fuerat ire parauit. Ad quam dum uenissent, relinquens eum mulier suis adhesit. Cumque patri nuntiatum fuisset, prosequens filium ad se reduxit. Qui simul deinceps degentes post aliquot annos absque

^a For subdendam, cf. sublaturas 3. i. 2, crematuri 3. viii. 26

¹ Louis IV married Gerberga, sister of Otto I of Germany and widow of Gilbert duke of Lorraine, in 939, a step perhaps intended to counter the influence of Hugh the Great at the German court, for Hugh married another sister of Otto, Hadwig, in 936, as Glaber tells us below, iv. 8: McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 318.

² Lorraine was the northern part of the 'Middle Kingdom' given to the Emperor Lothar I (817–55) by the Treaty of Verdun in 843. It passed from him to his son Lothar II (855–68). It was actually Henry I of Germany, 'the Fowler' (918–36), who seized Lorraine and annexed it after the deposition of Charles the Simple, in 925 (McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 313), and not his grandson Otto II (973–83), as Glaber says here.

³ The phrase 'ipsum denique Ottonem' implies that this is the same Otto who had absorbed Lorraine.

⁴ Lampert, *Annales Hersfeldenses*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (*MGH SRG* [xxxviii], 1894), p. 44, reports the attempt to capture Otto II at Aachen in 978 and its consequences: 'Eodem anno Liutheri rex cum electo numero militum repente inuasit Aquisgrani

Louis had a son called Lothar, by Gerberga, formerly wife of duke Gislebert.¹ When Lothar had been confirmed as king, because he was active and strong in body and of sound intelligence, he sought to restore the realm to its former state. For the upper part of the realm, also called the kingdom of Lothar, had been incorporated into his kingdom by Otto, king of the Saxons and emperor.² Lothar once sought to capture Otto himself, who was the second of that name and son of the first and great Otto, while he was in his palace at Aachen.³ Otto was secretly forewarned by certain people, and he and his wife were lucky to escape by fleeing at night.⁴ Then Otto gathered an army of sixty thousand men and more and invaded France, reaching Paris, where he stayed for three days before he began to retire to Saxony. Lothar gathered together all the forces of France and Burgundy and pursued Otto's army right up to the river Meuse,⁵ where many of those fleeing before him were accidentally drowned. Then the two kings ended the war, but Lothar had not gained what he wanted. Lothar had a son called Louis, whom he crowned when he grew to be a young man in order to secure the succession, and he married him to a woman from Aquitaine.⁶ When she realized that the son had not inherited the energy of the father, being a clever woman she sought to bring about a separation. Spinning her husband a tale, she told him that if they returned together to the province from which she had come, he [*or possibly she*] would obtain it by hereditary right. Louis, not understanding the guile of the woman, prepared to set out as he was bid. Once they had arrived there she left him and attached herself to her own family. When Louis's father heard about this he escorted his son home. They lived together for some years, and each died

palacium seditque ibi tribus diebus. At Otto imperator festinante cum exercitu insecutus est Liutharium usque in Sigonem fluuium et usque ad sancti Dionisii coenobium, eumque non adprehendit, quia fugiendo euasit.' The same story can also be found in Richer, ii. 85–97, the source of most authority.

⁵ Richer, ii. 97, says that Lothar's army pursued the Germans and made a successful attack on their rearward as they crossed the Aisne, causing heavy losses.

⁶ Louis V was crowned on 8 June 979. His marriage shortly after to Adelaide, also called Blanche, daughter of Fulk II of Anjou and widow of Stephen, count of the Gévaudan, was intended by Lothar to bring an important southern fief under Carolingian control. Richer, ii. 116–21, believed that the purpose of the marriage was to establish the young prince as king of Aquitaine. He says that Louis found himself powerless over the magnates, and at odds with his wife, who was older than he, for there was little affection between them: 'Amor quoque coniugalis eis pene nullus fuit'. As a result Louis had to be rescued by his father from this predicament. For the subsequent life of Adelaide-Blanche see below, 3. ii. 7n.

ulla liberorum ope uterque obiit. In his igitur duobus regale seu imperiale illorum genus regnandi finem accepit.¹

iv. *Qui postmodum Romę imperatores extiterint*²

8. Prescriptorum igitur regum genere exinanito, sumpserunt imperium Romanorum reges Saxonum. Quorum scilicet primus Otto, Henrici Saxonum regis filius, cuius etiam sororem nomine Haduudem duxit uxorem Hugo dux Francorum cognomento Magnus.³ Is denique Otto in gloria et uigore imperii non dispar illorum qui ante se imperium rexerant, necnon et in ecclesiarum atque elemosinę expensis ualde liberalis extitit. Huius quoque imperii tempore egressi audacter Sarraceni ab Affricanis partibus occupare tutiora Alpium montium loca, ibique aliquandiu morantes, uastando regionem in gyro diuerso raptu tempus expleuerunt.

9. Contigit ergo eodem tempore ut beatus pater Maiolus, ab Italia rediens, in artissimis Alpium eosdem Sarracenos obuiaret.⁴ Qui arripientes abduxerunt illum cum suis omnibus ad remotiora montis, ipso tamen patre grauiter in manu uulnerato, dum in ea excepisset ultro ictum iaculi super unum de suis uenientis. Dispertitis quoque inter se omnibus quę illius fuerant, interrogauerunt eum si tantę ei essent in patria facultates rerum, quibus uidelicet se suosque ualeret redimere de manibus illorum. Tunc uir Dei, ut erat totius affabilitatis dignitate precipuus, respondit se in hoc mundo nil proprium possidere, nec peculiaris rei se fieri possessorem uelle, sua tamen ditioe non negans plures teneri qui amplorum fundorum et pecuniarum domini haberentur. Quibus auditis ipsimet hortabantur illum ut unum e suis mitteret, qui suę suorūque redemptionis pretium illis deferret. | Insuper pecunię pondus atque numerum ei determinantes indixerunt. Fuit enim mille librarum argenti, ut uidelicet singulis libra una in partem proueniret. Misit quoque uir sanctus per unum de suis ad monasterium scilicet cui preerat Cluniacense perparuam epistulam ita se habentem: 'Dominis et fratribus Cluniensibus, frater Maiolus

¹ In 987 when Hugh Capet became king of the Franks, as Glaber tells us below, 2. i. 1.

² A. Michel, 'Die Weltreichs- und Kirchenteilung bei Rudolf Glaber', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, lxx (1951), 53 n. 2, quotes with approval the comment of H. Kuypers, *Studien über Rudolf den Kahlen (Rodulfus Glaber)* (Goch, 1891), p. 41, that Glaber is so unreliable on German affairs that he can be trusted only when corroborated by a German source. On this see above, p. lv.

without having had any children. With these two this family of emperors and kings ceased to rule.¹

iv. *Concerning the later Roman emperors*²

8. When this royal line had died out, the empire of the Romans was assumed by the Saxon kings. The first of these was Otto, son of Henry king of the Saxons; his sister Hadwig was married to Hugh, called 'the Great', duke of the Franks.³ Otto was no less glorious and mighty in his government than his predecessors, and he was wonderfully generous to the churches and in almsgiving. During his reign the Saracens boldly sallied out from Africa and seized many strong places in the Alps; and there they stayed for a while, passing the time by wasting the region round about with raids of various kinds.

9. It was during this time that the holy father Mayol, returning from Italy, encountered these Saracens in the narrow passes of the Alps.⁴ They seized him and all his people and bore them off to a mountain fastness, wounding the holy father badly in the hand when he purposely took on it a blow from a spear aimed at one of his companions. When the Saracens had shared out all his belongings amongst themselves, they asked if Mayol had sufficient resources in his own country to ransom himself and his people from their hands. Then the man of God, ever dignified and courteous, replied that in this world he possessed nothing of his own, and had no desire to do so, but he did not deny that he held jurisdiction over many men who had great estates and wealth. Then the Saracens urged him to send one of his people to bring back ransom money for himself and his companions. They stipulated the weight and quantity of money for his ransom. It was fixed at one thousand pounds of silver, enough, that is, for each one of them to receive a pound as his share. The holy man sent one of his companions to his monastery of Cluny with a brief letter, which read: 'Brother Mayol, a captive and in misery, sends greetings to his lords and

³ Hadwig, daughter of Henry I and sister of Otto I, married Hugh the Great in 936 after the death of his first wife, Eadhild daughter of Athelstan, whom he had married in 926: McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 317.

⁴ In 971 or 972 Mayol, abbot of Cluny (948-94), was captured by the Saracens of La Garde-Freinet. For the accounts of this see above, pp. xxxviii, xlvi-xxlix.

miser et captus. Torrentes Belial circumdederunt me, praeoccupauerunt me laquei mortis.¹ Nunc uero si placet pro me et his qui mecum capti tenentur redemptionem mittite.' Quae ut delata est uidelicet predicti monasterii fratribus, extitit illis pro uita incomparabilis meror ac luctus, necnon et totius^a patrię pertristis nuntius. Distractis quoque ab eisdem fratribus quęque in omni eiusdem monasterii ornamentorum erant supellectili, prestitutum pii patris quamtotius coadunauere pretium. Sed uir sanctus, dum interim a Sarracenis captus teneretur, cuius meriti esset latere non potuit. Nam cum ei hora prandii obtulissent cibos quibus uescabantur, carnes uidelicet panemque admodum asperum, et dicerent: 'Comede', respondit: 'Ego enim si esuriero, Domini est me pascere. Ex his tamen non comedam, quia non mihi olim in usu fuerunt.' Cernens uero unus illorum uiri Dei reuerentiam, pietate ductus, exuens brachia simulque abluens et clipeum, super quem etiam in conspectu uenerabilis Maioli satis mundissime panem confecit. Quem etiam citissime decoquens, ei reuerentissime detulit. Ipse quoque suscipiens illum atque ex more oratione premissa ex eodem <se>^b reficiens Deo gratias egit. Alius quoque Sarracenorum eorundem, cultro deplanans ligni astulam, posuit incunctanter pedem super uiri Dei codicem, bibliotecam uidelicet quam ex more secum semper ferre consueuerat. Dumque uir sanctus intuens ingemisset aliqui minus feroces ex ipsis perspicientes suum increpauerunt comparem, dicentes non debere magnos prophetas sic pro nichilo duci ut illorum dicta pedi substerneret. Siquidem Sarraceni Hebreorum, quin potius Christianorum, prophetas legunt, dicentes etiam completum iam esse in quodam suorum, quem illi Mahomed nuncupant, quicquid de uniuersorum Domino Christo sacri uates predixerunt.² Sed ad errorem illorum comprobandum etiam ipsorum genealogiam penes se habent, ad similitudinem uidelicet Euangelii Mathei qui scilicet ab Abraham

f. 5 narrat genealogiae catalogum usque ad Ihesum per Isaac successionem descendens, in cuius uidelicet semine uniuersorum promissa atque predicta est benedictio. Illorum inquit 'Hismahel genuit Nabaiot', ac deinceps usque in erroneum illorum

^a Perhaps toti (*Winterbottom*)

^b Supplied by *Winterbottom*

¹ This is an echo of 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 22: 5-6: 'Torrentes Belial terruerunt me. Funes inferni circumdederunt me: praeuenerunt me laquei mortis', conflated with Ps. 17: 6 (18: 5): 'Dolores inferni circumdederunt me, praeoccupauerunt me laquei mortis.'

brethren, the monks of Cluny. The hordes of Belial have encircled me, the snares of death have seized me.¹ Please send a ransom for me and those held captive with me.' When this was brought to the brethren of the monastery it provoked amongst them unequalled worry and anxiety for his life, and it was indeed distressing news for the whole country. The monks ransacked all the ornaments that furnished the monastery, and soon raised the sum fixed for the good father. But the holy man, while held a captive by the Saracens, could not conceal his true worth. For when it was time to eat they offered him the sort of food they were accustomed to, meat and hard bread, and said to him: 'Eat'; but he replied: 'If I should be hungry, then it is the Lord who will provide. I will not eat this, for it is not what I am used to.' One of the Saracens, recognizing the sanctity of this man of God, was moved by compassion, and he rolled up his sleeves and washed his shield, upon which he very hygienically cooked bread before the eyes of the venerable Mayol. After he had baked it quickly, he offered it to him with great respect. Mayol took it, said the customary prayer and ate it, giving thanks to God. Another of the Saracens was smoothing down a piece of wood with a knife, when in his haste he placed his foot upon the man of God's book; it was the Bible which he always carried with him. When he saw this the saintly man groaned aloud, and certain of the less ferocious Saracens who had seen the incident reprimanded their companion, saying that great prophets should not be so scorned that he should tread their words under his feet. For the Saracens read the Hebrew prophets (or rather, those of the Christians), claiming that what they foretold concerning Jesus Christ, Lord of all, is now fulfilled in the person of Muhammad, one of their people.² To support them in their error, they have in their possession a genealogy of their own, similar to that found in the Gospel of St Matthew, who recounts the descent of Jesus from Abraham through Isaac, in whose seed was the promise and prediction of universal blessing. But theirs says that 'Ishmael begat Nebajoth', and continues with an erroneous fiction,

² Southern comments that this is the only reference to the name of the Prophet in any north European source before 1100. He continues: 'This passage is interesting, not only for its mention of Mahomet, but as the first account of the Muslim religion in Northern Europe, and the first evidence of the contact between Cluny and Islam, which bore fruit in the translation of the Koran under Peter the Venerable' (R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 28).

descendens figmentum, quod scilicet tantum est a ueritate alienum quantum a sacra et catholica auctoritate extraneum.¹ Preterea ut beati Maioli sanctitas claresceret, is qui eius uolumen pede calcauerat eodem die pro quauis occasione, reuera iudicio Dei, ceteri furiose irruentes in eum eundem ei truncauerunt pedem. Plures uero iam ex ipsis erga eum ceperunt mitiores ac reuerentiores existere. Tandem uero quidam de fratribus illuc expeditius remeantes, data eisdem Sarracenis presignata pecunia, patrem cum uiris^a qui cum eo capti fuerant in patriam reduxerunt. Ipsi denique Saraceni paulo post in loco qui Fraxinetus dicitur circumacti ab exercitu Wilelmi Arelatensis ducis, omnesque in breui perierunt, ut ne unus quidem rediret in patriam.²

10. Ipso igitur in tempore mortuus est predictus Otto imperator, suscepitque filius eius, secundus uidelicet Otto, eundem imperium, quod satis strenue dum adiuueret rexit.³ Eodem ergo imperante, uenerabilis pontifex Adalbertus, ex prouintia quę lingua Sclauorum uocatur Bethem, in ciuitate Braga regens ecclesiam sancti martiris Vitisclodi, egressus ad gentem Bruscorum ut eis uerbum salutis predicaret.⁴ Dumque apud eosdem plurimam egisset predicationem, multique ex eis conuerterentur ad fidem Christi, predixit suis quoniam in eadem regione martirii coronam esset accepturus, ac ne pauerent eis pariter indicauit quia preter eum ibidem nemo ex eis erat perimendus. Contigit enim ut die quadam, precipiente eodem episcopo, quedam profana arbor sita iuxta fluuium, cui etiam superstitiose immolabat uniuersum uulgus, uidelicet excisa conuelleretur. Constructoque ac sacratio in eodem loco altare, missarum sollempnia per se episcopus explere parauit. Qui dum in ipsis sacramentis peragendis esset constitutus, ictibus iaculorum ab impiis perfossus, tandemque sacrum sollempne peractum, simulque presentis uitę imposuit terminum. Denique discipuli eius,

^a *A adds tantum, deleted by France*

¹ The genealogy of Christ as recorded in Matt. 1 is paralleled by an Arabic tradition based on Gen. 25: 13: 'the firstborn of Ishmael, Nebajoth'. Islamic tradition, dating from the Medinan age, regarded Ishmael, Abraham's son by his second wife Hagar, as the senior of the sons of Abraham and the ancestor of the Arabs: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. Ibrahīm, iii. 980–1. As Southern reports (pp. 16–17), Bede popularized the tradition that Ishmael was the literal ancestor of the Arabs, though he was the allegorical ancestor of the Jews. Glaber's interest in Islam may have been stimulated by the arrival of Spanish monks at Cluny under Paternus during his stay there. See below, 3. iii. 12n., and above, pp. liii–lii.

which, in deviating from the holy catholic account, strays equally from the truth.¹ And so that the sanctity of the blessed Mayol should be the more brilliant, on some pretext, but in truth moved by the judgement of God, the other Saracens that day furiously attacked the man who had trodden on the Bible and cut off that very foot. Many of them began to behave more graciously and reverently towards Mayol. At last some of the brethren returned in haste, gave the Saracens the agreed ransom, and took home the holy father and all those who had been held captive with him. As for the Saracens, they were eventually surrounded a little later by the army of William, count of Arles, in the place called La Garde-Freinet, and in a short space all perished, so that not one returned to his country.²

10. At this time the Emperor Otto died, and his son Otto II succeeded to the empire; while he lived he ruled well.³ During his reign the venerable pontiff Adalbert left the province which the Slavs call Bohemia, where he ruled the church of St Vitus in the city of Prague, in order to preach the word of God to the Prussians.⁴ After he had preached many sermons to them and made many converts to the faith of Christ, he revealed to his companions that he was to receive the crown of martyrdom in that country; to save them from fear he gave assurances that none but he was to die. One day, at the order of this bishop, a certain evil tree situated by a river was cut down, for the common people had been accustomed in their superstition to sacrifice to it. The bishop built and consecrated an altar in that same place and he himself prepared to solemnize the mass. When he was engrossed in the sacrament he was pierced by javelins thrown by pagans; at the very moment that mass ended, his life ended too. Then his disciples, taking up the

² The capture of St Mayol stimulated the local powers into action against the Saracens of La Garde-Freinet (near Saint-Tropez), which they had used as a base for a century. Isarn, bishop of Grenoble, began the building of castles against them, and in 972 an army led by William, count of Arles, and Arduin, marquess of Turin, destroyed them: A. R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society 718–1050* (Austin, Tex., 1965), pp. 222–3.

³ We have already heard something of Otto II above, 1. iii. 8.

⁴ St Adalbert (Vojtěch), bishop of Prague 982–97, was actually martyred in 997 under Otto III. His life was written by a disciple, Iohannes Canaparius, *Vita Sancti Adalberti Episcopi*, MGH SS iv. 581–95, and includes a detailed description of his death, 593–95, which was certainly not Glaber's source for this account. 'Bohemia' was in fact the Latin form of the German name for the Czech homeland.

accepto corpore sui domini, illud secum ferentes in propriam sunt reuersi patriam. Cuius etiam meritis usque in presens largiuntur hominibus plurima beneficia.

f. 5^v 11. Sequenti quoque post multa nobiliter gesta remque publicam | decenter dispositam tempore, obiit Otto relinquens filium, Ottonem uidelicet tertium, adolescentem tamen fere duodecim annorum.¹ Qui, ut erat iuuenculus, acer tamen uiribus et ingenio, suscepit iure paterno regimen imperii.

12.² Contigit igitur imperii illius initio ut sedes apostolica urbis Rome proprio uiduaretur pontifice. Ipse uero ilico, imperiali usus precepto, quendam sui consanguineum, cuiusdam ducis filium, illo delegit, atque ex more in sede apostolica sublimari mandauit.³ Quod utique dum sine mora peractum fuisset, pergrandis calamitatis occasio extitit. Erat enim quidam Crescentius,^a Romanorum ciuis prepotens, qui, ut illorum mos est, quantum onerosior pecunie tantum prouidens seruiens auaritie.⁴ Hic autem non plane, ut rei probauit euentus, parti fauebat Ottonis. Nam ipsum pontificem, quem, ut diximus, ordinari Otto iusserat, isdem Crescentius^b omni destitutum honore a sede expulit, alterumque procaciter in eius loco subrogauit.⁵ Sed mox ut Otto hoc factum comperit, ira accensus cum permaximo exercitu Romam properauit.⁶ Quod cum cognouisset Crescentius,^c illum scilicet urbem propinquare, conscendens cum suis turrim que sita est extra ciuitatem trans Tiberim, ob altitudinem sui Inter Celos uocatam, uallauit eam defensurus pro uita.⁷ Tandem cum peruenisset imperator ad urbem, primitus iussit comprehendere illum male securum pontificem, uidelicet Crescentii^d arrogantia constitutum. Comprehensumque precepit eius manus quasi sacrilegas amputari, deinde uero aures abscidi atque oculos expelli.⁸

^a A gives cres over an erasure, scentius above the line (for this correction and those following, see above, pp. lxxxix–xc) ^b Over a shorter erasure in A ^c A gives cresce over an erasure, ntius above the line ^d Over an erasure in A

¹ Otto II died on 7 Dec. 983, leaving a son, Otto III, who was only three years old: Jordan, p. 33. On Otto III see E. R. Labande, 'Mirabilia Mundi: Essai sur la personnalité d'Otton III', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, vi (1963), 297–313, 455–76.

² Paragraphs 12 and 15 were used by Hugh of Flavigny s.a. 998–9, who summarized: 'In initio itaque regni Ottonis papa obiit, in cuius locum alium ordinari precepit, quem Iohannes Crescentius de nobilibus Romanorum deiecit, et alium substituit. Sed Otto reuersus, illum deiectum abscisis manibus eius et auribus et oculis erutis, et occiso Crescentio, Gerbertum papam ordinari precepit' (*Chronicon*, p. 367). Through Hugh's use the passage on Gerbert's election passed into the *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi*, p. 103.

body of their lord, bore it back to his own country. By his merits many men have received great benefits, even to this day.

11. Later Otto died, having performed many noble deeds and conducted public affairs well. He left a son, Otto III, who was barely twelve years old.¹ Although he was young he was brave and clever, and he received the rule of the empire by hereditary right.

12.² At the very beginning of his reign it so happened that the Apostolic See of the city of Rome fell vacant. He, exercising the imperial authority, at once despatched there one of his own kin, the son of a duke, and ordered that he be elevated to the Apostolic See according to custom.³ What he ordered was immediately done, but it caused a great calamity. There was a certain Crescentius, a power amongst the citizens of Rome, whose enormous wealth, as is usual there, served only to increase his avarice.⁴ As things turned out he did not favour the party of Otto. Crescentius stripped the pope appointed by Otto of all his honours, expelled him from the Apostolic See, and impudently appointed another in his place.⁵ As soon as Otto learned this, blazing with anger he hastened to Rome with an enormous army.⁶ Crescentius, when he knew that the emperor was approaching Rome, climbed with his men into a tower which stands outside the city walls, across the Tiber (because of its height it is called 'The Heavenly'), and fortified it and prepared to defend it for dear life.⁷ When the emperor finally came to the city he first ordered the arrest of the culpably heedless pope who had been raised to the see by the arrogance of Crescentius. He decreed that his hands be cut off as guilty of sacrilege, his ears sliced away, and his eyes torn out.⁸

³ On the death of John XV in March 996, Otto III, who was then only sixteen, appointed his cousin, Bruno of Carinthia, as Gregory V although he was only twenty-four. On him see T. E. Moehs, *Gregorius V., 996–999* (Stuttgart, 1972).

⁴ John, Patrician of the Romans, was ruling in Rome in 986, and after 989 was succeeded by his brother, Crescentius, Senator of all the Romans, the person referred to here. O. Gerstenberg, 'Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Adels im Ausgange des 10. Jahrhunderts', *Historisches Vierteljahrsschrift*, xxxi (1937), 1–26.

⁵ In 996–7 Crescentius deposed Gregory V and appointed Otto III's former tutor, the Greek John Philagathos, as John XVI (997–8). Byzantine influence had a hand in this conspiracy: [K. and] M. Uhlirz, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Otto II. und Otto III.*, ii (Berlin, 1954), pp. 511–17.

⁶ In 998.

⁷ The Castel Sant'Angelo.

⁸ Surprisingly, John Philagathos lived until 1013 (*Annales Necrologici Fuldenses*, MGH SS xiii. 210).

Post hæc denique comperiens Crescentium,^a ut diximus, turre uallatum quæ scilicet paulo post illum crudeli erat redditura neci, precepit eandem circumdari densa obsidione sui exercitus, ne uidelicet Crescentio^b quoquo modo locus daretur confugii. Interea, iubente imperatore, construuntur in giro machinæ ex lignis celsarum abietum nimium artificiose compositæ. Cernens quoque Crescentius^c nullam posse euadendi uiam reperire, licet tardius, penitudinis adinuenit consilium, non tamen ei prestitit miserendi aditum. Quadam igitur die, quibusdam de imperatoris exercitu consentientibus, egrediens latenter Crescentius^d de turre, scilicet birro indutus et operto capite, ueniensque inprouisus corruit ad imperatoris pedes, oransque se ab imperatoris pietate uitæ seruari. Quem cum respexisset imperator conuersus ad suos, ut erat amaro animo, dixit: 'Cur' inquires 'Romanorum principem, imperatorum decretorem datoremque legum atque ordinatorem pontificum, intrare f. 6 siuistis magallia Saxonum? Nunc quoque reducite eum ad thronum suæ sublimitatis, donec eius honori condignam uidelicet preparemus susceptionem.' Qui suscipientes illum, scilicet ut iussum fuerat, inlesum reduxerunt ad turris introitum. Ingressusque nuntiauit secum pariter reclusis quoniam solummodo tantum contingeret illis uiuere quandiu ipsa turris tueri ualeret ab hostium captione, nec ullam prorsus salutem ultra debere sperare. At imperatoris exercitus a foris urgendo impellens machinas, paulatimque euntes applicatæ sunt turri. Sicque pugnam inito certamine, dumque alii desuper contententes intrare, alii prorupere ad ostium turris illudque concidentes euellunt, sursumque certatim gradientes ad turris superiora peruenerunt. Respiciens quoque Crescentius,^d cernit se teneri ab his quos putabat pugnando longius arceri posse. Capto namque ipso ac grauiter uulnerato, ceterisque qui cum illo inuenti fuerant trucidatis, miserunt ad imperatorem quid de eo preciperet. Qui ait; 'Per superiora' inquit 'propugnacula illum deicite aperte, ne dicant Romani suum principem uos furatos fuisse.' Quem, ut iussum fuerat, proicientes deinde post terga bouum religatum per paludes uiarum plurimum deuoluentes, ad ultimum uero in conspectu ciuitatis in trabe excelsa pendere dimiserunt.¹

13. His denique ita gestis, accersiens imperator Gerbertum, uidelicet Rauennæ archiepiscopum, constituit illum principalem

^a Over an erasure in A ^b A has Iohanni, altered to crescentio
^d Over an erasure in A ^c cresc over

After this, learning that Crescentius was shut up in his strong tower (which he would soon leave for a cruel death), he commanded that his army besiege it very closely in case Crescentius should find some way of escape. Meanwhile, at the order of the emperor, his men all round the tower built machines skilfully made out of tall fir-trees. Crescentius realized that he could find no way of escaping, and therefore, though too late, he decided to beg forgiveness; but he did not move his enemy to mercy. One day, with the connivance of certain in the imperial army, Crescentius crept out of his tower dressed in a cloak, with his head covered, and quite unexpectedly came and threw himself at the feet of the emperor and begged for his life. The emperor remarked his presence, then turned to his own people and asked with his usual astringency: 'Why have you allowed this Prince of the Romans, who chooses emperors, proclaims laws, and makes popes, to come into the poor dwellings of the Saxons? Take him back to his throne of majesty, to wait till we can prepare a reception befitting his rank.' As ordered, they led him back to the gate of the tower quite unharmed. Once inside he announced to those shut up with him that they could only hope to live as long as they could defend the tower: beyond that there was no hope of safety. Meanwhile, outside, the imperial army brought up its machines, and inched them up against the tower. The battle began, and while some sought to enter the tower from above, others made a sortie at the door; they succeeded in breaking it and ripping it out, and, racing each other up the stairs, were able to climb high into the tower. Seeing what was happening, Crescentius realized that he was at the mercy of those whom he thought to hold off at a distance. He was captured and gravely wounded; those found with him were all killed, and the victors sent to the emperor to know what to do with him. The emperor replied: 'Cast him off the ramparts in the sight of the people, so that the Romans will not be able to say that you have stolen their prince.' So it was done, and afterwards they bound him and dragged him behind oxen in the mud of the streets, and at the last they left him to hang on a high gibbet in full view of the city.¹

13. When all this had been done, the emperor sent for Gerbert, archbishop of Ravenna, and made him supreme pontiff of the

¹ For the circumstances of Crescentius' death see Uhlirz (p. 25 n. 5), ii. 526-33 and see the discussion on Glaber's source above, p. xlvi.

Romanorum pontificem. Isque Gerbertus e Galliis oriundus extitit, minorum etiam gerens prosapiam uirorum, sed tamen ingenio acerrimus, artiumque liberalium studiis plenissime institutus. Proinde Remorum etiam primitus a rege Francorum Hugone fuerat constitutus pontifex. Sed quoniam, ut diximus, ualde erat acer ac prouidus, intelligens Arnulfum eiusdem urbis archiepiscopum, quo uiuente ordinatus fuerat, ex consensu eiusdem regis niti in pristinam reformari sedem, caute iter arripiens ad predictum deuenit Ottonem. Qui satis honorifice ab eodem susceptus, quem etiam statim Rauennę, inde uero ut diximus Romanę urbis sublimauit pontificem.¹

14.² Contigit igitur ipso in tempore ut isdem imperator, subgerente tam ipso pontifice quam aliis quibusque zelum profectus religionis domus Dei gerentibus, quosque in beati Pauli ecclesia nomine tenus monachos ceterum prae degentes inde expellere deberet, ac alterius instituti, quos uidelicet canonicos dicimus, in eodem loco seruituros, ut ei subgestum fuerat, substituturus esset.³ Cumque hoc appeteret implere decretum, apparuit ei noctu per uisum beatissimus | apostolus Paulus, atque eundem imperatorem huiusmodi monere curauit: 'Si uere' inquit 'zelus diuinę seruitutis optimi operis te adurit, uide ne huius propositi institutum presumas in monachis immutare expellendis. Non enim omnino expedit cuiusque ecclesiastici ordinis, quamuis ex parte deprauati, proprium umquam abici seu immutari propositum. In eo namque unusquisque iudicandus est ordine in quo se primitus Deo uouit seruire. Reemendari tamen licet corrupto cuique in eadem proprię uocationis sorte.' Taliter quippe monitus imperator retulit suis quę audierat ab apostolo, curamque agens qualiter eorundem

¹ Hugh Capet (987–96) succeeded to the throne of France when, as Glaber has already told us above, iii. 7, the Carolingian line died out. From his time onwards the Robertians are usually called Capetians. He appointed Gerbert of Aurillac as archbishop of Rheims and deposed the Carolingian Arnulf because the latter had supported the Carolingian pretender to the throne, Charles of Lorraine. On the importance of the controversy over the see of Rheims which ensued see above, pp. lx–lxi. As pope, Gerbert took the name Sylvester II (999–1003), which was presumably intended to recall the co-operation of Constantine the Great and Sylvester I. The basic source for our knowledge of Gerbert is the biography of him to be found in the *Histories* of Richer of Rheims, ii. 314–42. The best edition of his letters is by F. Weigle in *MGH Briefe der d. Kaiserzeit*, ii (1966); they were translated by H. P. Lattin, *The Letters of Gerbert* (Columbia Records, 1961), and provide a good introduction to the works of this remarkable man. A whole body of legend grew up about him, a version of which was retailed by Walter Map

Romans. This Gerbert came from a rather undistinguished family in Gaul, but he was acutely intelligent and deeply learned in the study of the liberal arts. Accordingly he had originally been made archbishop of Rheims by Hugh, king of the Franks, but because he was intelligent and acute, he saw that Arnulf, the (previous) archbishop of that city, who was still alive at Gerbert's ordination, was intent with the king's consent on being restored to his original see, and so he fled to Otto, who received him well and immediately raised him to the see of Ravenna, and later made him supreme pontiff of Rome.¹

14.² It therefore happened at this time that, upon the suggestion of the pope and also of certain others full of zeal to promote religion, the emperor was minded to expel from the church of St Paul those who, though monks in name, were nevertheless of an evil life.³ As was suggested to him, he was on the point of substituting for them, to serve in their place, men of another discipline whom we call canons. But when the emperor attempted to put this plan into effect, the most blessed apostle Paul appeared to him by night in a vision, earnestly admonishing him in these words: 'If', he said, 'you are indeed fired by zeal for the perfect discharge of God's service, you should not venture to expel the monks and so change the discipline of those called to His service there. For it is not altogether proper ever to reject or to change the vocation of any order in the church, even though it has in part decayed. For every man will stand judgement according to the order in which he originally dedicated himself to God's service. Yet every corrupt person can be corrected according to the true pattern of his own calling.' When he had been thus advised, the emperor related to his counsellors all that he had heard from the apostle. He took steps to set

in his *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James, C. N. L. Brooke, and R. A. B. Mynors (OMT, 1983), iv, 11, pp. 350–63, discussed on p. xxxix. The legends were explored by R. Allen, 'Pope Sylvester II', *EHR* vii (1892), 625–68. La Salle de Rochemaire's biography *Gerbert: Silvestre II, 'le faiseur des rois', le pontife* (Paris, 1914) is still useful; but the latest study is that of M. Oldoni, 'Gerberto e la sua storia', *Studi medievali*, xviii (1977), 629–704; xxi (1980), 493–622; xxiv (1983), 187–245.

² I owe thanks to H. E. J. Cowdrey for help in translating this passage, with its use of overlapping terms such as *propositum*, *institutum*, and *ordo*.

³ S. Paolo fuori le mura, reformed by St Odo of Cluny about 935: B. Hamilton, 'Monastic Revival in Tenth Century Rome', in id., *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades, 900–1300* (London, 1979), pp. 35–67.

institutum, scilicet monachorum, quiuisset ad melius informare, non expellere a loco uel immutare.

15. Interea minus idoneo usus consilio, predicti Crescentii^a in suam uxorem adsumens, quam etiam paulo post, ut inconsulte acceperat, diuortium agens dimisit.¹ Tandem quoque nitens remeare ad Saxoniam morte superueniente in Italia obiit.² Cernens quoque exercitus quem secum duxerat se suo domino destitutum, coegerunt se pariter in unum agmen, ne ab his quos in Italia presserant trucidarentur, imposito ante se in equo defuncti imperatoris corpore, sicque in patriam tuti peruenientes, in monasterio Beatę semper Virginis Marię Aquisgranis decenter sepelierunt.

16. Suscepit igitur, post Ottonem uidelicet tertium, regnum Saxonum illius consanguineus Heinricus, qui etiam nono regni sui anno imperator creatus est Romanorum.³ Sed interim libet ex parte commemorare quibus uicissim cladibus prescriptorum regum temporibus tam externis quam intestinis consequenter sit flagellatus orbis Romanus. Constat igitur ab anterioribus illud principale totius orbis imperium fuisse diuisum, scilicet ut quemadmodum uniuersę Latinitatis Roma gerere deberet principatum, ita Constantinopolis tam Grecorum speciale caput in transmarinis orientis partibus quam ceterorum. Sed dum semel in sese nouit dispertiri, postmodum paulatim pars utraque usitatus didicit minui, uidelicet donec contingeret^b illud admodum coartari preliis, ut foret breuius, et istud appeteret moderari extraneus. Et quoniam magis contingebat tyrannide imperari^c quam uel liberali pietate uel originali propagine, idcirco par erat talium contumaciam cum sibi subditis crebris infestationum | plagis atterere.

^a *A* has iohannis, corrected above the line to crescentii
tigeret *A*

^b contingeret *B*; con-
^c imperari *Winterbottom*; imperare *A*

¹ The story of the marriage of Otto III to the widow of Crescentius is unique to Glaber and may well be apocryphal. She was called Theodora and is mentioned in a document of 1006, which relates that she was dead by that time: *Il Regesto di Farfa di Gregorio di Gatino*, ed. U. Balzani and I. Giorgi (5 vols., Rome, 1879–1919), iii, 180, no. 471. Certainly in 1000 Otto III felt free to negotiate with the Byzantine court for a bride, who reached Italy shortly after his death, Arnulfus, *Gesta Archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium*, i, 13, *MGHSS* viii, p. 10; Landolf, *Historia Mediolanensis*, *MGHSS* viii, p. 56. Accounts by later writers that Otto III was poisoned by Crescentius' widow, whom he had seduced, are dismissed by Uhlirz (p. 25 n. 5), pp. 589–95.

² Otto III died at Paterno on 23 or 24 Jan. 1002 after a rebellion in Rome had driven him from the city, Tangmar, *Vita S. Bernwardi . . . Hildesheimensis*, c. 37, *MGHSS* iv, 775

the monks right in their own discipline, but he refrained from expelling them from their own place or from changing them into another order.

15. In the meantime the emperor, quite misguidedly, took as his wife the widow of Crescentius; shortly afterwards, he rid himself by divorce of this woman with whom he had so hastily taken up.¹ Finally, as he was making to return to Saxony he was struck down and died in Italy.² The troops whom he had led, finding themselves without a leader, gathered together in one large force lest they be slaughtered by those whom they had oppressed in Italy. Bearing the corpse of the dead emperor before them on a horse, they journeyed safely to their own land and buried him fittingly in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Aachen.

16. After the death of Otto III his kinsman Henry received the kingdom of the Saxons, and in the ninth year of his reign was crowned emperor of the Romans.³ But it is appropriate here to mention in some measure the disasters, both external and internal, which scourged the Roman world under the kings we have mentioned. It is certain that in former times the dominant empire of the whole world was divided, so that as Rome bore the primacy over all the Latin lands, so Constantinople was the separate capital of the Greeks and other peoples who live in the eastern lands beyond the sea. But once <the empire> knew division within itself, later little by little each part became the more accustomed to being diminished, that is until it befell that it was sorely pressed upon by wars, so that it became narrower and a foreigner sought to rule it. Because the power of the government rested upon tyranny rather than upon gentle mildness or hereditary right, it was proper that stubborn rulers and their subjects should suffer the blows of repeated invasions.

and n.; Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzmann (*MGHSS*, ns ix, Berlin, 1955), pp. 188–9 and n. 5.

³ On the death of Otto III without an heir, the succession went to Duke Henry of Bavaria (1002–24), who was crowned twelve years after his accession in 1014. Glaber's error is odd because in the Preface to Book 1 he is at pains to tell us that Henry came to the throne in 1002. This error was repeated by Hugh of Flavigny: 'Anno quoque id est ab Inc. Dom. 1011 regiminis eius a. 7 [since his coronation as king of Italy] Heinricus anno regni sui 9 a Benedicto papa promotus est', *Chronicon*, p. 391. This is part of a passage in which Hugh depended heavily on the work of Glaber. Glaber gives yet another date for the imperial coronation of Henry II below, v. 23.

v. *De paganorum plagis*¹

17. Denique circa nongentesimum Verbi incarnati annum, egressus ab Hispania rex Sarracenorum Algalif, ueniensque cum exercitu maximo in Italiam, scilicet traditurus humanas res cum suis in predam tum gladio atque incendio demoliendas.² Qui dum uenisset, depopulans totam regionem usque Beneuentum progressus est. Ex aliquibus tamen ciuitatibus Italiae primates collecto agmine nisi sunt aduersus predictum Algalif inire pugnam. Sed cum se cernerent exercitu nimium impares, ut sepius mos est istis modernis Italicis, fugę potius quam bellum petiere presidium. Interea reuersi cum suo principe ad Affricam Sarraceni, ab illo tempore non destiterunt impugnare regionem Italię, quamuis plurimis fuissent preliis lacessiti tam ab imperatoribus quam a patrię ducibus ac marchionibus, usque ad Almuzor illorum principem et predictum Henricum Romanorum imperatorem.³

18. Prescripto igitur tempore non minor clades in Galliarum populis Normannorum infestatione extitit hostium. Qui uidelicet Normanni nomen inde sumpserunt, quoniam raptus amore primitus egressi ex aquilonaribus partibus audacter occidentalem petiere plagam. Siquidem lingua illorum propria *Nort* aquilo dicitur, *Mint* quoque populus appellatur. Inde uero Normanni quasi aquilonaris populus denominatur. Hi denique in primo egressu diutius circa mare oceanum degentes, breuibus contenti stipendiis, quousque in gentem coaluere non modicam. Postmodum uero teluris ampla et pelagi hostili manu peruagantes aliquas urbes ac prouintias in propriam redigere sortem.

19. In processu quoque temporis ortus est uir quidam in pago Trecassino ex infimo rusticorum genere, Astingus nomine,⁴ in

¹ Prou, p. 17 n. 4, comments that this chapter 'renferme de nombreux anachronismes'.

² The name Algalif may just be for 'al-ḥalifa', 'the caliph', or it may be a version of Aghlabid, meaning the great dynasty of al-Qayrawān which conquered Sicily after an initial landing in 827. They continued to rule until the 10th c.: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. Aghlabids, i. 247–51. In the 9th and 10th cc., however, Italy was ravaged by numerous Arab forces and the information here is so vague that it might represent a tradition concerning any one of them; for an outline of events see *CMH* ii. 380. H. Chanteux, 'Les Origines clunisiennes du thème de la destruction de Rome', in *Cluny*, pp. 144–54, thinks this passage may reflect knowledge of the Saracen sack of Luna in 1016 which led Benedict VIII to appeal to the rulers of Europe, but this seems unlikely. The sack of Luna was attributed to the Hastingus whom Glaber is about to mention.

v. *The ravages of the pagans*¹

17. About the year 900 of the Incarnate Word, Algalif king of the Saracens left Spain and came with a great army into Italy intent on handing over men's property to be plundered by his men or put to the sword and burned.² Once arrived he ravaged the entire region right up to Benevento. The princes of Italy gathered together an army drawn from some cities, intending to attack Algalif, but when they recognized the inadequacy of their force, they sought safety in flight rather than battle, as is so often the way with these modern Italians. In the meantime the Saracens returned to Africa with their prince, and, from then until the time of al-Manṣūr their ruler and Henry emperor of the Romans, they never stopped attacking Italy, despite the many wars waged against them both by the emperors and by the dukes and marquesses of that land.³

18. At this time also the people of Gaul suffered equally terrible afflictions through the attacks of the Normans. These people were called Normans because originally, out of love of plunder, they had left the north to make a bold assault on the west. In their language *Nort* means 'the north' and *Mint* 'a people'; hence they are called Normans, the 'People of the North'. When first they sallied out, they stayed long in regions close to the ocean and were content with a modest living until they came together in a sizeable nation. After that they ranged widely over land and sea, savagely subduing cities and provinces to their domination.

19. As time went on a man called Hasting⁴ was born from amongst the lowest class of peasantry in the area of Troyes in the village of

³ Ibn Abi 'Āmir, first minister of the Caliphs of Cordoba, who took the name 'al-Manṣūr', meaning the 'Victorious', after his many victories over the Christians, which included the sacking of Santiago de Compostela. His death in 1002 opened the way for the expansion of the Christian kingdoms. The remark that al-Manṣūr was from Africa and 'Algalif' from Spain may reflect knowledge of the close connection between Muslim Spain and North Africa: Defourneaux, p. 45. On Glaber's use of the word 'Africa' see below, 2. vii. 13n.

⁴ Dudo of Saint-Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. J. Lair (Caen, 1865), devotes a book to the legendary 'Astinus' or 'Hastingus' who is portrayed as the last of the pagan leaders of the Normans. He also features in a story told about the capture of Luna in the *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père-de-Chartres*, ed. M. Guérard, 2 vols. (Paris, 1840). H. Prentout, *Étude critique sur Dudo de Saint-Quentin* (Paris, 1916) has a large section, pp. 47–110, on Hasting. There are two traditions on his origin: one is represented by Dudo and derivative sources, the other by Glaber. According to Dudo,

uico uidelicet qui Tranquillus dicitur, tribus a ciuitate distans milibus. Qui iuuenis ualens robore corporis, peruersae tamen indolis, superbiendo abitiens fortunam pauperum parentum, elegit exul fore dominandi uictus cupidine. Denique clam egrediens ad predictam Normannorum gentem, illis tantummodo primitus adhesit qui assiduo raptui seruietes uictum ceteris ministrabant: quos etiam illi communiter *flottam* uocant.¹ Illoque aliquandiu huic nequam mori inseruiente, cepit pessimis commilitonibus tanto existere diligentior quanto efficiebatur flagitiosior, paulatimque robustior ceteris uiribus ac rebus effectus, omnes pariter sui illum constituere f. 7^r | terra marique principem. Constitutus autem huiusmodi, ampliore crudelitate assumpta, paruipendens preteritorum seuitiam, coepit suum in longinquas gladium dilatare prouintias. Postmodum etiam cum uniuersa pene cui preerat gente conscendens ad superiores Galliarum partes, quamuis pestifer parens,² natiuum male querens reuisere solum. Qui cum uenisset gladio et igne ultra omnem hostium cladem uniuersa demoliens, nemine repugnante, diutius consumpsit. Tunc quoque domus ecclesiarum per Gallias uniuersae, preter quas municipia ciuitatum uel castrorum seruarunt, omnimodis dehonestatę atque igne succensae sunt. Vniuersis siquidem peragratis Galliis opimaque diuersarum rerum potitus spolia, ad propria reduxit exercitum. Sicque deinceps tam ab ipso Astingo quam ab eius successoribus, illius uidelicet gentis principibus, in spatio fere centum annorum huiusmodi clades illata est longe lateque populis Galliarum.

20. Haec quoque quae retulimus per interualla defunctorum regum seu imperatorum tam in Italia quam in Galliis priusquam restaurarentur sepius contigerunt.³ Sed cum interea predictę gentis

Hastings came from Scandinavia; he was the last pagan leader of the Normans. Glaber writes that Hastings came from Trancault near Troyes, thus implying that he was a Frank. In a recent study F. Amory, 'The Viking Hasting in Franco-Scandinavian Legend', in M. H. King and W. M. Stevens (eds.), *Saints, Scholars and Heroes: Studies in Medieval Culture in honor of C. W. Jones* (Minnesota, 1979), pp. 269–86, suggests that he was probably a Norwegian adventurer from Haddingr north of Oslo who was active in raids from about 866, which would fit with Glaber's statement below that he and his descendants ravaged Gaul for almost a hundred years. However, Amory points out that the body of legend which emerges in Dudo and the Cartulary of Chartres had distorted the reality; and through the warlike Hasdingi of Dacia of Jordanes' *Getica* (MGH Auct. Ant. v. 87), he was transformed into a descendant of the Trojans by the equation *Dani* = *Daci* = *Danai*. Amory suggests that it was the tradition of Hasting as a 'Trojan' which led Glaber to suppose he came originally from the area of Troyes and was, therefore, a Christian renegade. However, this does not explain Glaber's supposition that he came

Trancault, three miles from the city itself. This youth was strong in body but perverse in mind, and in his pride he rejected the station of his poor parents, choosing to be an outlaw swayed by lust for power. Secretly he joined the Normans, first attaching himself only to those amongst them who were devoted to rapine and supported the others; those they commonly call 'the Fleet'.¹ Once accustomed to this evil way of life, he showed himself more ruthless and more wicked than his unprincipled companions; gradually asserting superiority in strength and possessions, he was eventually chosen unanimously by them all to lead them by land and sea. Once raised up, he became even more cruel, and, counting the atrocities of the past as nothing, he began to carry destruction to distant provinces. Finally he and almost all his following descended on the upper parts of Gaul, as baneful a kinsman² as might be, ill bent on revisiting his native soil. Crueller than any foreign enemy, he brought universal destruction by fire and sword, and, meeting no resistance, he long continued his ravages. Then too the churches throughout all Gaul, except those which the garrisons of the cities and towns protected, were utterly defaced and put to the torch. He ravaged over all Gaul, finally leading his army home rich with diverse spoil. Afterwards, Hasting and his successors at the head of this nation ravaged the peoples of Gaul in this way far and wide for almost a hundred years.

20. The events which we have recounted here occurred repeatedly in the interval between the collapse of the emperors and kings of Italy and Gaul and their restoration.³ But when these people from Trancault in the area of Troyes, which is highly specific. It is perhaps the case that there was a large body of different legends about this wicked ancestor of the Normans. See also E. van Houts, 'Scandinavian Influence in Norman Literature of the Eleventh Century', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, vi (Woodbridge, 1984), 107–21, whom I must thank for the introduction to the legends in Dudo.

¹ The Vikings seem to have had a well-established custom of appointing a leader for each ship, or group of ships, a kind of 'King of the Sea', who would rule the fleet, but would not necessarily be the leader on land. Glaber seems to have heard some distortion of this. On Viking fleets and their organization see L. Musset, *Les Invasions: Le second assaut contre l'Europe chrétienne* (Paris, 1971), pp. 221–3, 231–2. The use of the word *flotta* is important. The Vikings were often referred to as 'the fleet' in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Norse texts.

² Or possibly 'appearing as banefully'.

³ It is very difficult to date this 'interval'. It evidently came to an end with Duke Richard the Justiciar's defeat of the invaders. The general sense is that, in the period between the fall of Charles the Fat in 888 and the general restoration of authority in the west in the 930s, the Normans were given a free rein.

exercitus more solito ad Gallias procedere decreuisset, occurrit illis iam longius a solo proprio remotis uenerabilis Burgundiae dux Richardus, pater scilicet regis Rodulfi, ut supra commemorauimus, initoque cum eis prelio tanta cede eosdem prostrauit ut perpauci ex eis fuga lapsi ad propria uix remearent.¹

21. Et licet post hæc plures insulas ac prouintias mari contiguas idem scilicet Normanni depopulauerint, in partes tamen Francorum regum sorte regendas non deinceps nisi ab eisdem regibus euocati conscenderunt.² Quin etiam paulo post uicissim scilicet Franci necnon et Burgundionum plerique cum predictis Normannis, catholicae fidei iam effectis cultoribus, pacifice iunxere conubia, atque unius regis regnum pari consensu decreuerunt dici et esse.³ Indeque orti duces excellentissimi, Willelmus uidelicet atque post ipsum quique denominati paterno seu auito iure Richardi.⁴ Illorum quippe ducaminis principatus^a fuit metropolis ciuitas Rotomagorum. Cum igitur predicti duces ultra ceteros uiguerint militiæ armis, tum perinde pre ceteris gratia communis pacis ac uirtute liberalitatis. Nam omnis prouintia quae illorum ditioni subici contingebat ac si unius consanguinitatis domus uel familia inuiolatae fidei concors degebat. Nempe furi ac predoni apud illos comparabatur quicumque hominum in aliquo negotio plus iusto uel falsum quippiam uenundandum mentiens | subtrahebat alteri. Egenorum quoque et pauperum omniumque peregrinorum tamquam patres filiorum curam gerebant assiduam. Dona etiam amplissima sacris ecclesiis pene in toto orbe mittebant, ita ut etiam ab oriente, scilicet de nominatissimo monte Sina, per singulos annos monachi Rotomagum uenientes, qui a predictis principibus plurima redeuntes auri et argenti suis deferrent exenia. Hierosolimam uero ad sepulchrum Saluatoris centum auri libras secundus misit Richardus, ac quosque cupientes illuc deuote peragraré donis iuuabat inmensis.

^a principatus *Duchesne*; principatum *A*

¹ This passage clearly refers to the victory of Richard, duke of Burgundy, and the Franks over Rollo and the Normans in the battle of Chartres, July 911—which was remembered by later historians as the last battle between Vikings and Franks before the French king offered Rollo Normandy on condition that he became a Christian (J. Lair, *Le Siège de Chartres par les Normands* (Caen, 1902); W. Vogel, *Die Normannen und das fränkische Reich bis zur Gründung der Normandie* (Heidelberg, 1906), pp. 396–9; H. Prentout, *Étude critique sur Dudo de Saint-Quentin* (Paris, 1916), pp. 191–6. We owe these references to Dr E. Van Houts).

determined to make another of their accustomed descents upon Gaul, the venerable Richard, duke of Burgundy, father of King Rudolf, as we have already mentioned, confronted them in a place remote from their bases, and defeated them in battle with such great slaughter that very few of them contrived to escape and make their way back to their own lands.¹

21. Although after this the Normans ravaged many islands and provinces close to the sea, they never again descended on those parts ruled by the kings of the Franks, except at royal request.² Soon afterwards, however, when the Normans had been converted to the catholic faith, the French and many of the Burgundians made marriages with them in peace, and declared with one accord the existence in word and fact of a kingdom under a single king.³ From this alliance arose an outstanding line of dukes, first William, then those who took the name Richard after a father or grandfather.⁴ Rouen was the capital city of this ducal principality. These dukes surpassed all men in military might, in desire for peace and in liberality. The whole of the province subject to their might lived as one clan or family united in unbroken faith. Amongst these people anyone who, in any transaction, took more than was just from another, or by lying gave false merchandise, was regarded as equivalent to a thief and a robber. The needy, the poor, and all pilgrims were treated with that constant care with which fathers treat sons. They made generous gifts to the churches of almost the whole world. Thus each year monks came to Rouen even from the famous Mount Sinai in the east and took back with them many presents of gold and silver for their communities. Richard II sent one hundred pounds of gold to the Sepulchre of Our Saviour at Jerusalem, and he aided with rich presents all who wished to go there on holy pilgrimage.

² This probably refers to the attack made by Robert of France on Burgundy in 1002 in alliance with the Normans, on which see below, 2. viii. 15. In fact, the Normans continued to ravage France well into the mid-10th c. and beyond.

³ There may be here an oblique reference to the treaty of Saint-Claire-sur-Epte of 911, under which Charles the Simple (on whom see above, 1. i. 4, iii. 7) conceded to the Norman leader Rollo the nucleus of the later duchy of Normandy: Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 8–10. The reference to marriages between Normans and Burgundians is interesting because Glaber later tells us, 3. ii. 6, that Raynald, count of Burgundy (1026–57), married Adelaide, a daughter of Richard II of Normandy.

⁴ William Longsword (928–42), Richard I (943–96), Richard II (996–1026); this last was the father of both Richard III (1026–7) and his murderer Robert the Magnificent (1027–35), father of the Conqueror: *ibid.*, pp. 8–38.

22. Preterea in successibus predictorum temporum, exigentibus culpis peccantium hominum, orta est discordia duorum regum, Francorum uidelicet ac Saxonum, quæ scilicet diutius exardescens occulto Dei iudicio, rursus terribile flagellum ingruit populis Galliarum.¹ Denique Hungrorum princeps cum omni ipsius gentis militari exercitu huius discordiæ mali occasione fines Galliarum inrumpens, semel ac bis omnem miserabiliter depopulans regionem, utrumque etiam genus hominum captans cum rebus humanis abducens, nemine obstante diripuit.² Quæ denique clades tandiu deseuit quousque, Deo propitiante, utriusque regni principes, Francorum uidelicet ac Saxonum, unius fidei ac consanguinitatis uinculo³ necterentur. Euacuato siquidem priorum regum genere sedatisque iurgiis, coepit orbis nouorum regum pace sub amica reflorescere, Christianique regnum per fontem sacri baptismatis circumquaque tyrannos sibi subiugare. Ipsa denique Hungrorum gens, post tot patrata flagitia, post tot flagella gentibus illata, cum suo rege ad catholicam fidem conuersa, quæ prius consueuerat crudeliter rapere aliena, libens inperitur pro Christo propria. A quibus etiam iamdudum diripiendo captiuabantur undecumque in miserrima mancipia distrahendi qui reperiebantur Christiani, ab eisdem quoque fouentur nunc ceu fratres uel liberi.

23. Illud nihilominus nimium condecens ac perhonestum uidetur atque ad pacis tutelam optimum decretum, scilicet ut ne quisquam audacter Romani imperii sceptrum preproperus gestare princeps appetat, seu imperator dici aut esse ualeat, nisi quem papa sedis Romanæ morum probitate delegerit aptum rei publicæ, eique commiserit insigne imperiale, cum olim uidelicet ubique terrarum quilibet tyranni sese procaciter impellentes sepissime sint imperatores creati, atque eo minus apti rei publicæ quo constat eos tyrannidē quam pietatis auctoritate processisse. Anno igitur

¹ This probably refers to the wars occasioned by Louis IV's ambitions in Lorraine, which led to his marriage to Gerberga (on which see above iii. 7n.) in the period 938–42, as reported by Flodoard, pp. 71–5. They are discussed by McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 315–16.

² Glaber suggests here that the quarrels of Otto I and Louis IV in the period 938–42, which he has just described, allowed the Hungarians to cross the frontier, and he refers to two occasions when the whole region was devastated. The Hungarians first attacked Lorraine in 913 and followed this up by further raids there and in Alsace in 917, 918, and 919, and struck into Burgundy in 924. In the years 935–7 Burgundy suffered particularly badly, and this may well be one of the raids particularly recalled by Glaber because the monastery of Bèze at which he resided, as he tells us below, 4. vi. 18, was totally

22. After this, as a punishment for the sins of men, discord arose between the two kings of France and Saxony; it lasted a long time, thanks to God's hidden judgement, and a terrible scourge again fell upon the people of Gaul.¹ The prince of the Hungarians, with all the armed might of his people, took advantage of the evil of this discord to break through the frontiers of Gaul, twice miserably ravaging the whole region, capturing both men and women and taking much booty with no resistance.² Their cruelty lasted until, God willing, the kings of the French and Saxons were brought together by the bonds of blood relationship³ and a common faith. When the first race of kings was extinct and their hatred settled, the whole world began to flower in peace once more with the friendship of these new kings, and the realm of Christ, through the font of holy baptism, began everywhere to conquer tyrants. The Hungarians, who had committed so many crimes and brought such desolation upon so many peoples, were converted with their king to the catholic faith; and so those who were accustomed to ravage their neighbours now freely sacrifice their own property for Christ. They who formerly pillaged the Christians they came across and bore them off into miserable slavery, now welcome them like brothers and children.

23. It is a proper and just practice, and one essential for the keeping of the peace, that no rash prince should audaciously aspire to wield the sceptre of the Roman Empire or attempt to call himself or to be Emperor, except him whom the Pope of Rome may choose as suitable for the conduct of the public weal by reason of the moral propriety of his life, and upon whom the pope may confer the imperial insignia. For in earlier times tyrants everywhere boldly pushed themselves forward and were often created emperors; they were the less worthy to govern the republic in that their power was undoubtedly founded on tyranny rather than on sanctified authority. Although the imperial insignia had previously

destroyed in 937 and became, according to its *Annals* for that year, 'desolatio desolationum': *Annales Besuenses*, in *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 285; on Bèze and its many destructions see *Life*, c. vi n. 3. In 951 another raid struck through Burgundy into Aquitaine. In 954 Burgundy was attacked in the raid which culminated in Otto I's great victory over the Hungarians at the Lech, on which see K. Leyser, 'The Battle at the Lech', *History*, 1 (1965), 1–25. Glaber's statements here are so vague that it is difficult to know which raids he is referring to. On the Hungarian raids in France see L. Halphen, *Les Barbares* (Paris, 1948), pp. 338–43.

³ See 2. i. 1.

f. 8^r dominicę incarnationis septingentesimo decimo,¹ licet illud insigne imperiale diuersis speciebus prius figuratum fuisset, a uenerabili tamen papa Benedicto sedis apostolicę fieri iussus est admodum intellectuali specie idem insigne.² Precepit fabricari quasi aureum pomum, atque circumdari per quadrum pretiosissimis quibusque gemmis, ac desuper auream crucem inseri. Erat autem instar speciei huius mundanę molis, quę uidelicet in quadam rotunditate consistere perhibetur, ut, dum siquidem illud respiceret princeps terreni imperii, foret ei documentum non aliter debere imperare uel militare in mundo quam ut dignus haberetur uiuificę crucis tueri uexillo: in ipso etiam diuersarum gemmarum decoramine, uidelicet imperii culmen plurimarum uirtutum speciebus exornari oportere. Cumque postmodum predictus papa imperatori uidelicet Henrico huius rei gratia Romam uenienti obuiam cum maxima utrorumque sacrorum ordinum multitudine processisset ex more eique huiusmodi insigne scilicet imperii in conspectu totius Romanę plebis tradidisset, suscipiens illud ilariter, circumspectoque eo, ut erat uir sagacissimus, dixit: 'Optime, pater', inquires ad papam, 'istud facere decreuisti, nostrae portendendo innuens monarchiae; qualiter sese moderari debeat cautius perdocuisti.' Deinde manu gerens illud auri pomum, subiunxit: 'Nullis' inquit 'melius hoc presens donum possidere ac cernere congruit quam illis qui pompis mundi calcatis crucem expeditius sequuntur Saluatoris.' Qui protinus misit illud ad Cluniense monasterium Galliarum, quod etiam tunc temporis habebatur religiosissimum ceterorum, cui et alia dona plurima contulerat ornamentorum.³

24. Sed et illud nimirum etiam perpendendum, quoniam, cum ista quae retulimus, uidelicet de conuersionibus perfidarum ad fidem Christi gentium altrinsecus in aequilonaribus atque occidentalibus

¹ As Prou, p. 21 n. 3, points out, the correct date was 'millesimo decimo quarto', i.e. 1014.

² Benedict VIII (1012–24), whose accession to the papal throne against Gregory, the candidate of the Crescentii, marked the triumph of the Tusculan family. One brother, Alberic, was 'Consul et dux' and another, Romulus, was 'Senator of the Romans' and later became pope as John XIX (1024–32): Partner, *Lands of St. Peter*, pp. 102–5; Herrmann, *Tuskulanerpapsttum*, pp. 22–5.

³ The orb, surmounted by a figure of victory, was part of the insignia of the Roman emperors symbolizing universal dominion. It was copied by the barbarian kings, then Christianized along with the whole apparatus of kingship by the development of Christian coronation orders, which were very well established in the West Frankish lands by the end of the 9th c. In Germany the development was slower, but stimulated by the

been modelled in many forms, in the year 710¹ the venerable pope Benedict of the Apostolic See ordered that another should be made in an entirely allegorical form.² He ordered that it should be made in the form of a golden apple set around in a square with all the most precious jewels and surmounted by a golden cross. So it was like this bulky earth, which is reputed to be shaped like a globe. It was made thus that the prince of this earthly empire should always see it before him and never forget, whether in war or government, that he ought to conduct himself here only in a manner worthy of the protection of the standard of the life-giving cross. The different stones set in it as decoration indicated that the head of the empire ought to be decorated with many virtues. Later, when Henry came to Rome for this purpose, the pope came out to meet him with a great procession of both Holy Orders, according to custom, and presented to him the imperial insignia in the sight of all the Roman people. Henry received it and examined it in a good humour, and as he was a wise man he said to the pope: 'Father, you have done well to have this made in order to indicate to our monarchy by a symbol how it should be exercised; you have made your point wisely.' Then, holding the golden apple in his hand, he added: 'There is none so fitting to keep this gift and look upon it as those who trample underfoot the pomps of this world and blithely follow the cross of Our Saviour.' Forthwith he sent it to Cluny, a monastery of Gaul which was even then considered to excel all others in the religious life and to which he had already given many other gifts for its decoration.³

24. But here is a matter worthy of meditation. We have told how it very often happened that the infidels were converted to the faith of Christ in both the northern and western parts of the world, but we coronation of Otto I: P. E. Schramm, 'Die Krönung bei den Westfranken und Angelsachsen von 878 bis um 1000', and 'Die Krönung in Deutschland bis zum Beginn des Salischen Hauses', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, liv, Kanonistische Abteilung xxiii (1934), 117–242 and lv, KA xxiv (1935), 184–332. In contemporary thought, the orb surmounted by a cross and conferred by the pope did not symbolize the supremacy of church over monarchy, but the joint dominion of the two powers, each of which has a divine warrant for authority. This view is clear in contemporary iconography, and perhaps especially so in the Aachen Vase, where Pope and Emperor are each portrayed extending their right hands to clasp that of St Peter: P. E. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1928), ii, pl. 76a–b. Adhémard of Chabannes iii. xxxvii says that Henry gave Cluny his sceptre, his orb, his imperial vestment of gold, and his gold crown and cross, and tells us that together they made a hundred pounds of gold.

orbis partibus persepe fieri contigerit, nusquam talia in orientali-
 bus atque meridianis eiusdem orbis plagis contigit audiri, cuius
 denique ueracissimus presagii index fuit constitutio illa crucis
 dominicę dum in ea Saluator penderet in loco Caluarie. Nam
 cum retro illius uerticem suspensi tum fuisset crudus nimium
 populis oriens, tunc etiam in eius oculorum conspectu lumine
 fidei repleturus constitit occidens. Sic quoque omnipotentem
 ipsius dexteram ad misericordie opus extensam sacri uerbi fide
 mitis suscepit septentrio, eiusque leuam gentibus barbarorum
 tumultuosus sortitur merides. Sed | licet huius sacri breuiter
 meminimus portenti, nostrae tamen idem catholice manet inui-
 olabile subsidium fidei, quoniam in omni loco et gente absque
 exceptione quicumque sacro regeneratus fonte credens omnipo-
 tentem Patrem eiusque filium Ihesum Christum pariter et in Spiri-
 tum Sanctum, unum solum et uerum Deum, si quid boni egerit ex
 fide, Deo acceptum fore atque omnem qui sic permanserit per-
 henni uita beatę uiuere. Hoc quippe soli Deo nosse competit, cur
 humanum genus maius seu minus propriae salutis capax efficitur
 in diuersis partibus orbis. Sed idcirco ista retulimus, quoniam
 usque in fines predictarum orbis binarum partium, uidelicet
 septemtrionalis et occidentalis, Christi Domini deueniens euan-
 gelium optimum in illarum populis locauit sacre fidei fundamen-
 tum, cum uidelicet e diuerso minus reliquas duas, scilicet
 orientalem atque meridianam, penetrauerit ac illarum populos
 diutius in proprii erroris feritate irretitos siuerit.

25. Sed ne boni conditoris prouide dispensationi contumeliosa a
 quoquam inferatur in hac parte calumnia, cautius nihilominus
 prospiciendus est sacer scripturarum canon. In quo uidelicet
 canone omnis procul dubio forma inuenitur expressa mundani
 seculi, ut scilicet ipsius auctoris bonitas pariter et iustitia proba-
 biliter demonstrantur, uidelicet in his qui salui fiunt et in his qui
 pereunt. Nam sicut primus hominum pater proprie salutis arbiter
 a totius boni auctore primitus fuerat constitutus, ita ab eodem
 redemptore uniuersis pro captu spontanea generaliter oblata est
 salus. Sed tamen occulta illius dispensatio, cui semper et simul
 totum quicquid esse habet presto fuit ac cui nil defuit, ostendit
 spatiatim per incrementa temporum sese omnipotentem solum
 bonum atque ueracem tam per opera pietatis quam per ultionem
 uindictę iustę retributionis. Non enim principalis bonitas

do not chance to have heard of the same thing happening in the east
 and south. This was faithfully foretold in the position of the Lord's
 cross from which He hung in the place called Calvary. When He
 was hung from the cross the immature people of the east were
 hidden behind His head, but the west was before His eyes, ready to
 be filled with the light of the faith. So too His almighty right arm,
 extended for the work of mercy, pointed to the north, which was to
 be mellowed by the holy word of the faith, while His left was the lot
 of the south, which swarmed with barbaric peoples. But although
 we make but brief mention of this sacred portent, it remains an
 inviolate tenet of our catholic faith that, in all places and amongst all
 peoples without exception, he who is regenerated by baptism and
 believes in the Almighty Father and His Son Jesus Christ and in
 the Holy Spirit, the one and only true God, and who performs
 some good deed through faith, will be acceptable to God, and
 everyone who persists in this way will live in blessedness the life
 eternal. Moreover, God alone knows why it is that men are more
 able to receive their own salvation in some parts of the world than
 in others. But we have said this because the Gospel of the Lord
 Christ, in coming to the regions of these two areas of the world, the
 north and the west, has laid the best foundation for the holy faith
 amongst these peoples, while on the other hand it has penetrated
 less in the other two parts, the east and south, and has left the
 peoples there trapped for longer in the wildness of their own
 errors.

25. But lest anyone cast aspersions upon the provident dispensa-
 tion of the Blessed Creator in this respect, the holy canon of scrip-
 ture must be carefully examined. In the canon the whole form of
 the world is without doubt found clearly represented, with excel-
 lent proof of the goodness and justice of the Originator in the
 persons of those who are saved and those who perish. Now just as
 the author of all good things made the first father of men the
 master of his own salvation, so as Redeemer He offers alike to all
 men the free means to salvation according to their abilities. His
 secret providence, in which everything that has being was present
 at one time and always, and in which nothing was lacking, truly
 reveals at intervals and as time goes on that He is the one Almighty
 God of truth and goodness, both through His works of fatherly
 kindness and His most just vengeance and retribution. Nor does

aliquando uacat a pietatis opere, quin immo semper aggregat plerosque ex massa filiorum Adę preuaricatoris in sinum filii suae deitatis. Dumque id cotidie in mundo agitur, quid aliud quam Omnipotentis bonitas, etiam immobiliter mobilis et mobiliter immobilis, operari monstratur? Atque idcirco quanto presentis seculi terminus imminet propius, tanto ista fieri quę dicuntur contigerit frequentius.

26. Suscipiendum etiam quomodo paulatim ab ipso humani generis exordio ipsius auctoris sit manifestata cognitio. Primus igitur hominum Adam etiam cum omni suo genere Deum conditorem suum predicat, dum pro transgressionis precepti illius culpa priuatus paradisi gaudiis multatusque exilio, sese lugendo miserum clamat. Sed accepto diffusius per uniuersum orbem terrae incremento, nisi proprii auctoris bonitatis prouidentia misericordię reduxisset | ad sinum, totum penitus idem genus humanum in sui erroris atque cecitatis precipitium iam olim inreuocabiliter fuisset dimersum. Idcirco ab exordio sui diuina boni conditoris dispensatione prolata sunt ei prodigiosa rerum miracula ac portentosa elementorum signa, necnon et sagacissimorum uirorum tam spem quam formidolositatem inculcatura diuinitus oracula. Ac, uelut isdem conditor per sex dierum interualla cuncta mundanae rerum machinae proferendo perficiens opera, hisque editis requieuit die septima, uidelicet ita per sex milia annorum spatia operatus est pro eruditione hominum, exhibendo illis frequentia signanter ostenta. Scilicet ut non preteritis seculis quodquam dimissum est uacans ab his tempus signis miraculorum aeternum Deum predicantibus, usque quo illud maximum rerum principium apparens homine uestitus in mundo, sexta dumtaxat aetate presentis seculi,¹ atque, ut putatur, quoad sit

¹ The idea that the history of the world can be divided into ages, each representing a stage in the evolution of man, is a very ancient one found in many cultures. The thinkers of the pagan Graeco-Roman world tended to see human history as an inexorable process of decay from some 'Golden Age'. The earliest known statement of this pattern is that of Hesiod in his *Works and Days*, 109–201, where he speaks of the decline of man from a race of gold, through races of silver and bronze and that of the Heroes, to his own race of Iron. In later authors races became ages; Christian writers inherited the notion of ages, but reversed it, seeing the history of man as a progression under divine dispensation which will culminate in the rule of the saints. Christian writers, however, differed in the schemes of ages which they offered. In his discussion of the 'Quaternities' Glaber refers to the history of the world being divided into four ages (see above, i. 3), an idea which he almost certainly derived from St Ambrose, *De Paradiso*: Dutton, 'Glaber's "De Divina Quaternitate"', p. 437; J. France, 'The Divine Quaternity of Rodulfus Glaber',

the benevolence of the Almighty ever rest from works of love; indeed, He ever chooses many from amongst the mass of the sons of Adam the sinner and puts them into the bosom of the Son of His Divinity. While this takes place every day in the world, what is being demonstrated if not the operation of His bounty, immovably moving and mobile in its immobility? Thus as the present world draws nearer to its end so these (great events) which I speak of will become more frequent.

26. We must understand too, how, little by little from the beginning of mankind, knowledge of the Creator has been revealed. Adam, the first man, with all his brood, proclaimed God the Creator when, deprived of the joys of paradise and punished with exile for transgression of His command, he cried out mournfully in his misery. But once men increased and spread over the whole world, the whole human race would long ago have plunged utterly and irrevocably into the abyss of its error and blindness, except that their Maker in His provident goodness led them back to the bosom of mercy. Thus from their beginning the divine providence of the good Creator brought forth for men miracles and signs and portents in the elements and also the pronouncements of wise men who, by divine inspiration, engendered both fear and hope. And so, just as the Creator completed all the functions that make up the complexity of this world in six days, then rested on the seventh having finished it, so for six thousand years He worked to teach men, showing them frequent and clear signs. At no time during these past ages was there a lack of signs and miracles proclaiming the eternal God, right down to the time when the great Originator appeared in this world in the disguise of man, that is in this the sixth age of our earthly life;¹ and, as it is believed, (this will

Studia Monastica, xvii (1975), 292. Here he refers to a sevenfold scheme of ages, though with no effort to reconcile it to the fourfold scheme already outlined. The sevenfold scheme was adopted by St Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xxii. 30, CCSL xlviii. 865–6, through whose influence it became the dominant scheme amongst medieval thinkers. Augustine's ages are: (i) from Adam to the Deluge; (ii) the Deluge to Abraham; (iii) Abraham to David; (iv) David to the Captivity; (v) Captivity to Christ; (vi) the present age; (vii) the Eternal Sabbath. Although Glaber does not outline this scheme he is almost certainly drawing directly upon Augustine here. As in the *City of God* there is the parallel with the six days' labour of Gen. 2: 1–3, which produced the world, and he looks ahead to a seventh age of rest which Augustine characterized as a perpetual sabbath. According to Augustine each age was of fourteen generations. The idea that each age was of a thousand years, as Glaber indicates here, is ultimately founded on Ps. 89 (90): 4, where it is stated that a thousand years are but one day in the sight of the Lord.

finis in septima huius mundanę molis diuersorum laborum, ut ab illo proculdubio unde cepit quicquid esse habuit exordium, in eodem competentissimum propriae quietis inueniat finem.

EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMVS

continue) until there is an end in the seventh (age) of this world's mass of diverse troubles, so that it may most certainly find a suitable end, consisting in repose for itself, from Him from whom whatsoever has had being took its start.

THE FIRST BOOK ENDS

INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA LIBRI SECVNDI

De electione Hugonis in regem
 De coetu maris et occidentalium bellis
 De Conano duce Brittonum et Fulcone Andegauorum
 De monasterio Lucacense
 De portento Aurelianę urbis mirabili
 De prelationibus turpi lucro^a arreptis
 De incendiis et mortibus nobilium
 De Henrici ducis morte et uastatione Burgundię
 De fame ualida et infestatione Sarracenorum
 De inundatione lapidum
 De Leutardo insaniente heretico
 De herese in Italia reperta |

f. 10

EXPLICIT LIBER PRIMVS. INCIPIIT LIBER SECVNDVS

i. *De electione Hugonis in regem*¹

I. SICVT quispiam igitur peragrans quamlibet uastissimam orbis mundani plagam, seu spaciosum remigando equor penetrans, sepius altitudini montium aut proceritati arborum scilicet respectans dirigit aciem oculorum, ut uidelicet, illorum a longe reperta agnitione, absque errore quo disposuerat ualeat peruenire, ita quoque erga nos fore contigit, qui utique, dum cupimus preterita ostendere futuris, obtutus nostri sermonis pariter et animi frequenter in relatione porrigimus magnatorum uirorum personis, quibus uidelicet fiat ipsa relatio clarior et appareat cercior. Igitur finito, ut diximus, tam regnandi quam imperandi apud Italiam et Gallias magnorum regum genere, uidelicet Ludouici necnon et Caroli ac sui generis ceterorum regum,² protinus in unius consanguinitatis uiros utriusque regni contigit deuenire monarchiam.³ Nam qualiter primus ac secundus necnon et tertius Otto sint potiti Romanorum imperio, scilicet usque ad Henrici imperium,⁴ superius nos iam digessimus meminimus. Nunc quoque restat ut

^a turpi lucro *Delisle*; turpis luci *A* (and see below, p. 68). But it is possible that avaritia has dropped out (*Winterbottom*), cf. 2. vi. 10.

THE CHAPTER HEADS OF BOOK TWO

The election of Hugh as king.
 The whale and the wars in the West.
 Conan duke of Brittany and Fulk of Anjou.
 The monastery of Loches.
 A strange omen at Orléans.
 Prelates seized by shameful avarice.
 Fires and the deaths of noble persons.
 The death of Duke Henry and the devastation of Burgundy.
 The great famine and the attack of the Saracens.
 A hail of stones.
 Leutard the mad heretic.
 Heresy found in Italy.

THE FIRST BOOK ENDS. THE SECOND BOOK BEGINS

i. *The election of Hugh as king*¹

I. JUST as the traveller who passes across some vast tract of the earth, or takes his vessel far into the open reaches of the sea, often casts his glance to the peaks of the mountains and the crests of the trees so that without error he may plot his course from afar, so must we, in our desire to reveal the past to future generations, often stretch out in our story the gaze of our speech and mind alike upon the persons of great men, so that our narrative may be more clear and certain. As we have already said, the descendants of Louis and Charles and their race, who had ruled as kings and emperors in Gaul and Italy, were extinguished.² Then royal power in the two realms passed to men who were of common blood.³ We have already told how the Roman Empire was vested first in the three Ottos and then in the Emperor Henry;⁴ now we must indicate

¹ Richer, ii. 159–67, gives a very detailed account of the election of Hugh Capet to the throne of France at Senlis in May 987. He was crowned 3 July 987. On the power of the early Capetians see J. F. Lemarignier, *Le Gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens* (Paris, 1965).

² See above, 1. iii. 7.
³ This presumably refers to the marriage of a sister of Otto I to Hugh Magnus: see above, 1. iii. 7n.
⁴ See above, 1. iv. 8–16.

what has happened since then to the kingdom of the Franks. When Lothar and Louis had died, the government of the whole kingdom of France fell to Hugh, duke of Paris, son of Hugh the Great, whose brother was the very noble Henry, duke of Burgundy.¹ He and the magnates of the whole realm assembled together and had Hugh anointed as king. His house was, as I have said, bound by a blood-tie to the kings of Saxony, for the mother of Otto I was the sister of Hugh the Great.² A little while after Hugh had received the government of the kingdom of the Franks, he recognized that many of his vassals who had at first completely accepted him had become traitors. However, because he was alert in mind and body he was able gradually to crush all the rebels.³ Hugh had a son called Robert, a wise young man who was exceedingly learned in the study of the arts and of letters. When he saw that his power was being in some degree eroded, Hugh gathered together all the magnates of France and Burgundy in the royal city of Orléans, and thirteen years before the millennium of the Incarnation of our Saviour made his son Robert king, though he himself was still living.⁴ Some years later King Hugh made a good end, having thus disposed of his realm in peace. Robert the king was still, as we have said, young, but he was wise and learned and distinguished by sweet eloquence and piety. It was by His Divine Providence that the Lord of all deigned to destine a man like this to rule the catholic people, especially at this time. For grave disasters, foretold by signs amongst the elements, fell upon the church of God in his time, and if the king had not wisely stood up to them with God's help, they would have extended their ravages far and wide.

ii. *The whale and the wars in the west*

2. Four years before the millennium an enormous whale was seen to have come by sea to a place called Berneval, and it passed from the north to the west.⁵ It appeared one day in November at dawn

Hugh's other brother, Otto, who had been duke of Burgundy (956–65): E. James, *Origins of France* (London, 1982), p. 192.

² An odd error, for Glaber has already told us correctly that Otto I's sister Hadwig had married Hugh the Great. See above, i. iv. 8n.

³ An oblique reference to the invasion of France in 988 by the Carolingian claimant, Hugh's rival, Charles of Lorraine, described by Richer, ii. 167–223.

⁴ On 25 Dec. 987: Richer, ii. 167.

⁵ L. Musset, 'Raoul Glaber et la baleine: les sources d'un racontar du XI^e siècle', *Revue du Moyen Âge latin*, iv (1948), 167–72, suggests that this whale appeared at

quemadmodum abhinc Francorum sit regnum dispositum referamus. Mortuis igitur Lothario ac Ludouico regibus, totius Francie regni dispositio incubuit Hugoni, Parisicensi^a duci, filio uidelicet illius magni Hugonis supra memorati, cuius etiam frater erat nobilissimus Burgundie dux Heinricus.¹ Qui simul cum totius regni primatibus conuenientes predictum Hugonem in regem ungi fecerunt. Erant ergo, ut iam commemorauimus, affinitate consanguinitatis regibus Saxonum uniti, a primo scilicet Ottone, qui natus est ex Hugonis magni sorore.² Suscepto igitur Hugo regimine regni Francorum non multo post plerosque suorum, quos etiam prius in uniuersis habuerat subditos, persensit contumaces. Tamen, ut erat corpore et mente uiuidus, cunctos sibi rebellantes paulatim compescuit.³ Habebat enim filium admodum prudentem, nomine Rotbertum, artium etiam litterarum studiis plurimum eruditum. Cumque se cognouisset iam aliquantulum uiribus defici, congregatis in Aureliana urbe regia quibusque Francorum ac Burgundionum regni primoribus, eundem Rotbertum, filium uidelicet suum, anno scilicet tertio decimo ante millesimum incarnati Saluatoris, adhuc se superstite, regem constituit.⁴ Post aliquot uero annos isdem etiam rex Hugo, in pace regno disposito, feliciter obiit. Erat namque Rotbertus rex tunc iuuenis, ut diximus, prudens atque eruditus, dulcisque eloquio ac pietate insignis. Sed diuina prouidente |
f. 10^v clementia, huiusmodi uirum ad catholice plebis regimen omnium Dominus illo precipue in tempore dignatus est destinare. Nam diebus regni ipsius, elementorum etiam signis preeuntibus, non modicę clades incubuere Christi ecclesię, quibus nisi isdem rex sapienter, Deo se iuuante, restitisset seuiundo multipliciter in longinquum processissent.

ii. *De coetu maris et occidentalium bellis*

2. Anno igitur quarto de suprascripto millesimo, uisa est cętus mire magnitudinis descendisse per mare in loco qui Bernouallis nuncupatur, egrediens scilicet a septentrionali plaga in occidentalem.⁵ Apparuit quoque mense Nouembrio mane prima diei

^a parisiensi D; pariscensis A

¹ Henry, duke of Burgundy (965–1002), who had been imposed on the duchy by his elder brother, Hugh Capet, and whose death precipitated the Burgundian civil war, as Glaber tells us below, 2. viii. 15. Hugh of Flavigny, p. 368, records the end of the Carolingians and the election of Hugh in strikingly similar terms, but also mentions

aurora ad instar insule, ac transeundo perdurans usque in horam diei tertiam, maximum etiam stuporem admirationemque se cernentibus contulit. Sed et ne alicui forte sit dubium quod narratur, quamuis a multis uisum fuit,^a tamen huic simile monstrum a plerisque inuenitur descriptum. Denique legitur in gestis egregii confessoris Bendani, orientalium uidelicet Anglorum, quoniam (cum)^b isdem uir Dei, scilicet Bendanus, cum pluribus monachis per marinas insulas per aliquod temporis spatium heremiticam transegisset uitam, hanc uel huic similem quondam obuiam haberet beluam. Nam cum remigando quasque in mari constitutas circumiret insulas, superueniente noctis crepusculo, cernens procul uelut maritimam insulam, ad quam etiam diuertens cum omnibus qui secum erant, superuenientem dumtaxat exacturus noctem. Cumque ibi uentum fuisset, exeuntes de scafis conscendentesque turgentem beluę dorsum, unius tantummodo noctis ibidem hospicio potituri. Cumque post breuem cenam ceteri fratres fessa indulsissent membra quieti, solus uir Domini Bendanus, peruigil custos dominici ouilis, ac magis assiduus quam frequens psalmicen,¹ explorabat cautius uim uentorum et siderum cursus. Qui dum hoc attentius per noctis conticinium ageret, repente intellexit quoniam illud promuntorium, ad quod scilicet hospitaturi diuerterant, ad orientalem illos eueheret plagam. Luce quoque alterius diei reddita, sollertissimus uir conuocans collegas, uidelicet suos qui aderant, blande exortans ac consolans eos inquit: 'Vniuersorum conditori et gubernatori Deo, fratres benignissimi, indefessas referamus gratias, qui sua nobis in his marinis fluctibus prouidentia preparauit uehiculum non egens humano remigio.' Quibus a uiro Dei socii auditis, mentis stupore adacti, diuine protinus sese prouidentię committentes ac uiri sancti innitentes prudentię, ceperunt securiores euentum prestolari rei fortuite. Huiusmodi ergo per spacia plurimorum dierum usi euectione, semper tamen semet conspiciabant ad solis ortum tendere. Tandem uero peruentum est ad insulam ceterarum speciosissimam atque omni amenitate gratiosissimam. Illius quoque arborum habitudo atque auium dissimilitudinem

^a Perhaps sit (*Winterbottom*)

^b Supplied by *Winterbottom*

Berneval-le-Grand on the coast of the Pays de Caux in Normandy, and that as this estate was held by Saint-Denis in Paris the story must have come to Glaber via a monk of that house. It is perhaps simpler to note that Berneval is not far from St William's monastery of Fécamp. Musset points out that Glaber's version of the Brendan story is

and it seemed like an island. Its crossing lasted till the third hour of the day, filling those who watched it with wonder and admiration. If anyone doubts this story despite the many witnesses to it, one finds a monster like this described by several people. We read a relevant story in the *Life* of that worthy confessor Brendan, who was born amongst the eastern English. For this man of God, after he had for some time been living the life of a hermit with many monks on islands in the sea, once encountered this or a similar beast. One day when he was rowing at sea he was rounding some islands, but dusk fell suddenly; seeing what seemed to be another island he and all his companions turned towards it, intending to pass the coming night there. When they arrived they got out of their little boats and embarked on the swelling back of the beast, wishing to rest only for one night. After a brief supper the other brothers rested their weary bones in peace, while Brendan alone, that man of the Lord and ever watchful guardian of the Lord's flock and a not just frequent but ceaseless psalm-singer,¹ cautiously watched the force of the wind and the course of the stars. While intent on this, at dead of night, he suddenly realized that the promontory to which they had come for shelter was carrying them towards the east. When the next day dawned, that most intelligent of men called together his companions and exhorted and consoled them gently, saying: 'Most excellent brethren, let us give thanks tirelessly to God the Creator and governor of all things, for by His Providence He has built for us amidst these rolling seas a craft which needs no men to row it.' When they heard this they were stupefied, but they at once committed themselves to divine providence and, trusting in the wisdom of the holy Brendan, awaited without forebodings the outcome of this happy chance. And so they were transported for many days, but they perceived that they were always going towards the sunrise. At length they came to an island which was more favoured and more beautiful than any other; its very trees and birds seemed different from those found

quite different from that given in the early 10th-c. *Navigatio Sancti Brendani abbatis*, ed. C. Selmer (Notre Dame, Ind., 1959) or in the early 12th-c. *Anglo-Norman Voyage of St Brendan by Benedeit*, ed. E. R. G. Waters (Oxford, 1928). Selmer believes that the story of St Brendan found in the *Navigatio* is a composite, but it is unlikely that Glaber had access to some other strand of the tradition. He was probably writing from memory, and muddled the story, misspelling Brendan's name and converting an Irishman into an East Anglian.

¹ For 'magis assiduus quam frequens' cf. 2. xii. 23; *Life*, c. xiv.

f. 11 gerit uniuersorum. Egressus quoque uir sanctus, | accedens ad eam, repperit etiam ibi monachorum uel potius anacriticarum collectas miras ac multiplices, quorum scilicet^a uita et conuersatio uniuersorum mortalium studiis sanctior ac nobilior enitebat. A quibus etiam magna cum caritate suscepti, plurimis diebus ibidem commanentes, de multis quę ad ueram pertinent salutem diligenter instructi, postmodumque ad natiuum reuertentes solum uniuersa que conpererant patrię redditi narrauerunt.

3. Preterea uiso, ut dicere cepimus, Oceani portento, exorsus est bellicus tumultus in uniuersa occidentali orbis plaga, uidelicet tam in regionibus Galliarum quam in transmarinis Oceani insulis, uidelicet Anglorum atque Brittonum¹ necnon et Scottorum. Siquidem ut plerumque solet contingere propter delicta infimi populi uersi in dissensione illorum reges ac ceteri principes, statimque exardescentes in subiecte plebis depopulationem scilicet usque dum perducuntur ad suimet sanguinis effusionem. Quod uidelicet tamdiu patratum est in predictis insulis quousque unus regum earundem ui solus potiretur regiminis ceterarum. Denique mortuo rege Adalrado, in regno scilicet illorum qui Danimarches cognominantur, qui etiam uxorem duxerat sororem Richardi, Rotomagorum ducis, inuasit regnum illius rex uidelicet Canuc occidentalium Anglorum. Qui etiam post crebra bellorum molimina ac patrię depopulationes, pactum cum Richardo stabiliens eiusque germanam Adalridi uidelicet uxorem, in matrimonium ducens utriusque regni tenuit monarchiam.² Post hec quoque isdem Canuc cum plurimo exercitu egressus est ut subiugaret sibi gentem Scottorum, quorum uidelicet rex Melculo uocabatur, uiribus et armis ualidus, et quod potissimum erat fide atque opere christianissimus. Vt autem cognouit quoniam Canuc audacter illius quereretur inuadere regnum, congregans omnem suę gentis exercitum, potenter ei ne ualeret restitit. Ac diu multumque talibus procaciter Canuc inseruiens iurgiis, ad postremum tamen predicti Richardi Rotomagorum ducis eiusque sororis persuasionibus pro Dei amore omni prorsus deposita feritate, mittis effectus in pace deguit. Insuper et Scottorum regem amicitię gratia diligens, illiusque filium de sacro

^a scilicet *Pithou*; suilicet *A*

¹ Glaber uses the same word for both the British and the Bretons, but clearly the former are intended here, while the latter are referred to in the following chapter.

² This is a bald and erratic summary of the circumstances in which Cnut (1016–35)

elsewhere. The holy Brendan disembarked and discovered there many wonderful communities of monks (or rather anchorites), whose life and converse were eminently more noble and saintly than those of other mortals. Brendan and his companions were received in all charity, and they stayed there for many days, being diligently instructed in many things which pertain to true salvation. Afterwards they returned to their native lands and recounted all that they had learned.

3. After this portent from the ocean, war broke out in all the West, not just in Gaul but also in the islands across the sea where the English, the British,¹ and the Scots live. As often happens, because of the offences of the ordinary people, their kings and other princes fell into dispute, at once enraged so far as to ravage their subjects, until indeed they shed royal blood too. This went on for a long time until one of the kings of the islands by force alone made himself master of the rule of the others. When Æthelred, who had married the sister of Richard duke of Rouen, died in the kingdom of those who are called Danes, Cnut, king of the western English, attacked his kingdom. After a series of terrible wars which devastated the land, Cnut made a peace with Richard by which he married the duke's sister, Æthelred's widow, and ruled the two kingdoms.² After this Cnut set out with a great army to subjugate the Scots, whose king was called Malcolm. Malcolm was a great warrior, but, more importantly, he was a truly Christian king whose faith was reflected in his acts. When he realized that Cnut was seeking to invade his realm he gathered together the whole army of his own people and resisted mightily. In his pride Cnut continued the strife for a long time, but at last he ended his barbarous behaviour for the love of God on the advice of duke Richard of Rouen and his sister, and mending his ways he lived in peace. Indeed he sought the friendship of the king of the Scots, receiving his son at the font of

came to the English throne. On the death of Æthelred 'the Unready' on 23 Apr. 1016 the war against Cnut and his Danish army was continued by Æthelred's son, Edmund 'Ironside'. But Edmund died on 30 Nov. 1016 and Cnut succeeded: S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready'* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 209–28. Cnut married Æthelred's widow Emma, the sister of Richard II of Normandy (996–1026), in 1017 as part of a treaty designed to prevent Norman intervention in England on behalf of Alfred and Edward, the sons of Æthelred and Emma who were refugees at the court of the Norman duke: Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, p. 37.

baptismatis fonte exceptit.¹ Cepit ergo ex illo fieri ut, si qua hostilis necessitas Rotomagorum duci incumberet, a transmarinis insulis in sui auxilium exercitum sumeret copiosum. Sicque diutius gens Normanorum scilicet ac predictarum populi insularum tuti pace fidissima, ut ipsi potius formidine suę potentię plerosque exterarum prouinciarum terrerent populos quam ipsi ab aliis terrerentur. Nec mirum quippe, quoniam a quibus bonorum extirpatrix
f. 11^v Dei timore expulsa fuerat discordia, in eisdem pace preuia Christi nobile regnum felix obtinuit tripudium.

iii. De Conano Duce Britonum et Fulcone Andegauorum^{2a}

4. Prescriptorum igitur dierum tempore nichilominus in infimis Galliarum partibus intestinorum bellorum deseuit tumultus.³ Narrant siquidem plerique disputantes de mundani orbis positione quod situs regionis Gallię quadra dimetiatur locatione: licet ergo a Rifeis montibus⁴ usque Hispaniarum terminos in leuo habens Oceanum mare, in dextro uero passim iuga Alpium, propria excedat longitudine mensuram rationis quadriforme. Cuius etiam inferius^b finitimum ac perinde uilissimum Cornu Gallię⁵

^a Title supplied in A by a later hand

^b Above the line in A; perhaps it should replace finitimum (*Winterbottom*)

¹ Glaber is describing events in Northern Britain, a country to which he rarely refers and about which he was not well informed. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Cnut 'went to Scotland, and the king of the Scots surrendered to him and became his man, but he observed it but little time'. This Scottish king was Malcolm II Mackenneth (1005–34) who is surely the king mentioned here by Glaber. However, the *Chronicle's* date of 1031 for this surrender is clearly an error; 1027 or 1028 is more likely: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas, and S. I. Tucker (London, 1961), p. 101 and n. 5. In fact it is not certain that any such surrender took place: G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity: Scotland 1000–1306* (London, 1981), p. 25. In any case it is not clear that this is the set of events which Glaber is here describing. The whole passage seems to refer to things which happened at the very start of Cnut's reign, and in the last sentence of para. 3 Glaber reflects upon the peace which followed these wars. Events in Northern Britain at the start of Cnut's reign are very obscure, but we do know that almost at the moment of Cnut's accession Malcolm II won a great victory over the Northumbrians at Carham in 1016 or 1018, which extended his rule to the line of the Tweed: Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum* and *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series, London, 1882–5), ii. 155; i. 84. It is quite possible that in the circumstances of his succession Cnut felt the need to stabilize his northern frontier and that, therefore, he came to some kind of arrangement with Malcolm II which Glaber heard about. Glaber was in Italy in 1028, shortly after Cnut, who attended the coronation of Conrad II in 1027 (see above, pp. xl–xli. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 101 n. 5), and might have heard about the matter then. What is certain is that Malcolm never had an adult son, for he was succeeded by his daughter's child, Duncan I (1034–40): Marianus

baptism.¹ From that time onwards, whenever the necessity of war pressed upon him, the duke of Rouen was able to call to his aid a great army from the islands across the sea. So it was that for a long time the Normans and the people of the islands enjoyed sure and certain peace, and far from the other nations terrorizing them, the fear they inspired terrified foreign peoples. Nor is this very strange, for discord, the destroyer of all good things, had been expelled by the fear of God from their midst, and amongst them, peace going before, the noble kingdom of Christ obtained happy joy.

iii. Of Conan duke of the Bretons and Fulk of Anjou²

4. In those days, however, the tumult of civil strife broke out in the lower parts of Gaul.³ Those who are concerned to investigate and dispute how the globe is laid out say that Gaul is formed like a square. This area from the Rhiphaean mountains⁴ to the borders of Spain has the Ocean to the left and the Alps to the right, and its length is greater than would be the case if it were a proper square. The lowest extremity of that country, indeed the vilest of all, is called the 'Horn of Gaul'.⁵ Its capital city is Rennes. It has long

Scotus, *Chronicon*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS*, v. 556 and the verse chronicle added to the *Chronicle of Melrose* (facsimile edition) ed. A. O. and M. O. Anderson and W. C. Dickinson (London, 1936), p. 22. But it is possible that Malcolm at some stage had an infant son whom Cnut could have received 'at the font of baptism', as Glaber here says, but who predeceased him. There is certainly no record of a Norman intervention in Anglo-Scottish affairs such as Glaber describes here, and it is likely that he is simply ascribing too much importance and influence to the treaty between Cnut and Richard II of Normandy. On the implications of this passage for the dating of the writing of Book 2, see above, pp. xl–xli. Thanks are due to Professor G. W. S. Barrow for his assistance on Scottish sources.

² Although Glaber never makes it clear, what follows was in part an episode in the struggle between the counts of Anjou and the counts of Blois. Geoffrey Greycloak, count of Anjou (c. 960–87) and his son Fulk Nerra (987–1040) established themselves as suzerains over the county of Nantes. Conan of Rennes looked to the counts of Blois for support in his ambition to dominate Nantes, and it was a resurgence of this ambition which led to the battle of Conquereuil described here: Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 41–3.

³ *GCA*, p. 93, reads: 'Nunc de moribus Brittonum quid Glaber Rodulphus historiographicus in historia sua scripsit et de Conano pseudo-rege facto, et de bello cum eodem Fulcone habito nostro operi breuiter inseramus.' The passage 'Narrant . . . episcopii diocesi' (iv. 7) follows.

⁴ A fabulous northern mountain-range located by Isidore of Seville 'in capite Germaniae': *Etymologiae* xiv. 8. 8. Glaber here implies that they lie to the north of Gaul; since he was writing from the perspective of Burgundy perhaps he had either the Vosges/Schwarzwald or the Jura in mind.

⁵ Evidently Cornouaille, not Cornwall, is intended here; but Glaber applies the term to Brittany as a whole.

nuncupatur. Est enim illius metropolis ciuitas Redonum. Inhabitatatur quoque diutius a gente Brittonum, quorum solę diuitię primitus fuere libertas fisci publici et lactis copia.¹ Qui omni prorsus urbanitate uacui, suntque illis mores inculti ac leuis ira et stulta garrulitas. Horum scilicet Brittonum aliquando princeps extitit quidam, Conanus nomine, qui etiam accepta in matrimonio Fulconis Andegauorum comitis sorore ac demum insolentior ceteris suę gentis principibus cepit existere.² Nam more regio imposito sibi diademate in sui anguli popello plurimam inconsulte exercuit tyrannidem. Postmodum uero inter ipsum Conanum et predictum Fulconem, Andegauorum uidelicet comitem, exortum est indissolubile iurgium, ita ut crebris suorum inuicem depopulationibus ac sanguinis effusionibus lacessiti ad ultimum quoque quamquam ciuile tamen inluctabile^a inirent comminus prelium. Cum igitur diu multumque uicissim sibi mala que poterant irrogassent, ab utroque decretum est ut in loco qui Concretus dicitur quisque illorum cum suo exercitu die constituto aduenientes prelii certamen inirent.³ Sed Brittonum exercitus, excogitata fraudis decipula, partem Fulconis exercitus nequiter prostrauerunt. In predicto denique loco, scilicet ubi certamen iniendum fuerat, clam preuenientes plerique Brittonum ibique nimium astute profundum atque perlongum fodere uallum, ramisque arborum densatim superinsertis, imposita uidelicet hostibus muscipula, recesserunt. Die igitur constituto iuxta conditum, dum illuc uterque cum suo exercitu adueniret, atque acies utraque iam in procintu uideretur informata, gens Brittonum callida fraudisque proprię conscia, simulans se uelle arripere fugam, scilicet ut auidius demergeret hostem in latentem muscipulam. Quod cernens Fulconis exercitus, cupiensque expedite super eos irruere, corrui pars ex eis non modica in foueam, uidelicet Brittonum astu

f. 12

patratam.^b Ilico | autem conuersi Brittones, qui prius fugam simulauerant, inhianterque super Fulconis exercitum irruentes, asperima quamplures ex eis cede prostrauerunt. Ipsum etiam Fulconem pulsum de equo in terram loricatum deiecerunt. Qui exurgens nimio accensus furore, dictis releuans exacuensque suorum animos, ac uelut turbo uehementissimus per densas segetes impellentes omnem exercitum Brittonum, crudeli nimium cede mactauerunt. Deletoque pene uniuerso exercitu Brittonum, ipsum

^a Perhaps ineluctabile (*GCA, Migne*)^b Perhaps paratam (*Winterbottom*)¹ For the independence of Brittany in Carolingian times see E. D. de Saint-Sauveur, *Histoire de Bretagne des origines à nos jours* (Rennes, 1935), i. 62–88.

been inhabited by Bretons whose sole source of wealth was originally freedom from the fisc¹ and the vast quantities of milk produced there. They are an uncivilized people with rude manners, quick to anger and ready to babble in their tongue. They had a prince called Conan and he married the sister of Fulk of Anjou, but then he began to display a greater insolence than any of the other princes of this people.² He crowned himself with a royal diadem and, untrammelled, he became a tyrant over the vile people of this tiny corner of the world. After this, irreconcilable strife broke out between Conan and Fulk of Anjou, and provoked by frequent raids and shedding of blood on both sides they eventually proceeded to a conflict internecine but unavoidable. When they had damaged one another as much as they could for a long time, it was decreed that on an agreed date each should come with his army to join battle at a place called Conquereuil.³ But the army of the Bretons cunningly devised a stratagem in order wickedly to destroy part of the army of Fulk. Many of the Bretons secretly came ahead to the appointed place and there they cleverly dug a long deep trench. They covered the snare thickly with the branches of trees, and having thus set a trap for their foes, they retired. On the chosen day each count came with his army as had been arranged, and when the ranks were drawn up ready for battle the Bretons, cunning and well aware of their stratagem, simulated flight so that the enemy should eagerly be drawn into the hidden snare. Seeing this, Fulk's men longed to fling themselves upon the enemy, and many of them fell into the ditch prepared by the crafty foe. The Bretons, who had at first feigned flight, now turned and rushed eagerly upon the army of Fulk, destroying very many of his men with cruel slaughter. Fulk himself, fully armoured, was thrown down from his horse. But he arose again burning with fury, and with loud cries he raised and sharpened the spirits of his men, so that like a whirlwind flattening thick corn they pitilessly made a great slaughter of the whole army of the Bretons. Almost all the Breton army was

² Conan married Ermengarde, daughter of Geoffrey Greycloak, count of Anjou, and sister of Fulk shortly after he assumed power in about 970: *ibid.* i. 110.³ 'DCCCXCII Secundum bellum fuit in Concurrum, in quo Fulco comes Andegauensis uictor extitit et Conanus Brito occisus est v kal. Iulii'. *Chron. S. Michaelis in periculo maris*, in M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, x (Paris, 1874), p. 175. There are many accounts of the battle of Conquereuil, fought on 27 June 992, and Glaber's is the most fanciful. For a short study see J. France, 'La guerre dans la France féodale', *Revue belge d'histoire militaire*, xxiii (1979), 190–1.

etiam Conanum illorum principem truncatum dextera uiuum capientes Fulconi reddiderunt. Qui potita uictoria reuersus ad propria, non illi postmodum quispiam Brittonum molestus extitit.

iv. *De monasterio Lucacense*¹

5. De eodem igitur Fulcone perplura dici potuissent ipsius gestorum, quę scilicet fastidium uitantes siluimus. Vnum tamen restat memorabile, in diuersis preliorum euentibus plurimum humanum fudisset sanguinem, metu gehennę territus, sepulchrum Saluatoris Hierosolorum adiit.² Indeque ut erat audacissimus admodum exultanter rediens, aliquantulum ad tempus a propria feritate est lenior redditus. Tunc ergo mente concepit ut in optimo fundorum proprii iuris loco ecclesiam construeret, ibidemque monachorum coetum coadunaret, qui uidelicet die noctuque pro illius animę redemptione interuenirent. Qui etiam, ut semper curiose agebat,^a cepit quosque percunctari religiosos, in quorum potissimum memoria sanctorum eandem ecclesiam fundare deberet, qui uidelicet pro eius remedio animę omnipotentem Dominum orarent. Cui inter ceteros a propria etiam uxore, quę ualde sano pollebat consilio, suggestum est ut in honore ac memoria illarum cęlestium uirtutum quas Cherubim et Seraphim sublimiores sacra testatur auctoritas uotum quod uouerat expleret.³ Qui libentissime annuens edificauit ecclesiam admodum pulcherrimam in pago scilicet Turonico, miliario interposito a Lucacense castro.

6. Expleto denique quantotius basilicę opere, protinus misit ad Hugonem Turonorum archipresulem,⁴ in cuius scilicet constituta

^a agebat *B corr. (?)*, *GCA*, *Duchesne*; aiebat *A*

¹ The date of the foundation of Beaulieu-lès-Loches is uncertain. Halphen, *Comté d'Anjou*, pp. 32–3, 85 n. 3, suggests that it was begun shortly after Fulk of Anjou's return from pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1003 and consecrated in May 1007, and this is accepted by Guillot, *Comté d'Anjou*, ii, charter C 66, p. 60. A very recent study has argued convincingly that although it was begun at the time suggested by Halphen, it was a very large structure that took time to complete, and was therefore put under papal protection in 1007 or 1008 because of the hostility of the archbishop of Tours. It was only after Fulk's return from his second journey to Jerusalem in 1010 that the building was sufficiently advanced for the question of consecration to become urgent; this was carried out in May 1012: B. S. Bachrach, 'Pope Sergius IV and the Foundation of the Monastery at Beaulieu-lès-Loches', *Revue bénédictine*, xcv (1985), 240–65. Bachrach suggests that Glaber had seen the text of letters exchanged between Fulk and the archbishop of

destroyed, but its leader Conan was taken alive and surrendered to Fulk after his right hand had been cut off. After the victory Fulk returned to his own country, never again to be troubled by any Bretons.

iv. *The monastery of Loches*¹

5. Many are the stories which might be told about this Fulk, but we have not repeated them so as to avoid boring the reader. However, there is one memorable tale which we will recount here. When he had shed much blood in many battles in many places, he was driven by fear of hell to go to our Saviour's sepulchre at Jerusalem.² Because he was an intrepid man he returned from there exultant, and for a time moderated his customary ferocity. It was now that he conceived the idea of building a church in the finest place on his domains and gathering there a community of monks who should intercede day and night for the redemption of his soul. Because he always made decisions carefully he consulted all religious persons on which saints he should honour when he dedicated his church, that they might pray to the Lord for the salvation of his soul. He was advised, amongst others, by his wife, a woman of good counsel, that he should discharge his oath in honour and memory of the heavenly Virtues which Holy Writ itself places above the Cherubim and Seraphim.³ He gladly agreed to this and built a beautiful church in the county of Tours, a mile from the castle of Loches.

6. The church was built swiftly; Fulk immediately sent to Hugh, archbishop of Tours,⁴ in whose diocese it was situated, asking him

Tours and based his account of their quarrel upon the texts of these. Fulk Nerra was buried at Beaulieu: Guillot, *Comté d'Anjou*, ii, charter C 98, p. 79; and see below for Glaber's account, 4. ix. 26.

² Fulk Nerra made three journeys to Jerusalem, in 1003, 1010, and 1038 or 1039: *GCA*, p. lxxviii. The first is referred to here: Halphen, *Comté d'Anjou*, Appendix II, pp. 213–18.

³ This is not a biblical quotation. The notion is that the theological virtues stand above all things, as in 1 Cor. 13: 1–13, where not even 'the tongues of men and of angels' will suffice without the theological virtue of Charity.

⁴ Hugh of Châteaudun, archbishop of Tours (1005–23). Hugh had been Viscount of Châteaudun and a vassal of the house of Blois before he was made archbishop. As a partisan of the house of Blois, he was inevitably an enemy of the house of Anjou: Halphen, *Comté d'Anjou*, pp. 84 n. 4, 117 n. 4.

f. 12^v erat diocesi, ut illam sacraturus quemadmodum decreuerat adueniret. Qui uenire distulit, dicens se minime posse illius uotum dicendo Domino committere, qui uidelicet matri ecclesie sedis sibi commissę predia et mancipia subripuerat non pauca. Hocque potius illi uidebatur competere ut primitus, si quid iniuste diripuerat alicui, restitueret, sicque deinceps iusto iudici Deo propria que uouerat offerre^a deberet. Cumque igitur ista Fulconi a suis perlata fuissent, diutina feritate resumta, nimium indigne ferens episcopi responsa, insuper cominatus est illum ualde, ac sublimius inde quod ualuit adegit consilium. Mox denique copiosa argenti et auri assumpta pecunia, Romam pergens ac Iohanni papę¹ causam suę profectionis exposuit, ac deinde poscens quod ab illo obtauerat plurima ei munerum dona obtulit. Qui protinus misit cum eodem Fulcone ad predictam basilicam sacrandam unum ex illis quos in beati Petri apostolorum principis ecclesia cardinales² uocant, nomine Petrum, cui etiam precepit, ueluti Romani pontificis auctoritate assumpta, quicquid agendum Fulconi uidebatur intrepidus expleret. Quod utique audientes Galliarum quique presules presumptionem sacrilegam cognouerunt ex ceca cupiditate processisse, dum uidelicet unus rapiens alterque raptum suscipiens recens in Romana ecclesia scisma creauissent: uniuersi etiam pariter detestantes, quoniam nimium indecens uidebatur ut is qui apostolicam regebat sedem apostolicum primitus ac canonicum^b transgrediebatur^c tenorem, cum insuper multiplici sit antiquitus autoritate roboratum ut non quispiam episcoporum in alterius diocesi istud presumat excercere, nisi presule cuius fuerit compellente seu permitente.³

7. Igitur die quadam mensis Maii congregata est innumerabilis populi multitudo ad dedicationem scilicet predictę ecclesie.⁴ Ex quibus multo etiam plures illuc Fulconis terror ob suę elationis pompam uenire compulit. Episcopi tantum qui eius dicione premebantur coacti interfuere. Cepta igitur die constituto satis pompaticę huiusmodi dedicatione atque peracta, missarumque ex

^a offerre B; offerri A (and GCA) ^b canonicum B before correction, GCA; canonicum A (and B corr.) ^c For another indicative after ut cf. conquieuit 4. iv. 11.

¹ Glaber has confused the popes. As Bachrach has shown, it was Sergius IV (1009–12) who ordered the confirmation of Loches in the last year of his life: Bachrach (p. 60 n. 1) *passim*, *JL* 3986, 3989, but it was John XVIII (1003/4–9) who extended papal protection to the new abbey. The papal legate was Peter ‘Vipernensis’, Peter of Piperno, who is

to come and consecrate it; this was what he had decided. But the bishop put off coming because he said he could not present before the Lord the vow of one who had stolen property and serfs on a grand scale from the mother-church of his see. He suggested that Fulk should first agree to restore all that he had taken, and only then offer what he had vowed to God, the just judge. When his servants reported this to Fulk, his normal ferocity emerged again: he received the bishop’s reply with great indignation, made dire threats against him, and prepared recourse to higher authority. Thereupon he quickly gathered together a large amount of gold and silver money and went to Rome, where he explained to Pope John¹ the reason for his journey, demanded his own way, and offered rich presents. To consecrate the church the pope sent back with Fulk one of those whom, in the church of St Peter, prince of the Apostles, they call cardinals.² His name was Peter, and he was endowed with the full power of the Holy See to do without fear whatever Fulk wished. When all the bishops of Gaul heard about this sacrilegious presumption they believed that it could only spring from blind avarice, for if one church could receive what had been stolen from another, then they had created a new schism in the Roman church. All were equally hostile because it was shameful that he who ruled the Apostolic See was breaking the original apostolic intention and the tenor of the canons, especially when it is an old and well-founded rule that no bishop may presume to exercise any authority in the diocese of another unless he is asked, or at least permitted, to do so by its own bishop.³

7. On a certain day in May a great multitude of people came together for the dedication of the church.⁴ Fear of Fulk and the arrogance of his pride compelled many of them to come. The only bishops there were those living under his rule and so forced to be present. On the appointed day the ceremony of dedication was begun and accomplished with great pomp, and after the customary named in Sergius’ bull, which Bachrach therefore thinks Glaber had knowledge of: Bachrach, p. 253.

² On the development of this term see S. Kuttner, ‘Cardinalis: The History of a Canonical Concept’, *Traditio*, iii (1945), 129–214. The title was enjoyed by some dignitaries outside Rome, notably at Ravenna, and later by papal grant, at Magdeburg (968), Trier (975), and Aachen (997): *ibid.*, pp. 156–7, 165.

³ For the importance of this idea, which Glaber repeats below in § 7, see above, p. lxi. The early authorities are collected in Gratian, *Decretum*, C. 6 q. 3.

⁴ May 1007: see above, iv. 5n.

more sollempniis celebratis, postmodum quique ad propria rediere. Denique imminente ipsius diei hora nona, cum flabris lenibus serenum undique consisteret cælum, repente superuenit a plaga australi uehementissimus turbo ipsam impellens ecclesiam ac replens eam turbido aere, diu multumque concutiens. Deinde uero solutis laquearibus uniuersæ eiusdem ecclesiæ trabes simulque tota teges per plagam^a templi eiusdem occidentalem in terram corruentes euersum ierunt.¹ Quod cum | multi per regionem factum conperissent, nulli uenit in dubium quoniam insolens presumptionis audacia irritum constituisset uotum. Simulque presentibus ac futuris quibusque ne huic simile agerent euidentis inditium fuit. Licet namque pontifex Romane ecclesiæ ob dignitatem apostolice sedis ceteris in orbe constitutis reuerentior habeatur, non tamen ei licet transgredi in aliquo canonici moderaminis tenorem. Sicut enim unusquisque orthodoxe ecclesiæ pontifex ac sponsus proprie sedis uniformiter spetiem gerit Saluatoris, ita generaliter nulli conuenit quippiam in alterius procaciter patrare episcopi^b diocesi.

v. *De portento Aureliane urbis mirabil²*

8. Anno igitur incarnati nongentesimo^c octogesimo octauo contigit in urbē Aureliana Galliarum admodum memorabile atque formidolosum portentum. Constat ergo in eadem urbē monasterium in honore apostolorum principis antiquitus constitutum, in quo primitus collegium sanctimonialium uirginum omnipotenti Deo deseruisse dignoscitur, quod etiam exinde cognomento Puellare dicitur.³ In cuius denique monasterii medio defixum stabat uenerabile crucis uexillum, preferens ipsius Saluatoris pro salute humana mortem patientis imaginem. A cuius scilicet imaginis oculis per aliquod dierum spatium continue, multis cernentibus, riuus emanauit lacrimarum. Ad quod nimirum terribile spectaculum inspitiendum multitudo maxima conuenit hominum: plerique tamen cum illud cernerent admodum animaduertentes quoddam esse diuinitatis presagium, uidelicet illius urbis superuenture

^a plagam *Winterbottom*; pignam *A (and GCA)* ^b *Perhaps* episcopi (*Holford-Strevens*)
^c nongentesimo *Delisle*; octingentesimo *A. As a note in the margin of D indicates, the year referred to must be 988; the events are said to have occurred in the reign of Bishop Arnulf (c.987–1003).*

¹ It is generally believed that the earlier phase of the surviving ruined nave of Beaulieu, which was a colossal unaisled structure with an open wooden roof, is that of Fulk's church: J. Vallery-Radot, 'L'ancienne église abbatiale de Beaulieu-lès-Loches', *Congrès*

high mass everybody returned home. Then, just before the ninth hour of that same day, at a time when the heavens were calm and fanned with gentle breezes, a hurricane struck from the south filling the church with turbulent air and pounding it long and hard. The tie-beams having been dislodged, all the timber roof-members together with all the tiles along the length of the western arm of the church fell to the ground and came to ruin.¹ When this became known throughout the province no one doubted that the insolent presumption of Fulk had rendered his vow void. It was a clear lesson to present and future generations that they should not behave in this way. Although the pontiff of the Roman church, because of the dignity of the Apostolic See, is honoured more than any other bishop, he is not permitted to transgress the canon law in any way. For each bishop in the orthodox church is bridegroom of his own see and equally embodies the Saviour, and so none should interfere insolently in the diocese of another bishopric.

v. *A strange omen at Orléans²*

8. In the year of the Incarnation 988 a portent both memorable and awful occurred in Gaul in the city of Orléans. In this city there is a monastery of ancient foundation dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles, and since it had originally been given over to a community of nuns devoted to Almighty God, it was called 'The Abbey of the Virgins'.³ In the middle of this abbey there was a venerable icon of the holy cross, bearing upon it the image of the Saviour suffering death for the salvation of men. For a period of some days a river of tears flowed continuously from the eyes of this image. There are plenty of witnesses to this, for a great crowd of people came to see the terrible spectacle. Many, when they saw it, believed that it was a divine portent of some calamity which was about to overtake that

archéologique de France, cvi (1948), pp. 126–42; J. Haroin and R. Michel-Dansac, 'Étude archéologique sur l'église de Beaulieu-lès-Loches', *ibid.* lxxvii (1950), ii. 91–120. Richard Gem, to whom I owe thanks for the translation of the passage and the references, is not wholly persuaded of this theory and feels 'that a new archaeological study is needed'.

² The stories of the weeping crucifix and the wolf portending the fire at Orléans were used by Hugh of Flavigny, p. 367.

³ The abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier was a very ancient house, originally founded for nuns as the twin of Saint-Pierre-en-Pont which was for monks, in the 4th c. By the 10th c. the monastic life had passed away and the former had become a house of canons: *Gallia Christiana*, viii. 1517–18.

calamitatis. Quemadmodum enim isdem per se Saluator præsciens imminere urbis detrimentum Hierosolimitane¹ fleuisse illam perhibetur, sic denique et hanc, uidelicet Aurelianam, paulo post iminentem cladem passuram per expressam suę imaginis figuram fleuisse comprobatur. Contigit ergo post paululum in eadem ciuitate inaudite rei id ipsum, ut putatur, portendens euentus. Denique cum una nocturnis custodes maioris ecclesię, uidelicet episcopi, ex more exsurrexissent atque ipsius ecclesię portas quibusque | ad matutinales laudes properantibus aperuissent, subito lupus adfuit, ecclesiamque ingressus ac funem signi ore arripiens agitansque illud insonuit. Cernentes nimirum qui adherant, mentis stupore concussi, tandem clamore emisso, ac si² inermes, nisu quo ualuere illum exturbantes ab ecclesia expulerunt. Sequenti uero anno tota illius ciuitatis humana habitatio cum domibus ecclesiarum terribiliter igne cremata est.³ Vnde etiam nulli uenit in dubium quoniam unius cladis euentum utriusque rei precessisset portentum.

9.⁴ Erat igitur tunc temporis predictę ciuitatis pontifex uenerabilis Arnulfus, qui uidelicet genere et doctrina sapientię pernobilis ac paternorum fundorum redditibus locupletissimus. Cernens excidium scilicet proprię sedis desolationemque sibi commissę plebis, potiore usus consilio, magnum colligens apparatus, cepit domum maioris ecclesię, quę olim dicata fuerat in Christi Crucis honore, iugiter a fundamentis reedificare. Qui dum acerrime cepto operi cum suis omnibus intenderet, ut scilicet quantotius honestissime consummaret, nimium euidenter prestitum est illi diuinitus iuua-men. Contigit igitur quadam die, dum cementarii fundamina basilice locaturi soliditatem perscrutarentur ipsius telluris, ut repperirent copiosa auri pondera, quę scilicet ad totius, quamuis magne, basilice fabricam reformandam certissime crederentur sufficere. Suscipientes ergo qui fortuito inuenerant aurum, ex integro episcopo detulerunt. Ipse uero omnipotenti Deo pro collato sibi munere gratias agens, ac suscipiens illud, custodibus operis tradidit totumque fideliter in opus eiusdem ecclesię expendi iussit. Fertur namque quod etiam illud aurum sollertia beati Euurtii,⁵

¹ Luke 19: 41–4.

² ‘si’ apparently for *etsi* ‘although’, as frequently in French; cf. Du Cange s.v.

³ The fire occurred in 989: A. Duchateau, *Histoire du Diocèse d’Orléans depuis son origine jusqu’à nos jours* (Orléans, 1888), p. 90.

⁴ Hugh of Flavigny, p. 367, used this account of the rebuilding of Orléans cathedral.

⁵ The idea that St Evurtius (or Euverte), bishop of Orléans c. 346, built the cathedral

city. For the Saviour is said to have wept for Jerusalem when He foresaw its imminent destruction,¹ and similarly it is proved that He wept, through the icon representing Him, for this city of Orléans when it was on the verge of a calamity. Shortly after an unheard-of thing happened in this same city, portending (it is believed) the same event. One night when, as usual, the guardians of the greater church, that of the bishopric, had got up and opened the doors of the church for those hastening to hear matins, a wolf suddenly appeared; entering the church it seized the bell-rope in its jaws and, pulling upon it, made the bell ring. Those present, though stunned by the shock, cried out at the sight, and though² unarmed managed to drive it out of the church by this means. In the following year the whole city with all its houses and even its churches was burnt down, an appalling event.³ Nobody doubted that the one disaster had been presaged by the two events described here.

9.⁴ At that time the bishop of the city was Arnulf, a man distinguished alike in birth, education, and wisdom. His patrimonial lands yielded ample revenues. When he saw the destruction of his see and the desolation of his flock, he took wiser counsel and with great preparation immediately began to rebuild the great church, once dedicated to Christ’s cross, from its very foundations. Once the work was begun, Arnulf and his servants bent all their efforts that the work might swiftly be brought to a worthy end; and he was favoured by the clearest divine intervention. One day when the masons were examining the firmness of the earth as they prepared to lay the foundations of the church, they found a hoard of gold. There was so much of it that men believed it would suffice to pay for the rebuilding of the church on however grand a scale it was undertaken. Those who had chanced on the gold took it intact to the bishop. He received it, giving thanks to Almighty God for the gift He had made, and delivered it to those in charge of the works, ordering that it should all be faithfully spent on the rebuilding of the church. It is said that this gold had been buried by the far-sighted St Evurtius,⁵ in

at Orléans and obtained for it a fragment of the Holy Cross is contained in his *Vita* and is summarized in *Gallia Christiana*, viii. 1410–11. However, his cult can only be traced back with any certainty to the time of Charles the Bald (840–77), when Ermold le Noir, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au roi Pépin*, ed. E. Faral (Paris, 1932), p. 62, describing the journey of Louis the Pious to Aachen in 814 on the death of Charles the Great, mentioned the cult of St Evurtius and that of the Holy Cross at Orléans. The actual church of the Holy Cross at Orléans was founded in the 7th c., but it was not the

f. 14 antiqui eiusdem sedis presulis, ibidem huius restaurationis gratia fuisset reconditum, idcirco permaxime, quoniam, dum isdem uir sanctus quondam potioem quam fuerat primitus eandem informaret ecclesiam, contigit illi huic simile munus | diuinitus sibi reseruatum inibi reperire. Sicque preterea factum est ut et domus ecclesie, uidelicet sedis pontificalis, priore elegantior reformaretur, ipsoque suadente pontifice ceterarum que in eadem ciuitate deperierant basilicarum, sanctorum quorumque meritis dicatarum, edes anterioribus potiores construerentur, atque diuinorum operum cultus in eisdem excellentior haberetur pre omnibus. Ipsaque urbs paulo post referta domorum edificiis, plebs tandem illius mitigata a flagitiis, Domini pietate subuenta, tantoque citius conualuit quanto sagatius propriam calamitatem excepit ob correptionis ultionem. Fuit namque predicta ciuitas antiquitas, ut est in presentiarum, regum Francorum principalis sedes regia, scilicet pro sui pulcritudine ac populari frequentia, necnon et telluris hubertate perspicuique irrigatione fluminis.¹ Ex Ligere quippe sibi congruo etiam flumine agnomen habet inditum, diciturque Aureliana, quasi Ora^a Ligeriana, eo uidelicet quod in ora^b eiusdem fluminis ripe sit constituta, denique non, ut quidam minus cauti existimant, ab Aureliano Augusto, quasi eam ipse edificauerit, sic uocatam, quin potius ab amne, ut diximus, quod recitius ueriusque illi congruit.²

vi. De prelationibus turpi lucro^c areptis

10. Sacro igitur premonente eloquio, luce clarius conpertum habetur quoniam in processu nouissimorum dierum, frigescente in hominibus caritate ac superabundante iniquitate, instabunt periculosa animarum tempora.³ Nam et multiplicibus antiquorum patrum intimatur assertionibus quod, crassante auaritia, preteritarum iura uel ordines religionum ex eo unde consurgere debuere

^a ora D; ore AB ^b ora France; ore ABD ^c turpis lucrī A (see above, p. 48 n. a)

cathedral of Orléans, which at that time was the church of St Stephen. It was only in the 9th c. that Holy Cross emerged as the cathedral church of the bishops of Orléans. The legend of St Evurtius clearly enhanced the glory of the new cathedral: J. de la Martinière, 'Les origines chrétiennes d'Orléans', *Revue de l'histoire de l'Église de France*, xxv (1939), 13, 15, 25, 26–8. Glaber later mentions that Ulric, bishop of Orléans, was given a fragment of the True Cross by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VIII (1025–8), below, 4. vi. 19.

former times bishop of this diocese, just so that it should serve for the restoration of the church. He did this above all because when that holy man was once upon a time improving the original church, he too found there a gift reserved for him by divine providence. And so the episcopal church was rebuilt more beautiful than it had been before; furthermore, the bishop ordered that the other churches in the city which were dedicated to every saint and which had been destroyed should also be rebuilt more splendidly than before so that they might celebrate divine service more magnificently than all others. In a very short time the city was filled with new buildings and the people, saved from their sins by the aid of the love of God, recovered the more quickly in that they understood that their calamity had been sent to punish vice. In ancient times, as now, the city was the principal seat of the Frankish kings because of its beauty, its numerous population, the richness of its soil and the purity of its river water.¹ It has even taken its name from this river Loire: the city is called *Aureliana*, which means 'Edge of the Loire', because it is situated on the very bank of the river. It is not called after its alleged founder Aurelian Augustus, as some have rashly thought, but after the river, as we have made clear: this explanation is the correct one and better fits the name of the place.²

vi. Prelates seized by shameful avarice

10. Holy Gospel reveals as an evident fact that as the last days go by charity will be chilled and iniquity will blossom amongst men, who will face times dangerous for their souls.³ The Fathers assert in numerous passages that with the growth of avarice the religions of the past with their orders and regulations were defiled by what should have been the source of their advance, and what for some

¹ Glaber has already referred to the coronation of King Robert in 987 in the 'royal city' of Orléans (2. i. 1) and he later refers to it as 'the royal city of Gaul' (3. vii. 24). Helgaud of Fleury, pp. 84, 86, records that Robert's parents, anxious to secure the health of their sickly son, made lavish donations to the cathedral of Orléans, including a gold crucifix and a gold vase, and that Robert himself greatly favoured the city where he was born (c. 970), baptized, and crowned, presenting Holy Cross with a silver patten and making generous gifts to other churches in the city.

² The etymological authorities are quite clear that the Latin name Aurelius underlies the name Orléans, which was called 'Cenabum' at the time of the Roman conquest: A. Duzat and C. Rostaing, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France* (Paris, 1963); A. Longnon (ed.), *Noms de lieu de la France* (Paris, 1920–9). ³ Cf. Matt. 24: 12.

f. 14^v ad incrementi profectum, exinde sumpsere corruptionis defectum, illudque aliquibus uersum est in animarum detrimentum, quod quibusdam eo legitime utentibus fuit emolumentum. Siquidem, ut diximus, turpis lucri auaritia inperante, suffocatur | sepissime censura iustitię. Cum enim in diuersarum gentium ac prouinciarum cultibus istud habeatur probabile, euidentius tamen in Israheliticę plebis leuitis et sacerdotibus. Qui scilicet, quanto dudum ceteris opulentiore, eo amplius plerique illorum superba cupiditate insolentiores, idcirco etiam ad ultimum omnibus effecti deteriores. Sed multum distant legis ueteris instituta, multiplicibus figurarum enigmatibus uestita, a nouę gratię perspicuis ac spiritualibus sacramentorum donis. Ibi namque munera solummodo conferebantur terrenarum hostiarum, in his ipse Deus accipitur in premium; ibique nichilominus totum promerebatur quisque ex seruitutis actione, hic uero quisque dignus habetur dumtaxat ex sincera optime conscientię uoluntatę.

II. Atque idcirco ista premisimus, quoniam, iamdudum muneribus ineptis execatis pene uniuersis principibus, deseuit hęc pestis longe lateque in ecclesiarum quibusque prelatis toto terrarum orbe diffusis. Denique omnipotentis Christi Domini gratuitum ac uenerabile donum ad proprię damnationis cumulum conuerterunt in auaritię lucrum.¹ Ideoque huiusmodi uidelicet prelati tanto minus ad diuinum peragendum opus inueniuntur idonei, quanto constat quia non ad illud accesserunt per aditum principalis hostii.² Et licet aduersus talium personarum procatitatem multipliciter clamet sacrarum scripturarum canon, nunc tamen solito multiplicius conperitur fieri in diuersis ecclesiarum ordinibus. Nam ipsi reges, qui sacre religionis idonearum decretores personarum esse debuerant, munerum largitione corrupti, potiore quempiam ad regimen ecclesiarum uel animarum diiudicant, illum uidelicet a quo ampliora munera suscipere sperant. Atque idcirco permaxime quique procaces ac turgore superbię inflati sese ultro cuique prelacioni ingerunt, minus formidantes incurrere lapsum neglecte pastoralis curę, quoniam tota solummodo illorum pendet fiducia ex loculis collectę pecunię, non ex percepte donis sapientię. Tantoque amplius, adepto regimine, student auaritię, quanto constat propriam ex illa ambitionem implesse. Ac uelut idolo sibi pro Deo constituto illi seruiunt, per quam scilicet informati ad tale nomen absque merito uel opere proruperunt. Fitque

who used it properly was a means of gain to souls, was turned by others to their destruction. As we have said, where greed for filthy lucre rules, justice is most often stifled. This can be shown in the religions of many peoples and provinces, and it was nowhere more manifest than amongst the priests and Levites of the Jews. As they became richer than their fellows, so through pride and cupidity many of them became more insolent and in the end were the most corrupt of all. However, there is a great deal of difference between the Old Law, clothed as it was in shadows and mysteries, and the manifest and spiritual sacraments granted by the New Covenant. In those days only earthly sacrifices were offered, but now God Himself is become our ransom; then men offered full satisfaction through some external act of abasement, but now one is found worthy only through purity of will and a good conscience.

II. We have said all this because, while almost all princes have long been blinded with vain wealth, this contagion has spread far and wide to all the prelates scattered over the face of the earth. They have twisted the free and venerable gift of Christ Almighty to their own damnation for love of money.¹ Such men are so much the less worthy of celebrating the divine office because they have not come to that office by way of the Master's gate.² Although the canons of Holy Scripture cry out time after time against the shamelessness of such people, nevertheless we know that nowadays it takes place far more than usual in the various orders of the church. Kings ought to have chosen worthy persons for the service of holy religion, but they have been corrupted by bribes and prefer to appoint anyone from whom they can expect more gifts to the rule of churches and the cure of souls. So presumptuous men, swollen with pride, push themselves forward for every preferment, the less afraid of the sin of neglecting pastoral care because the sum of their faith depends only on the purses they fill with the money they have raised, not on the gift of the wisdom they have received. Furthermore, once they are installed, they are the more zealous in avarice because it was through avarice that they satisfied their ambition for office. In this way they set up an idol as their God, and they serve that which enabled them to invade a title to which they have no claim through works or merit. The less

¹ Through 'simony', the purchase of spiritual office, of which Glaber displays such apparent hatred. He later refers back to this passage: 4. v. 17. See also *Life*, cc. iv, x.

² An allusion to John 10: 2 'qui autem intrat per ostium, pastor est ouium'.

f. 15 minus cautis deceptoriam imitandi forma, ac perinde uicissim contumax inuidia, quippe quoniam quicquid in talibus alter emulando | colligit uidetur alteri inuidendo sibi subripi, atque, ut inuidorum semper mos est, alienis felicitatibus indesinenter appetunt torqueri. Hinc etiam procedunt litigiorum tumultus assidui, oriunturque frequentia scandala, ac diuersorum transgrediendo conuellitur tenor ordinum.

12. Sic etiam contingit ut, dum inreligiositas grassatur in clero, procatitatis et incontinentiæ appetitus succrescat in populo. Deinde uero mendaciorum circonuenientiæ, fraudes, atque homicidia uniuersos pene in interitum subripiendo pertrahunt. Et quoniam catholice fidei oculus, uidelicet ecclesiæ prelatos, pessime cecitatis caligo obrepsit, idcirco plebs illius, propriæ salutis uiam ignorans, in suæ perditionis ruinam decidit. Iure etiam contingit ut ipsi scilicet prelati ab eisdem quos subiectos habere debuerunt affligantur, atque contumaces sentiant illos quos utique suo exemplo a iustitiæ itinere fecere deuios. Nec mirum preterea si in aliquibus angustiis constituti minus dum clamant exaudiuntur, quoniam ipsi sibimet per auaritiæ cumulum clausere misericordiæ hostium, cum certissimum nichilominus habeatur pro huiusmodi uiscositudine flagitii sepius imminere communem cladem populis et animantibus cunctis necnon etiam plurimam pestem frugibus uidelicet ex intemperie aeris. Sic quippe fieri contingit ut hi scilicet, qui omnipotentis Dei gregi sibi commissos ferre debuerant saluationis amiculum, obponerent eidem consueti beneficii obstaculum. Quodcumque enim desiit religiositas pontificum ac marcessit districtio regularis abbatum, simulque monasterialis discipline uigor tepescit, ac per illorum exempla cetera plebs mandatorum Dei preuaricatrix existit, quid aliud quam totum simul humanum genus rursus in antiquum precipitium cæcus suæ perditionis spontanea uoluntate inlabitur? Ex huiusmodi rei proculdubio euentu dudum ille antiquus Leuitan fiduciam conceperat quod inundatio Iordanis fluminis os inlaberetur illius,¹ ut uidelicet baptizantium multitudo per auaritiæ appetitum, uiam ueritatis deserens, demergeretur in interitum. Et quia, ut ex auctoritate apostolica completum dinoscitur, frigescente scilicet | caritate ac superabundante iniquitate,² in hominibus utique semet plus iusto amantibus, solito crebrius ista que

f. 15^v

cautious are rashly seduced into imitating them, and this leads to a lasting and wicked envy, for whatever one man in such matters acquires by emulation seems to another to have been enviously snatched from him. For it has always been the case that the envious are constantly tormented by others' happiness. From this incessant quarrels and frequent scandals arise, and the rules of the various orders are destroyed by disobedience.

12. As irreligious laxity grows amongst the clergy, a lust for wantonness and incontinence prevails amongst the laity. For the coils of deception, and fraud and murder, drag almost all men down to perdition. Because guilty blindness has crept over the bishops who are the eye of the catholic faith, its people, ignorant of the path to salvation, fall into ruinous perdition. It is, therefore, no more than a just retribution when these prelates are attacked by those they ought to have kept subject, and feel to their cost the contumacy of those whom by their example they caused to stray from the path of righteousness. Nor is it surprising that, when they cry out in their adversity, no one heeds them, for through avarice they have closed the gates of mercy on themselves. It is well known that in punishment for such sins general calamities very often threaten peoples and all living things, and even the fruits of the earth themselves are menaced by disaster from the intemperate air. Those who should have brought redeeming help to Almighty God's flock, their charge, instead set up against it the obstacles of their accustomed privilege. When the piety of bishops wanes, and the austerity of abbots softens, when the rigour of the monastic discipline grows cold, and by their example the rest of the people sinfully break God's commands, does it not seem as if the whole of mankind is sliding back again of its own free will into the old abyss of perdition? Surely it was as a result of similar events that the ancient Leviathan conceived the assurance that the flooding of the Jordan would serve to bathe its lips,¹ so that a multitude of the baptized might, because of its hankering after avarice, desert the path of truth and be plunged into ruin. For, as is made evident by apostolic authority, it is the chilling of charity, and the blossoming of iniquity,² amongst men who love themselves more than is right that

¹ Glaber has confused Behemoth, who at Job 40: 18 (23) 'trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth', with the Leviathan of Job 40: 20 (41: 1).

² Cf. Matt. 24: 12.

retulimus circa millesimum^a post nati Saluatoris Domini annum in uniuersis mundi partibus contigerunt.

vii. *De incendiis et mortibus nobilium*

13. Septimo igitur de supradicto millesimo anno¹ Vesuuus mons, qui et Vulcani olla dicitur, solito multipliciore hyatu Vesuuus igne permixtam sulphureo grandium saxorum multitudinem, qui usque in tertium rotabantur miliarium, sicque suo alatu putido circa se inhabitabilem cepit facere prouintiam. Sed neque hoc puto silentio preterire, cur istud in sola Africana contingat fieri regione.² Primum denique ob telluris uacuitatem, ex nimio solis ardore, et quoniam illuc incombuit deuexum ab oriente Oceanum mare, inmensos undarum erigendo in sese recolligit uertices, quibus uidelicet percusus reconditur aer telluris in gremio, deinde uero cum igniflua uaporatione quo ualet eructuat ad supera; siquidem aer, sicut ex ordinali constitutione penetrat supera,³ sic ex eiusdem ambigua natura, humoris scilicet atque caloris, sepius agitatus exprimit in aridis ignem aut in humidis glatiem. Contigit interea pene uniuersas Italię et Gallię ciuitates ignium incendiis deuastari, ipsamque urbem Romam ex parte maxima igne cremari. Quod dum fieret Beati Petri ecclesię tigna isdem ignis arripuit, cepitque sub çreo tabulatu consumendo lambere ligna.⁴ Quod cernens uniuersa hominum multitudo quę aderat, nullam omnino conpescendę cladis artem repperiens, conuersi unanimes uoce clamantes terribili ad ipsius apostolorum principis cucurrere confessionem, diu inprecantes si non peruigil proprię foret ad presens defensor ecclesię, multos in orbę terrarum a suę fidei professione decidere. Statim uero uorax flamma abietinas deserens trabes disparuit.

^a A adds et, deleted by Migne

¹ i.e. 993 or 994.

² Glaber here appears to place Vesuvius in Africa, which is odd because this book was written at a time when he was in the service of the Italian, St William of Dijon (on which see above, pp. xl–xli). It is possible, however, that Glaber means something other than the continent of Africa. In Book 1 he suggests that al-Manşūr, the leader of the Spanish Muslims, came from ‘Africa’ while ‘Algalif’ was from Spain (1. v. 17n.) and he says again that al-Manşūr was from Africa in ix. 18 below. Rather later (4. vii. 22) he records the great booty given by the Christians of Spain after their victory over the Muslims of ‘Africa’. It seems likely that Africa is being used in a general sense to mean that part of the world where the Muslims lived. By extension it is possible that what he means here is simply ‘the lands of the south where it is hot’. It is worth noting that in his eyewitness account of the First Crusade, Raymond of Aguilers refers to the Saracen

cause the evils which we have reported and which, more abundantly than usual, afflicted all parts of the world about the year 1000 after the birth of Our Lord.

vii. *Fires and the death of noble persons*

13. In the seventh year from the millennium¹ Mount Vesuvius, which is also called ‘Vulcan’s Pot’, spewed forth, by more mouths than usual, sulphurous fire and a great many rocks, which were thrown distances of up to three miles. This and the accompanying foetid smells began to make the area round about uninhabitable. But we must not pass over in silence the reasons why such things happen only in Africa.² The earth is hollow there, because of the extreme heat of the sun; the ocean, pressing down upon it from the east, raises and then gathers back into itself waves of immense height, compressing the air and driving it into the bowels of the earth, whence it belches forth mightily to the heavens with flaming vapour: just as air, according to its nature, rises to the heavens,³ so this mixture is governed by the laws of its constituent elements, fire and water, and so often when disturbed it presses out the fire in dry things and the ice in wet things. In the meantime almost all the cities of Italy and Gaul were devastated by violent conflagrations, and Rome itself largely razed by fire. When this happened the flames attacked the fabric of St Peter’s church and began to lick at the wooden beams beneath the bronze tiles.⁴ The great multitude of the people who witnessed this could find no way of preventing the disaster, so as one man they gave out a terrible scream and turned to rush to confess the Prince of the Apostles, for a long while crying that if he did not watchfully protect his church at this time then many men would fall away from the faith. Immediately the voracious flames fell back from the fir planks and vanished.

lands to the south of Antioch as ‘Hispania’, a usage which would have been familiar to him in his native Provence: *Le ‘Liber’ de Raymond d’Aguilers*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1969), pp. 50, 53, 101.

³ For Glaber’s ideas on the elements see the chapter on the ‘Divine Quaternity’ above, 1. i. 2.

⁴ Hugh of Flavigny, pp. 367–8, records this fire at Rome under 991 and mentions all the notables, with the exception of Richard I of Normandy, whose deaths are recorded in the next paragraph. Honorius I (625–38) covered the main nave and transept of St Peter’s with bronze tiles from the Temple of Venus and Rome. They were gilded: R. Krautheimer *et al.*, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae* (Vatican, 1977), v. 174, 210. I must thank Richard Gem for this reference.

14. Per iddem tempus obierunt in Italia et in Galliis qui precipui erant, pontifices et duces necnon et comites. Primitus quoque papa Iohannes, deinde Hugo marchionum optimus, post hæc uero per Italiam quique nobiliores.¹ In Galliis namque Odo et Heribertus, quorum prior Turonorum Carnotique, sequens uero Meldorum ac Treorum comes exitit.² Tunc temporis etiam dux Rotomagnorum Ricardus obiit, qui monasterium edificauerat nimium | locuplex qui dicitur Fiscampus, in quo etiam sepultus quiescit.³ Willelmus quoque Pictauiorum dux sub eodem tempore uitam finiuit.⁴ Pontifices item in Galliis quique^a religiosiores a seculo excesserunt:^b Manasses uidelicet uir sanctitate plenus, Treorum episcopus, et Gislebertus Parisiorum necnon et Iebonius Catalonorum cum aliis pluribus.⁵ Inter quos etiam bonæ memoriæ sanctus uidelicet Maiolus apud Siluiniacum cœnobium uitæ presentis est terminum consecutus; cuius scilicet uitæ honestatem preciosus etiam commendat transitus.⁶ Nam ad illius famam sanctitatis confluxere ex uniuerso Romano orbe uiri et mulieres utrorumque ordinum⁷ plurimi, exinde referentes diuersarum infirmitatum gratiam sanitatis. Deseuebat eodem tempore clades pessima in hominibus, ignis scilicet occultus, qui quodcumque membrorum arripisset exurendo truncabat a corpore. Plerosque etiam in spatio unius noctis huius ignis consumpsit exustio. Sed cum in plurimis sanctorum memoriis huius tremendæ pestis sint inuenta remedia, maximus tamen concursus factus est ad trium sanctorum confessorum ecclesias, Martini scilicet Turonorum atque Odolrici Baioariorum,⁸ necnon et istius uenerabilis patris Maioli, optatæque salutis inuenta sunt beneficia.

^a quique *Duchesne, cf. above*; quinque *A* asdo excercerunt *A*

^b a seculo (*so B*) excesserunt *Duchesne*;

¹ John XV (985–96), whose appeal to Otto III for assistance against the Crescentian domination of Rome in 996 precipitated the events described by Glaber above, i. iv. 12–15. John died before Otto reached Rome: *Chronica . . . S. Bartholomaei, MGH SS xxxi. 214*; *Annales Hildesheimenses, MGH SS iii. 91*; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris, 1886–92), ii, p. lxxvi. Hugh, marquess of Tuscany (969–1002), was a supporter of Otto III's Italian policy; cf. C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (London, 1981), p. 185.

² Odo I, count of Tours, Blois, Châteaudun, and Chartres, died in 996 at the abbey of Marmoutier where he had, at the last moment, taken the monastic habit: F. Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet* (Paris, 1903), p. 178. On Odo's family see below, 3. ii. 5n. Herbert II of Troyes and Meaux died in 994 or 995: see below, 3. vi. 22n.

³ Richard I of Normandy, on whom see above, i. v. 21, n.

⁴ William IV, 'Fierbrace', duke of Aquitaine (963–94): Halphen, *Comté d'Anjou*, p. 56.

14. At the same time many eminent men of Italy and Gaul died, amongst them bishops, dukes, and counts. The first of these was Pope John, then Hugh the great Marquess, and after them all the most noble persons of Italy.¹ In Gaul both Odo, count of Tours and Chartres, and Herbert, count of Meaux and Troyes, died.² It was at this time too that Richard duke of Rouen died; he had founded the magnificent monastery of Fécamp, where he was buried and rests in peace.³ William, duke of Poitou, also died then.⁴ Amongst the bishops all the most devout in Gaul departed this life; these were the saintly Manasses of Troyes, Gilbert of Paris, Gebuin of Châlons, and many others.⁵ Amongst these last were St Mayol of happy memory; he ended his life at the monastery of Souvigny. His memorable death embellishes the sanctity of his life.⁶ The fame of his holiness attracted many men and women of both orders⁷ from the whole Roman world, and they departed blessed by the curing of their many ills. At this time a terrible plague attacked mankind; it was like a hidden fire which consumed and severed from the body any limb which it afflicted. Many died from this fire in the course of a single night. Men found remedies for this evil pestilence in the shrines of many saints, but the greatest numbers flocked to the churches of three confessors, St Martin of Tours, St Ulric⁸ of Bavaria, and the holy father Mayol, and these in their munificence provided the cures men sought.

⁵ Manasses d'Arcis-Ramerupt, bishop of Troyes, occurs c. 991; Gilbert, bishop of Paris (c. 989–c. 991); Gebuin I, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne (c. 947/8–c. 997): Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, p. 105; *Gallia Christiana*, xii. 494; vii. 42; ix. 871–2. The *Gallia* has notes on two Gebuins, uncle and nephew: clearly the man who died in the 990s was Gebuin I, who was still alive c. 991 and had been succeeded by c. 997. W. Wakefield and A. P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York, London, 1969), p. 72 n. 4, suggest that Gebuin died in 1007 because all these deaths occurred at the same time as the eruption of Vesuvius which is reported at the very start of this chapter. They have read the first line of this chapter as meaning Vesuvius erupted in the seventh year of the new millennium, but the sense of Glaber's phrase 'Septimo igitur de supradicto millesimo anno' is that it was the seventh year *before* the new millennium.

⁶ St Mayol, on whose captivity by the Saracens of Provence see above, i. iv. 9, died at Souvigny in 994: St Odilo, *De Vita Maioli Abbatis, PL* cxlii. 958.

⁷ i.e. clerical and lay.

⁸ St Ulric, bishop of Augsburg (923–4 July 973). He was buried in the church of St Afra at Augsburg. For his life see *Vita Udalrici* by Berno of Prüm, *PL* cxlii. 1183–1204. He is the first saint for whom there is extant a papal bull of canonization. For his importance in the development of papal canonization see E. W. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 57–8.

viii. *De Heinrici ducis morte et uastatione Burgundię*¹

15. Igitur anno tertio de supradicto millesimo moritur in Burgundia dux Heinricus apud Castrum Pulliacum super Ararim fluium, sepultureque Autisioderi apud eximium confessorem Germanum traditur Octobrio mense. Sequentē uero mense Decembrio, uespere sabbati ante diem dominice Natiuitatis, aparuit in aere portentum mirabile, species uidelicet seu ipsa moles immensi draconis a septentrionali plaga egrediens cum nimia coruscatione petebat austrum. Quod prodigium pene homines uniuersos qui uidere infra Gallias terruit.² Sequenti denique anno ascendit Rotbertus rex in Burgundiam cum magno exercitu pugnantorum, ducens etiam secum Ricardum Rotomagnorum comitem cum triginta milibus Normagnorum,³ quoniam Burgundiones ei fuere rebelles, nolentes eum suscipere in ciuitatibus et castris, quę fuerant ducis Heinrici, eius uidelicet auunculi, quin potius sibi in proprias diuisere partes. Deueniens quoque primitus rex cum omni exercitu ciuitatem Autisioderum, eam obsidione circumdedit. Qui diu ibi crebris assultibus | fatigatus residens non aduersus eam preualuit, quę fertur numquam fraude uel hoste fuisse decepta. Relicta namque ciuitate, rex cum uniuerso bellico apparatu conuertit se ad castrum beati presulis Germani expugnandum, quod munito aggere prepollens heret ciuitati. Vallauerat enim illud Landrici comitis exercitus, necnon eiusdem loci familiares uiri, hostium siquidem metuentes sacri gregis diremptionem.⁴ Occurrit interea furenti regi Odilo, uenerabilis abba Cluniensis monasterii, cupiens interuenire partes utrasque, siquidem ut regi exhiberetur honorificentia, solidaretur concordia principum, pax patrię firmaretur. Qui minus posse fieri cernens quod decreuerat, hortabatur fratres octo tantum numero qui ad confessoris custodiam relictı fuerant (nam ceteros cum suo abbate Hilderico nomine iussio regis inde exire conpulerat) ut orationi instarent assidue, si forte Domini pietas eos pariter et locum a tanta obsidione dignaretur eripere.⁵

¹ Glaber's work is one of the principal sources for the Burgundian civil war, but he is extremely discreet about certain aspects, as noted above, p. lxxiv. He tells us more about it below, 3. ii. 6. The account in 15 and 16 is very like that of the same episode in the life of Bishop Hugh of Auxerre (999–1039), on which see above, pp. xcvi–c. Hugh of Flavigny, p. 368, records the death of Henry at 'Puliacum super Ararim' in the year 996 and the invasion of King Robert and Duke Richard of Normandy as starting in 997. His account is clearly based upon Glaber, accepting even the mistaken dating given here. On Duke Henry see above i. 1 n.

² The manifestation of a hideous dragon in the sky at this time is recorded in the

viii. *The death of Duke Henry and the devastation of Burgundy*¹

15. In the third year from the millennium, Duke Henry died at Pouilly-sur-Saône in Burgundy, and he was buried at Auxerre close to the great confessor Germanus in October. In the December following, one Saturday evening on Christmas Eve, a wonderful portent appeared in the sky. It had the shape of (or perhaps it simply was) a huge dragon, and it travelled from north to south, shimmering with a great light. This portent terrified almost all the men in Gaul who saw it.² In the following year King Robert went up to Burgundy with a great army of warriors, accompanied by Count Richard of Rouen³ with 30,000 Normans. The king came because the Burgundians were rebelling against him and refusing to admit him to the cities and towns which had belonged to Duke Henry, his uncle, and were dividing these amongst themselves. The king came first with all his army to the city of Auxerre and besieged it. After being there for a long time, tired by repeated assaults, the king failed to capture this city, which is said never to have been captured by force or by guile. Therefore the king retired from the city and transported the whole panoply of war to attack the strongly fortified abbey of the holy Bishop Germanus, which stands close to the city. The army of Count Landri, together with some local men, had fortified it because they were anxious to preserve the community from the enemy.⁴ In the meantime Odilo, the venerable abbot of the monastery of Cluny, came to meet the angry king, seeking to mediate between the two parties; he hoped that the king would be accorded all due respect, that the princes could be brought into concord, and that peace should be established in the land. Seeing that he was quite unable to do what he had sought to do, Odilo exhorted the eight brothers who were all who had been left behind to guard the holy confessor (the rest with Helderic, their abbot, had left at the command of the king) to pray assiduously, in the hope that the love of God might deign to preserve them and this holy place from the terrible siege.⁵

Chronicon S. Petri Vici, p. 107 n. 7 and is derived from Hugh of Flavigny, p. 368, who took it from Glaber but used it as a portent of the death of Otto III. The *Annales Floriacenses*, *MGH SS* ii. 254–5, record the appearance of a 'draco magnus scilicet, et sine capite' in 956.

³ Richard II of Normandy, on whom see above, 1. v. 21, ii. 3.

⁴ On Landri count of Nevers see below, 3. ii. 6.

⁵ Helderic, abbot of Auxerre (989–1010), was an Italian, brought to Cluny by St Mayol and appointed by him as abbot of Auxerre: Syrus, *Vita S. Maioli*, i. 15, ii. 21 (*PL* cxxxvii. 752, 764). See also his life by Guido, the first in his *Gesta Abbatum S. Germani Autissiodorensis* in Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, i. 571–3, on which see above, p. c.

16. Sexto igitur obsidionis die inlucescente, nimio rex arreptus furore, indutus lorica simul et galea, omnemque exercitum dictis exacuens, habens etiam secum Hugonem eiusdem urbis pontificem, solum ex omni Burgundia parti regis fauentem.¹ Eidem namque regi, in procintu iam constituto, occurrit supradictus abba Odilo, illum increpans eiusque primates redarguens^a cur aduersus tantum Dei pontificem, scilicet Germanum, hostili manu insurrexissent, cui specialiter, ut in Gestis illius inuenitur,^b usui fuit Dei auxilio et bella compescere plurima et regum ferocitati resistere.² Cuius uerbis minus auditum prebentes quo tendebant peruenerunt, cingentesque supradictum castrum in coronę modum certatim illud expugnaturi prelium inierunt. Alterius quoque partibus diu multumque decertantibus, domus suę parti Dei subito adfuit presens auxilium. Nam eiusdem castri uniuersa capacitas ita repleta est in hora prelii teterrima nebula, ut nemini hostium a foris peruius foret iaculandi aditus, cum ab intro repugnantibus cernebant se graui cede prosterni. Sicque cum suorum, maxime Normagnorum, concisione dimiserunt castrum incolume, quos, licet tarde, penituit aduersus magni meriti locum arma sumpsisse. Contigit etiam ut hora qua regis exercitus aduersus locum sacrum | certamen inire cepisset, uir religiosus Gislebertus, eiusdem loci monachus, super altare Beatę Marię semper uirginis, quod decenarius ceteris in uertice eiusdem constat ꝥclesię, quemadmodum hora die tertia cotidie consueuerat, missarum sacramenta celebrare inciperet. Quod scilicet factum satis cęlitis prestite congruit uictorię. Sequenti igitur die egrediens rex inde processit, igne cremando res hominum preter ciuitates et castra tutissima, usque in superiores Burgundię partes. Qui Frantiam rediens, post hęc tamen, licet tardius, reuersis ad se Burgundionibus, prospere uniuersam optinuit regionem.

ix. *De fame ualida et infestatione Sarracenorum*³

17. Eodem autem tempore facta est fames preualida quinquennio in uniuerso Romano orbe, siquidem ut nulla audiretur non inobs

^a redarguens *BD*; reduguens *A*

^b inuenitur *BD*; anuenitur *A*

¹ Hugh, count of Chalon and bishop of Auxerre (c. 999–1039), a relative of the king's, on whom see below, 3. ii. 6–7.

² Glaber could be referring to the *Vita S. Germani* written by Constantius of Lyons c. 475, ed. W. Levison, *MGH SRM* vii (1919), 247–83, and ed. R. Borins (Paris, 1965), or

16. At dawn on the sixth day of the siege, the king, clad in his mailed shirt and helmet, was beside himself with rage, and he harangued his whole army. He had with him Hugh, bishop of the town, who was the only magnate of Burgundy to favour the king.¹ Abbot Odilo came when the king was prepared for battle, chiding him and criticizing the magnates for raising armed might against such a great bishop of God as St Germanus, who, as we read in his *Deeds*, was especially wont, with God's aid, to curb wars and stand up to the ferocity of kings.² Little attention was paid to his words, and they marched out and surrounded the monastery; then, bent on taking the place, they began the assault. The one with the other, they fought a long and bitter struggle; suddenly God came to the aid of those defending His house. At the hour of engagement the whole monastery was covered by a black fog, so that none of the enemy outside could see his way to cast a spear, while they saw that they were being cut down with great slaughter by the defenders within. After heavy losses, especially amongst the Norman contingent, they withdrew leaving the abbey unharmed. They repented, though late in the day, for having attacked such a distinguished place. At the very moment when the army of the king began the assault against the sanctuary, Gilbert, a devout monk of this place, as was his wont at the third hour of every day, began to celebrate mass on the altar of the Blessed Mary ever virgin, which is placed at the most prominent point in the church, and which is more beautiful than all others there. This fits well enough with the divine sanction for the victory. The following day the king left, and he advanced to Upper Burgundy burning everything along his route except cities and fortified towns. He went back to France, but after this, however late, he came to terms with the Burgundians and was able to obtain the whole region peacefully.

ix. *The great famine and the Saracen attacks*³

17. In that same period a famine ravaged the whole Roman world for five years. It was so terrible that there was no region which was

to the metrical version of it by Heiricus of Auxerre (c. 876), ed. L. Traube, *MGH Poetae Lat.*, iii (1896), 421–517. Bede's account of the adventures of St Germanus in Britain is based upon Constantius' *Vita: Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (OMT, 1969), i. 17–21, pp. 54–67. Glaber mentions Bede's work in the preface to Book 1.

³ Hugh of Flavigny briefly mentions this famine, p. 368.

regio et indigens pane. Multique exausti inedia de populo perierunt. Tunc etiam per plura loca terrarum non solum inmundorum animalium et reptilium, uerum etiam uirorum ac mulierum infantumque carnes conpulit fames horrida sumere in cibum, nulla uel parentum obstante necessitudine. Nam eo usque deuenerat huius seuitia famis ut iam adulti filii consumerent matres, ipseque in paruulos, remota pietate materna, iddem excercerent.

18. Subsequente namque tempore gens Sarracenorum cum rege suo, Almuzor nomine, egressa est ex Africanis partibus, ocupans pene uniuersam Hispanie regionem usque in australes Galliarum fines, plurimasque Christianorum dedere strages.¹ Sed licet inpar exercitu, sepius tamen iniit cum eis prelia Willelmus dux Nauarrie, cognomento Sanctus.² Tunc etiam ob excercitus raritatem conpulsi sunt regionis illius monachi sumere arma bellica. Cese denique grauitur utreque partes; tandem concessa Christianis uictoria, post grande suorum dispendium, qui superfuere Sarracenorum ad Africam fecere confugium. Sed et in illis diutinis conflictibus preliorum constat Christianorum religiosos plures ocubuisse, qui potius ob fraternę caritatis amorem cupierant decertare quam propter aliquam gloriolam laudis ponpatice.³

19. Erat quippe eo tempore frater quidam, Vulferius nomine, dulcis admodum moribus et conuersatione, in monasterio cognomento Reomagensse, quod est situm in pago Tarnoderensse, cui etiam aparuit die | quadam dominica uisio satis credulitati commoda.⁴ Nam dum post expletionem matutinalium laudum in supradicto oraturus quieuisset monasterio, fratribus ceteris inde aliquantum ad pausam redeuntibus, subito repletus est totius eiusdem ecclesię ambitus, uiris scilicet uestibus albis indutis ac purpureis stolis insignitis, quorum etiam continentię grauitas plurimum de ipsis instituebat eos cernentem. Qui uero eos precedebat crucem manu gestans, episcopum se esse multarum dicebat plebium, ibique die ipso sacra missarum celebrare se oportere perhibebat.

¹ Cf. above, I. iv. 17.

² Pognon, p. 271 n. 67, suggests that Glaber has here confused Sancho 'the Great', king of Navarre (1000–35), and William-Sancho, duke of Gascony, who served in the Spanish wars of the early 11th c.: Defourneaux, p. 15. The period at the end of al-Manşūr's life saw much fighting in Spain, during which Sancho emerged as the leader of the Christian kingdoms, but Glaber's information is so vague that it cannot be related to specific incidents. On other monks who perished in war see below, 3. iv. 15.

³ This passage has been much cited by historians of the crusade seeking to establish how the idea of holy war emerged in Western Europe and prepared the way for the

not destitute and without bread. Many people died for lack of food. In many parts of the world the dire famine forced people to eat not just the flesh of unclean animals and reptiles, but also that of men, women, and children; not even family relationship could prevent it. The famine had become so savage that grown sons ate their mothers while women did the same to their babies, lost to all maternal love.

18. Shortly afterwards the Saracens, with their king al-Manşūr, surged forth from Africa and seized almost all Spain as far as the southern boundaries of Gaul, massacring many Christians.¹ William duke of Navarre, called Sancho, did not hesitate to challenge him frequently in battle, although his army was nowhere near as big. Indeed the army was so small that the monks of that area were compelled to take up arms.² After great losses on both sides victory went to the Christians, while the surviving Saracens, after heavy casualties, retreated to Africa. During these long wars many religious in the Christian armies were killed; they had longed to fight for love of their brothers, not for any vain glory of renown and pomp.³

19. At that time there was a monk called Vulferius, a man of impeccable life and converse, who lived in the monastery of Réome in the county of Tonnerre; one Sunday he had a vision which is well worthy of belief.⁴ It so happened that after matins he remained behind to pray in the church, while the other brothers had gone back to rest awhile. Suddenly the whole church was filled with men dressed in white robes and wearing purple stoles; in addition, the gravity of their bearing made a great impression on him as he watched them. They were led by one who bore a cross in his hands, who proclaimed that he was a bishop of many nations, and asserted that he must that day celebrate mass in this monastery.

crusade of Urban II launched in 1095. In particular see C. Erdmann, *The Origins of the Idea of the Crusade*, tr. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, NJ, 1977), pp. 15 n. 28, 54 n. 79; E. Delaruelle, 'Essai sur la formation de l'idée de la Croisade', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, xlv (1944), 45 n. 5; P. Alphandéry, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade* (Paris, 1954), i. 12. On Glaber and the crusade see above, p. lxx.

⁴ Moutiers-Saint-Jean on the banks of the River Réome in the diocese of Langres, where Glaber probably lived for a while in the early 11th c.; at that time it was under the authority of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, on which see above, p. xxvi. The church of St Maurice referred to here has been identified as that of Saint-Maurice-de-Corsaint close to Semur-en-Auxois: E. Petit, 'Raoul Glaber', *Revue historique*, xlvi (1892), 287.

Referebat etiam tam ipse quam ceteri se illius noctis cum fratribus eiusdem monasterii matutinales interfuisse sollempnes. Asserebant insuper optime laudis officium quod audierant illi diei congruere. Erat autem dominica dies octaua Pentecosten, in qua, propter expletionem gaudii resurrectionis dominice eiusdemque ascensionis et aduentus Sancti Spiritus, in plerisque diuersarum regionum locis mos est psallere responsoria, uerbis ualde honestissimis composita, ac suaui sonoritate referta et, ut mens ualet humana, deificę Trinitati condigna.¹ Cepit interea qui preerat episcopus super altare sancti Mauricii martyris missarum sollempnia eiusdem Trinitatis antiphonam intonans celebrare. Interim uero percunctatus est supradictus frater qui aut unde essent, pro quaue causa illuc deuenissent. Cui satis leuiter tale dederunt responsum: 'Professionem' inquit 'Christianitatis gestamus, sed ob tutelam patrię catholicęque plebis defensionem gladius nos in bello Sarracenorum separauit ab humanorum corporum habitatione. Idcirco nos omnes pariter diuina^a uocatio nunc transfert^b in sortem beatorum; sed ideo per hanc prouinciam nobis contigit habere transitum quoniam plures ex hac regione infra breue temporis spacium nostro sunt addendi collegio.' Preterea is qui missarum explebat officium, finita oratione dominica, pacem omnibus dans, misitque unum qui ipsi fratri pacis osculum daret. Qui cum fecisset innuit etiam ei ut illum sequeretur. His ita conspectis, cum uellet eos sequi, disparuerunt. Intellexit quoque idem frater se in breui spatio exiturum a seculo, quod etiam sic contigit fieri.

20. Nam mense quinto,² id est Decembrio, postquam hæc quę diximus uiderat, sui abbatis imperio perrexit Autisiodorum gratia medicandi aliquorum in monasterio beati confessoris Christi Germani infirmantium fratrum; erat enim medicine artis studiis instructus. Qui ueniens illuc cepit commonere^d illos fratres pro quorum causa aduenerat ut quam citius^e que pro salute illorum agenda erant exercere curarent.^{3f} Cognouerat enim exitum suum proximum fore. Cui dum responderent: 'Quieti indulge iam hodie pro fatigatione itineris, ut dies crastina te ualentiore inueniat.' At ipse ait: 'Si hodie quantum superest non expleuero prout ualeo, iam die crastina noueritis me ex his nichil acturum.' Qui ludere illum existimantes, ut erat semper alacri mente placidus, quod

^a diuina *Pithou*; diuine *a* ^b transfert *D*; transfer *A* ^c ff. 18-23 of *A* are in an early modern hand (*Ax*): see above, p. lxxxii. Our text is based on *B* ^d commonere *Ax*;

He and the others stated that they had been amongst the brethren that night and had heard matins, and that the office of Lauds they had heard had been that proper to the day. It was the Sunday in the octave of Pentecost, when, because of the fulfilment of the joy of the Lord's Resurrection and Ascension and the advent of the Holy Spirit, it is the custom in many regions to sing responses whose words are beautiful and whose harmonies dulcet; they are, in fact, as worthy of the Trinity as any human creation can be.¹ The bishop began to celebrate mass on the altar of St Maurice the Martyr, intoning the antiphon of the Trinity. In the meantime brother Wulferius asked them who they were, whence they had come, and why to that place. They replied with light hearts, saying: 'We are all men of Christian profession, but while we were fighting for the defence of our country and the Christian people against the Saracens, the sword severed us from this earthly flesh. Because of this divine Providence is now taking us all into the lot of the blessed; it has befallen us to pass through this province because many from here must shortly be added to our number.' The celebrant finished the Lord's Prayer, and having given the blessing, sent one of his companions to give this brother the kiss of peace. Having done so, the companion indicated that Wulferius should follow him, but when he tried to do this, they vanished. Wulferius understood by this that he was to die soon, and so it fell out.

20. Five months² after this vision, in the month of December, he journeyed to Auxerre on the order of his abbot: he was skilled in the medical arts, and had come to care for certain sick brethren in the abbey of St Germanus, confessor of Christ. As soon as he got there he began to advise the brethren for whose sake he had come that they³ should quickly do what had to be done for their health. For he knew that his end was at hand. But they said to him: 'Rest today; you are tired after your journey, and you will feel better tomorrow.' He replied: 'If I do not do whatever remains so far as I can today, you must know I shall be able to do none of it tomorrow.' They thought he was joking, because he was a pleasant and

commouere *BD* ^e citius *D*; citius *BAs* ^f *One expects curaret in view of what follows (Winterbottom)*

¹ An interesting early reference to the observance of Trinity Sunday.

² In fact, six or seven—May or June to December.

³ Perhaps 'he' (see note *f*).

monuerat omiserunt. Die autem altera illucescente, preuentus acri dolore accessit, prout poterat, ad altare Beate Marie semper Virginis sacra missarum celebraturus. Quibus peractis, recessit ad domum infirmorum fratrum, iamque nimium dolentes artus composuit lecto. Cui, ut talibus fieri solet, ceperunt palpebre somnum querere inter angustias. Repente uero astitit ei Virgo splendida, coruscans immenso fulgore, interrogansque illum quam mentis dubietatem haberet; quam cum ipse intuitus fuisset, adiecit: 'Si de itinere metuis, non necesse est enim ut paueas, quoniam ego tibi custos extitero.' Ex qua uisione securior effectus, ad se uenire mandans loci prepositum, nomine Achardum,¹ eruditissimum ualde uirum, qui postea eiusdem monasterii abbas extitit, narrauit (f. 18^v) ei non solum presentem | sed etiam preteritam uisionem ex ordine. Qui dixit ei: 'Comfortare, frater, in Domino; sed quoniam ea uidisti que raro humano uisui conceduntur, necesse habes persoluere uniuerse carnis debitum, ut in eorum quos uidisti possis admisceri consortium.' Conuocatisque ceteris fratribus, secundum morem ei uisitationem fecerunt. Tercia namque die peracta, incipiente nocte migravit a corpore. Quem dum cuncti fratres ex more abluere ac pannis componere pararent, signaque monasterii uniuersa pulsarent, quidam laicus, sed religiosus, iuxta commanens, ignorans obitum fratris estimansque ob nunciandos matutinos signa pulsari, exsurrexit ut solebat pergere ad ecclesiam. Qui cum uenisset ad pontem quendam ligneum, qui^a fere in medio erat itinere, audierunt plures ex uicinis uoces quasdam ex latere monasterii proclamantes huiusmodi: 'Extrahe! Extrahe! et educ ad nos illum quantotius.' Quibus etiam uocibus tale responsum est redditum: 'Hunc² interim non queo, alium tamen educam, si potero.' Statim uero ille qui ad ecclesiam pergebat cernit ante se super pontem quasi unum uicinarum suorum, reuera ergo diabolum, contra se uenientem, de quo etiam dubitare non posset; quin etiam nomine proprio illum uocans monuitque ut prouide transiret. Ilico autem malignus spiritus turrigera specie in altum se erigens, cupiensque decipere hominem, eius fallacem pompam uisibus sequentem. Quam tamen dum aspiceret, eius pes lapsus grauitur in ponte corruit. Qui citissime se erigens muniensque se signo crucis, cognita maligni diaboli fraude, regressus domum cautior est redditus; paulo post nempe et ipse in pace obiit. |

^a qui *AxD*; que *B*

witty fellow, and so they ignored his advice. The next day, at dawn, though enduring severe pain, he went as best he could to celebrate mass at the altar of the Blessed Mary ever virgin. When this was finished he returned to the brethren's infirmary and rested his now grievously painful limbs. His eyes, as so often happens in such cases, drooped in his distress. Suddenly he saw before him the Holy Virgin, shining with a brilliant light and asking him why he was hesitant; when he looked at her she added: 'If you are afraid of the journey, there is no need, for I will be your guide.' Because of this vision he was reassured and called to him the Prior Achardus,¹ a very learned man who was later abbot of that monastery. He told him all about this vision and the preceding one. Achardus said to him: 'Brother, be strong in the Lord; but since you have seen that which is not granted to many men to see, you must pay the debt of all human flesh before you can be admitted to the company of those you beheld in the vision.' He called together the other brethren and they visited the sick man as was customary. On the third day at nightfall Wulferius died. The brethren got ready to wash and shroud him according to custom, and rang all the bells of the monastery. Nearby there lived a fellow who was deeply religious though he was only a layman. He did not know of the brother's death and thought the bells were ringing for matins; so he set out, as he often did, to go to church. When he came to a wooden bridge which stood about half-way along his route, many of his neighbours heard, from the direction of the monastery, voices crying: 'Seize him! Seize him! and drag him over to us immediately.' To this came the reply: 'I cannot take this man² but I will grab another if I can.' Immediately the man who was going to church saw someone who looked like a neighbour but was actually the devil, coming towards him on the bridge. He had no suspicions and even called the creature by name, urging him to cross carefully. Then the evil spirit rose up like a mighty tower hoping to trick the man, who followed the deceptive illusion with his eyes. While the fellow was watching it, his foot slipped and he fell heavily onto the bridge. He got up immediately and made the sign of the cross to protect himself, for he recognized the evil snare of the devil; wiser now, he returned to his home. Shortly after he too died in peace.

¹ Achardus succeeded Helderic as abbot in 1010: see above, p. xxv n. 2 and viii. 15n.

² i.e. Wulferius.

(f. 19)

x. *De inundantia lapidum*

21. Per idem tempus contigit in Burgundia, apud castrum Iaunnicum, ualde mirum et memorabile presagium in domo cuiusdam nobilis nomine Arlebaudi.¹ Nam per triennium fere continue per uniuersam illius domum indicibiliter uel ab aere siue a tabulatu distillauere magni atque parui lapides, ita ut acruos circa domum ex ipsis eiectis lapidibus usque nunc in promptu est uidere. Sed cum die noctuque per domum ubique pluerent, neminem tamen suo ictu ledebant, sed neque uas aliquod infringebant. Multi enim ibi limites, quos alii bomnas nominant,² suorum recognouere agrorum. Simul etiam de uis et domibus ac diuersis edificiis, et prope et longe constitutis, illuc delati reperti sunt lapides. Quod etiam future pestis illius domus familie fuisse indicium rei probauit euentus. Nam extiterat uir supradictus cum uxore sua de generosis admodum parentibus; iccirco increuerant eius filiis ac nepotibus paternorum fundorum cum circumiectis uicinis non parua litigia. Contigit ergo non longo post spacio temporis ut uillam quandam, Allanto cognomine, sitam in pago Senonico, que etiam ex rectorum monasterii Sancte Columbe uirginis largitione iuri illorum prouenerat,³ sed milites Autisidori comanentes ipsam eis diripiendo abstulerant, ipsi tamen toto nisu illam sibi redintegrari pararent. Cum uero iam plures de hac altercatum annos fuisset, uno uindemiarum die bellum inierunt in eadem uilla partes utreque, in quo etiam bello multi ex ambobus partibus sunt interempti. Ex supradicta quoque domo inter filios et nepotes undecim ceciderunt. In processu namque temporis imminente iurgio crescentibusque discordiis, perdurauere cedes innumere illius familie illorumque homicidie^a hostium usque in tricesimum et eo amplius annum. |

(f. 20)

xi. *De Leutardo insaniente heretico*⁴

22. Extitit circa finem millesimi anni homo plebeius in Gallis apud uicum Virtutis uocabulo,⁵ in pago Catalonico, Leutardus

^a So *B&D*

¹ Joigny in the modern *département* of the Yonne is some 15 km from Auxerre.

² *Bomnas* is the same word as French *bornes* and English *bounds*.

³ This St Columba was reputedly a virgin martyred c. 273. The monastery of Sainte-Colombe at Sens was founded by Chlotar II c. 620: *Gallia Christiana*, xii. 146.

⁴ Glaber is our sole source for the heretic Leutard, who, he tells us, appeared during the reign of Gebuin, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne (see p. 91 n. 2). His story, and that of

x. *A hail of stones*

21. At the same time a wonderful and memorable portent was seen in the house of a nobleman called Arlebaud at Joigny in Burgundy.¹ For almost three years, stones big and small fell indescribably all about this man's house, coming either from the air or the roof; even now it is possible to see around the house the heaps of stones resulting from this barrage. Although they rained down everywhere in the house day and night, no one was hurt and nothing, not even a pot, was broken. Amongst these many men recognized the boundary-stones from their fields—what others call merestones.² Stones were also found there which had come from roads, houses, and other buildings both near and far. This prodigy showed that evil was to come upon the family of that house, and events bore this out. Arlebaud and his wife were both of noble blood, and so their sons and grandsons became involved in a bitter quarrel with their neighbours over their family estates. They came to hold a manor at Aillant in the county of Sens, through the generosity of the superiors of the monastery of the virgin St Columba.³ However, soon afterwards the knights of Auxerre seized it by violence, though they (the family) made every effort to regain it. After the quarrel had lasted for many years, the parties came to battle one autumn day in Aillant itself. Both sides suffered heavily, and no less than eleven of the sons and grandsons of that family perished there. In the course of time the quarrel restarted and reached new heights. In the thirty and more years that it lasted there were innumerable deaths in this family and amongst their enemies.

xi. *Leutard the mad heretic*⁴

22. About the end of the year 1000 a poor man called Leutard, from the village of Vertus⁵ in the county of Châlons in Gaul, became

Vilgardus which follows, have attracted a great deal of attention from historians because they stand at the beginning of the heretical tradition in Western Europe. In particular see: Ilarino da Milano, 'L'eresia popolare del secolo XI nell' Europa Occidentale', *Studi Gregoriani*, ii (1947), 43–89. Other recent discussions include those of R. I. Moore, *Origins of European Dissent* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1985), pp. 35–6, and J. B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (New York, 1965), pp. 111–13. Leutard tends to be seen as a bumpkin, perhaps even mentally unstable; Russell classes him as an 'eccentric'. However, a strong heretical tradition continued in this area. Gebuin's successor, Roger I (c. 1008–c. 1042), called a council to combat heresy in 1015 and troubles persisted well into mid-century: Jean-Marie Noiroux, 'Les deux premiers documents concernant

nomine qui, ut finis rei probauit, Satane legatus credi potuit; cuius etiam uesanie peruicacia hoc exordium habuit. Morabatur enim aliquando solus in agro quippiam ruralis operis peracturus. Qui ex labore somno depressus, uisum est ei ut grande examen apum in eius corpus per secreta ingrederetur nature; quod etiam per illius os nimio cum strepitu erumpens, crebris illum punctionibus agitabat, ac diu multum agitato stimulis loqui ei uidebantur, et multa hominibus^a impossibilia precipere ut faceret. Tandem fatigatus exurgens uenit domum, dimittensque uxorem quasi ex precepto euangelico fecit diuortium.¹ Egressus autem uelut oraturus, intrans ecclesiam, arripiensque crucem et Saluatoris imaginem contriuit. Quod cernentes quique terri pauore, credentes illum, ut erat, insanum fore; quibus etiam ipse persuasit, sicut sunt rustici mente labiles, uniuersa hec patrare ex mirabili Dei reuelatione. Affluebat igitur nimium sermonibus utilitate et ueritate uacuis, doctorque cupiens apparere, dedocebat magistrum doctrine. Nam decimas dare dicebat esse omnimodis superfluum et inane. Et sicut hereses cetere, ut cautius decipiant, Scripturis se diuinis, quibus etiam contrarie sunt, palliant, ita et iste dicebat prophetas ex parte narraisse utilia, ex parte non credenda. Cuius etiam fama, quasi alicuius mente sani ac religiosi, in breui ad se traxit partem non modicam uulgi. Quod comperiens uir eruditissimus | Iebuinus senex episcopus,² in cuius scilicet erat diocesi, accersiri illum ad se iussit. Quem cum interrogasset de uniuersis que dixisse uel fecisse compererat, cepit uenenum sue nequitiie occultare, cupiensque quod non didicerat de Scripturis sacris testimonia sibi assumere. Audiens uero sagacissimus episcopus non esse conuenientia, immo non magis turpia quam dampnabilia, ostendens hominem insanientem hereticum factum, reuocauit ab insania populum ex parte deceptum, catholice plenius restituit fidei. At ille cernens se deuictum atque ambitione uulgi destitutum, semet puteo periturus immersit. |

(f. 20^v)

^a hominibus *France*; hominum *BaxD*; perhaps homini (*Winterbottom*)

l'hérésie aux Pays-Bas', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, xlv (1954), 842–55, especially 853. In fact Leutard seems to have had some education; it is not impossible that he was infected by that intellectual ferment which was probably one of the causes of the great outbreak of heresy at Orléans and which has been discussed in a notable article by Bautier, on which see below, 3. viii. 26n. It should also be noted that Leutard expresses strong hostility to the payment of tithes and this may reflect social discontent. Gregory of Tours in his *History of the Franks* (*MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, i, 2nd edn., ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, Hanover, 1951, pp. 517–18; tr. O. M. Dalton, ii (Oxford, 1927), pp. 461–2) mentions a visionary heretic afflicted by flies.

⁵ F. Guizot (tr. of Glaber, Paris, 1824), p. 233, first suggested Vertus and was followed

famous; he was probably, as events were to prove, an envoy of Satan. This is how his stubborn madness began: one day when he was working alone on an agricultural task in the field he became tired and fell asleep, and then he dreamt that a great swarm of bees entered his body through nature's secret orifices. They came out of his mouth buzzing loudly and stinging him many times, but when this had gone on for a while they spoke, ordering him to do things impossible for human kind. Eventually, very tired, he got up, returned to his house, and sent away his wife, justifying the separation by pretended reference to evangelical precept.¹ Then he went out as though to pray, but when he had entered the church he seized and broke the cross and image of the Saviour. Everyone who saw this trembled with fear, believing him to be mad (as indeed he was), but he managed to persuade them that he was doing all this as the result of a wonderful revelation from God, for they were only country folk with feeble minds. He poured forth a great many useless and empty sermons, and, aspiring to be a great teacher, he caused men to forget the Master of all teaching. He claimed that it was completely unnecessary and mere folly to pay tithes. And just as the other heresies, the more craftily to deceive, cloak themselves in Holy Scripture, to which in fact they are contrary, so he too declared that though the prophets had said many good things, they were not to be believed in everything. His pretended reputation for faith and sense soon won over to him many of the common people. When he heard about this business the aged bishop of this diocese, the learned Gebuin,² ordered that Leutard be brought before him. When Gebuin questioned him about all that he was reported to have said or done, Leutard began to hide the poison of his vileness, wishing that he had not learnt to take texts from Holy Scripture for his purposes. But the able bishop saw that his teachings were not just incorrect but stuffed with great and damnable error, and so he revealed to all how Leutard's madness had led to heresy; in this way he rescued many of those who had been deceived, and restored them more firmly than ever to the catholic faith. As for Leutard, when he saw that he was defeated and deprived of the support of the common people, he sought death by throwing himself into a well.

by Prou, p. 49 and Pognon, p. 78. The village of Vertus is about 20 km. from Châlons-sur-Marne.

¹ Cf. Matt. 19: 29.

² Presumably, from his age, Gebuin I, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, whose death is reported above, vii. 14n.

(f. 21)

xii. *De herese in Italia reperta*

23. Ipso quoque tempore non impar apud Rauennam exortum est malum. Quidam igitur Vilgardus dictus, studio artis gramatice magis assiduus quam frequens, sicut Italicis mos semper fuit artes negligere ceteras, illam sectari.¹ Is enim cum ex scientia sue artis cepisset inflatus superbia stultior apparere, quadam nocte assumpsere demones poetarum species Virgilii et Oratii atque Iuuenalis, apparentesque illi fallaces retulerunt grates quoniam suorum dicta uoluminum carius amplectens exerceret, seque illorum posteritatis felicem esse preconem; promiserunt ei insuper sue glorie postmodum fore participem. Hisque demonum fallacis deprauatus cepit multa turgide docere fidei sacre contraria, dictaque poetarum per omnia credenda esse asserebat. Ad ultimum uero hereticus est repertus atque a pontifice ipsius urbis Petro dampnatus. Plures etiam per Italiam tunc huius pestiferi dogmatis sunt reperti, qui et ipsi aut gladiis aut incendiis perierunt. Ex Sardinia quoque insula, que his plurimum habundare solet, ipso tempore aliqui egressi, partem populi in Hispania corrumpentes, et ipsi a uiris catholicis exterminati sunt. Quod presagium Iohannis prophetie congruit, quia dixit Sathanam soluendum, expletis^a mille annis,² de quibus in tercio iam libello prolixius tractabimus. |

(f. 21^r)

EXPLICIT LIBER SECVNDVS

^a expletis *D*; et expletis *BAx*

¹ Cf. 2. ii. 2n. Glaber dates the heresy of Vilgardus to the archiepiscopate of Peter of Ravenna (927–71): W. L. Wakefield and A. P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York and London, 1969), p. 664 n. 8. As this was more than half a century before he was writing, it is difficult to assess his report. It is likely that he got his information through St William of Dijon, who brought many Italians to Saint-Bénigne, including John of San Apollinare and Benedict of San Severo in Classe, both from Ravenna: *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 152. In the *Life*, c. xiv, Glaber mentions William's friendship with Ursus, Patriarch of Grado. The authorities on Western heresy already referred to in the case of Leutard see Vilgardus as an over-zealous devotee of the classics. The references to other heretics in Italy, Sardinia, and Spain are so vague as to be meaningless. Glaber,

xii. *Heresy found in Italy*

23. About the same time no less an evil appeared at Ravenna. There lived a certain Vilgardus who was deeply learned in the art of grammar; his study of it was ceaseless, not just frequent.¹ He followed the custom of these Italians who neglect all other arts to concentrate upon this one. As a result of his learning he became stupidly inflated with pride, so one night demons appeared to him assuming the forms of the poets Vergil, Horace, and Juvenal; they gave him pretended gratitude because he was so devoted to their works, proclaimed him a blessed herald of their immortal fame and promised him a share in their glory. Perverted by these evil promises of the demons, he began arrogantly to preach against the holy faith, asserting that the sayings of the poets should be believed in everything. In the end he was found to be a heretic and condemned by Peter, the bishop of that city. Many throughout Italy at this time were found to be tainted with this perverse doctrine, and they too perished, by the sword or by fire. At this very same time more emerged from Sardinia, an island that generally abounds in heresy; they managed to corrupt some of the people of Spain, but they too were exterminated by the orthodox. All this accords with the prophecy of St John, who said that the Devil would be freed after a thousand years;² but we shall treat of this at greater length in our third book.

THE SECOND BOOK ENDS

who is the sole authority for Vilgardus, clearly took a severe view of his devotion to the classics; this shows later in his portrayal of Hervé, treasurer of S.-Martin, Tours, who turned away from the study of the liberal arts because 'most learn from such studies only pride', 3. iv. 14. In his *Vita Odonis*, PL cxxxiii. 49, John of Salerno reports that the abbot once dreamed about Vergil, and was shown a vase of writhing serpents as representing his works: Glaber clearly approved of such sentiments. However, Cluny was not hostile to culture as Dom J. Leclercq has shown in his article 'Cluny fut-il ennemi de la culture?', *Revue Mabillon*, xlvii (1957), 172–82.

² Rev. 20: 2–3.

INCIPIT LIBER TERCIVS

1.¹ NVNC igitur, quoniam de priorum gestis aliqua retulimus, ab illo et infra, ut spondimus, anno, uidelicet millesimo nati cuncta uiuificantis uerbi, tercii sumamus incitamen huius operis libelli. Eo autem, ut diximus, imminente priuatus est pene orbis uniuersus personis et religiosis et nobilibus.² Claruere tamen ab eodem anno tam in Italia quam in Galliis utrorumque ordinum uiri, quorum uita et operatio queunt posteris imitabilia^a informare exempla. Regnantibus quoque duobus Christianissimis regibus, Henrico scilicet Saxonum rege et Roberto Francorum, etsi ab exteris nationibus illorum quieuerunt patrie, creberrime tamen preliis fatigate sunt intestinis.³ Sicut enim aliquando perfidis honor exhibetur ex timore, ita bonis infertur pro sua reuerentia timor. Nam cum ab omni Romanorum populo, intercedente papa Benedicto, uiro sanctissimo, Henricus adsciueretur^b in imperium, Longobardorum gens consueta fraude dissensit sibi que regem Arduinum quendam unguentes instituerunt.⁴ Sed licet diu multumque renitentes, postea tamen cum suorum cede maxima imperialibus semet subdidere preceptis. Qui ueniens Papiam ab eisdem

(f. 22) Longobardis miri operis palatium | sibi construi fecit. Potitoque decenter imperio acceptit in regno suo coniugem, filiam scilicet Siegfredi Saxonum ducis,⁵ ex qua etiam cernens non posse suscipere liberos non eam propter hoc dimisit, sed omne patrimonium quod

^a imitabilia *B* corr.; inmutabilia *BD*; innumerabilia *Ax*
adscisceretur *Ax*, correcting the author

^b adsciueretur *BD*;

¹ The prologue to Book 3 was used by Hugh of Flavigny, who refers to Henry II's coronation, using this section and 1. iv. 16, to the revolt of Arduin, to the new palace at Pavia, and to the founding of Bamberg.

² See above, 2. vii. 14.

³ On Henry II and Robert II see above, 1. Preface. 1 nn. The theme of civil war is a recurrent one in Glaber's work. He has already mentioned it in connection with the war between Conan of Brittany and Fulk of Anjou, above, 2. iii. 4; it will recur below, ix. 35 where he quotes Lucan.

⁴ Benedict VIII (1012–24), who had been appointed by Henry II in co-operation with the comital house of Tusculum, to which he belonged: R. L. Poole, 'Benedict IX and Gregory VI', in Poole, *Studies*, pp. 185–222; Herrmann, *Tuskulanerpapsttum*, pp. 22–5. Arduin, marquis of Ivrea, was crowned on 5 Feb. 1002 in an effort by a party in Italy to take advantage of the weakening of German control after the death of Otto III (on which see above, 1. iv. 16). He was strongly supported by the lay *signori* and the 'secundi

THE THIRD BOOK BEGINS

1.¹ Now that we have said a little about the deeds of earlier generations, we must press on, as we promised, and in this third book tell of events after the millennium of the birth of the all-vivifying Word. When that year approached, as we have said, almost the whole world suffered the loss of great men, noble laymen, and clerics.² However, even after the year 1000, in Italy and Gaul, men of both orders emerged whose lives and works provide an example worthy of imitation by posterity. Under two most Christian kings, Henry of the Saxons and Robert of the Franks, their realms enjoyed peace with foreign nations, but frequent civil wars wore them down.³ For just as sometimes honour is paid to the treacherous out of fear, so fear is accorded to good men for reverence of them. When Henry was raised to the empire by the whole Roman people at the request of the saintly Pope Benedict, the Lombards with their usual treachery refused their consent and consecrated a fellow called Arduin as their king.⁴ Although they resisted long and hard, in the end after great losses they bowed to imperial governance. When he came to Pavia Henry forced these same Lombards to construct a splendid palace for him. Having duly received the empire, he took as his wife the daughter of Siegfried duke of the Saxons to share the throne with him.⁵ When he realized that he could not have children by this woman he did not

milites' or 'vavasours', who were deeply hostile to the imperial bishops: L. Salvatorelli, *A Concise History of Italy*, tr. B. Miall (London, 1940), pp. 138–9. On Arduin, see C. G. Mor, *L'età feudale* (2 vols., Milan, 1952), i. 525–54. Glaber tells us in the *Life*, c. ix, that the enemies of St William accused him before Henry II of favouring the party of Arduin, and there is an oblique reference to this in the *Histories*, below, v. 16. It is possible that St William was related to Arduin, and if that were the case, as Bulst, p. 23, suggests, it would have added weight to the accusations. Arduin, the last native king of Italy, was quite unable to offer serious resistance to Henry II: Jordan, p. 41.

⁵ Kunigunde, daughter of Siegfried, count of Luxemburg; Henry had her crowned specially at Paderborn soon after his accession. They were a pious and devoted couple: V. Valentin, *The German People*, tr. O. Marx (New York, 1946), p. 130. Kunigunde was canonized by Innocent III in 1200: J. Petersohn, 'Die Litterae Papst Innocenz III. zur Heiligensprechung der Kaiserin Kunigunde (1200)', *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung*, xxxvii (Neustadt, 1977), 1–25; O. Meyer, 'Translatio Sanctae Cunegundis', *Fränkische Blätter für Geschichtsforschung und Heimatpflege*, iii (1951), 73–5; R. Fläuser, *Der Heinrichs- und Kunigundenkult im mittelalterlichen Bistum Bamberg* (Bamberg, 1957). I owe these references to Brenda Bolton of Westfield College, London.

liberis debebatur Christi ecclesie contulit. Edificauit quoque monasterium in Saxonie loco qui dicitur Bauoberch, id est Bauonis mons; lingua enim theutonica Berch mons appellatur.¹ Quod etiam monasterium donis innumerabilibus locupletatum a pontifice Romano supradicto, scilicet Benedicto, in honore apostolorum principis dedicari fecit, atque eiusdem pontificis usus consilio eandem ecclesiam in episcopalem sublimauit sedem, constitutoque in ea episcopo amplissimorum fundorum redditibus esse fecit locupletem.

i. *De Stephano rege Vngrorum et bellis Beneuentanorum*²

2. Ipso igitur tempore Vngrorum gens, que erat circa Danubium, cum suo rege ad fidem Christi conuersa est. Quorum regi, Stephano ex baptisate uocato, decenterque Christianissimo, dedit memoratus imperator Henricus germanam suam in uxorem.³ Tunc temporis ceperunt pene uniuersi, qui de Italia et Galliis ad sepulchrum Domini Iherosolimis ire cupiebant, consuetum iter quod erat per fretum maris omittere, atque per huius regis patriam transitum habere. Ille uero tutissimam omnibus constituit uiam; excipiebat ut fratres quoscumque uidebat, dabatque illis immensa munera. Cuius rei gratia prouocata innumerabilis multitudo tam nobilium quam uulgi^a Iherosolimam abierunt. Tunc etiam imperator Basilius sancti imperii Constantinopolitani precepit cuidam satrape suo, illi qui cognominatur Cataponti, eo scilicet quod iuxta mare inhabitet,⁴ ut a transmarinis ciuitatibus que Romano debentur imperio ueniens tributa exigeret; qui libenter annuens misit Grecorum classem ad res Italicas sublaturas.⁵ Hoc uero pertempatum est per duorum annorum spacium; non parua etiam pars subiugata est a Grecis Beneuentane prouincie.⁶

3. Contigit autem ipso in tempore ut quidam Normannorum audacissimus, nomine Rodulfus, qui etiam comiti Richardo⁷

^a *Ax adds populi, deleted as a gloss by Winterbottom (alternatively read uulgaris)*

¹ John XVIII (1003/4–9) confirmed the elevation of Bamberg to the status of a bishopric in 1007: *JL* 3954. Glaber has already mentioned John, in error, as the benefactor of Beaulieu-lès-Loches, above, 2. iv. 6.

² Hugh of Flavigny, p. 392, proceeds from the coronation of Henry II to mention the conversion of Stephen and his marriage.

³ St Stephen, first Christian king of Hungary (1000–38), who in 996 married Gisela, sister of Henry, duke of Bavaria, who later became Henry II of Germany: C. A. Macartney, *Hungary: A Short History* (Edinburgh, 1962), p. 12.

abandon her because of it, but bequeathed to the church of Christ such of his property as would have gone to his children. Furthermore, he built a great church at a place in Saxony called Bamberg, which means the ‘Mount of Bavo’, for in the Teutonic tongue *Berg* means mountain.¹ The church was enriched by the innumerable gifts of the Roman pontiff Benedict, and Henry had it dedicated in honour of the prince of the apostles. On the pope’s advice Henry raised this church to be an episcopal see, appointed a bishop there, and endowed it with the revenues of vast estates.

i. *Stephen king of the Hungarians and the wars of the Beneventans*²

2. At that time the Hungarians, who lived along the Danube, together with their king, were converted to the faith of Christ. This king took the name of Stephen at his baptism and became a good catholic; the aforementioned Emperor Henry gave him his sister in marriage.³ After that almost all those from Italy and Gaul who wished to go to the Sepulchre of the Lord at Jerusalem abandoned the usual route, which was by sea, making their way through the country of King Stephen. He made the road safe for everyone, welcomed as brothers all he saw, and gave them enormous gifts. This action led many people, nobles and commoners, to go to Jerusalem. Then the Emperor Basil, who ruled the holy empire of Constantinople, ordered one of his satraps, known as the Catapan because he lives by the sea,⁴ to come and demand from the cities across the sea the tribute owing to the Roman empire. The satrap obeyed willingly, and sent a Greek fleet to pillage Italian property.⁵ This went on for two years, and the Greeks conquered no small part of the province of Benevento.⁶

3. At this time a very brave Norman called Rodulf incurred the anger of Count Richard.⁷ Fearing the wrath of his lord, he fled

⁴ ‘Catapan’ comes in fact from *ὁ κατ’ ἐπάνω τῶν ἀξιωματίων*, ‘the one above the dignities’; Glaber, however, thinks of poetical Latin *pontus* ‘sea’ from Greek *πόντος* (originally the Black Sea).

⁵ This is a very clumsy construction, as Du Cange, vii. 630, notes.

⁶ From 1009 onwards a series of Lombard revolts led by Melo, a local noble from Bari, forced the Byzantine emperor, Basil II (976–1025), to send Catapans to strengthen his rule in Southern Italy. In 1018 Basil Bojoannes crushed the rebels at the battle of Cannae: F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (2 vols., Paris, 1906; repr. New York, 1960), i. 42–57.

⁷ Richard II of Normandy, who has already been referred to above, i. v. 21 n; 2. ii. 3 n.

displicuerat, cuius iram metuens cum omnibus quos^a secum ducere potuit Romam pergeret, causamque propriam summo pontifici exponeret Benedicto. Qui, cernens eum pugne militari elegantissimum, cepit ei querelam exponere de Grecorum inuasionem Romani imperii, seque multum dolere quoniam minime talis in suis existeret qui repelleret uiros extere nationis. Quibus auditis, spondit se idem Rodulfus aduersus transmarinos preliaturum, si aliquod ei auxilium preberent uel illi quibus maior incumberebat genuine necessitudo patrie. Tunc uero predictus papa misit illum cum suis ad Beneuentanos primates, ut eum pacifice exciperent, semperque preliaturi pre se haberent, illiusque iusioni unanimes obedirent; egressusque ad Beneuentanos qui eum, ut papa iusserat, susceperunt. Illico autem illos ex Grecorum officio qui uectigalia in populo exigebant inuadens Rodulfus, diripuit queque illorum ac trucidauit. His itaque auditis, illorum socii, (f. 23) qui iam plures ciuitates et castella proprie subiugauerant ditioni, coacto in unum suorum exercitu, inierunt prelium aduersus Rodulfum et eos qui eius fauebant parti. In quo scilicet prelio pars Grecorum occubuit maxima, insuper et castra aliqua dimiserunt uacua; que subsecutus Rodulfi exercitus uictor obtinuit. Visa igitur Greci suorum cedere miserunt Constantinopolim ut auxiliaretur eis quamtocius ab his qui eos miserant; statimque reformantes classem multo plures quam prius preliaturos miserunt. Interea cum auditum esset ubique quoniam paucis Normannorum concessa fuisset de superbientibus Grecis uictoria, innumerabilis multitudo etiam cum uxoribus et liberis prosecuta est a patria de qua egressus fuerat Rodulfus,^b non solum permittente sed etiam compellente ut irent^c Richardo, illorum comite. Egredientes autem satis audacter uenerunt ad loca Alpium, qui et mons Iouis¹ dicitur, ubi

^a quos Ax; que BD ^b Rodolphus Duchesne; Rodulphum (or the like) BAxD
^c ut irent compellente B corr., D

2. viii. 15–16. The sources provide three separate, but not necessarily contradictory, accounts of the coming of the Normans to Southern Italy. Chalandon, i. 48–53, following the tradition of William of Apulia in his epic poem *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, MGH SS ix. 241 ff., suggested that Norman pilgrims to the shrine of St Michael on Monte Gargano were persuaded to intervene in the affairs of the area by the Lombard rebels under Melo in 1016. Chalandon was able to marry the tradition of William of Apulia with some of the elements in the *Ystoire de li Normant*, ed. V. de Bartholomaeis (Rome, 1935), by Amatus of Monte Cassino, who mentions a Norman leader called Gilbert, one of whose four brothers was called Rodulf. Chalandon's analysis still has great authority, being followed, for example, by J. Décarreaux, *Normands, papes et moines* (Paris, 1974), p. 23, n. 7. However, H. Hoffmann, 'Die Anfänge der Normannen in Süditalien', *Quellen und Forschungen*,

with all those he could take with him to Rome, where he explained his position to Pope Benedict. The pope, seeing that he was a good soldier, began to tell him how angry he felt about the Greek invasion of the Roman empire, deploring the fact that there was no one in all his lands who could repel this foreign nation. When he heard this, Rodulf promised to fight the enemy if the Italians would help him, for the distress of the country fell upon them rather than him. Pope Benedict then sent him and his men to the rulers of Benevento, ordering them to receive him in peace, accept him as permanent war-leader, and obey him loyally in battle. He went to the Beneventans, who received him as the pope had ordered. Then Rodulf, attacking those of the Greek administration who were collecting taxes from the people, plundered and killed all of them. Hearing of this, their colleagues, who had already conquered many cities and fortresses, collected their forces and took the field against Rodulf and his followers. In the battle the greater part of the Greeks were killed, and they were forced to evacuate some castles, which the victorious army of Rodulf occupied in their pursuit. In view of their losses, the Greeks sent to Constantinople asking for the speediest aid from those who charged them with this task. Immediately a fleet was formed which carried many more soldiers than had been sent before. In the meantime it had been rumoured abroad that a mere handful of Normans had triumphed over the arrogance of the Greeks, and because of this a great many of Rodulf's compatriots left their own country with their wives and children. Richard their count did not simply permit this, he pressed it on them. Travelling boldly they came to the part of the Alps known as 'Mount Jupiter',¹ in whose narrow passes the local

xlix (1969), 95–144 draws attention to Amatus' picture of an infiltration of the Normans into the area before 1000. Chalandon, i. 52, admits the possibility that Benedict VIII (on whom see above Preface, n.) may have had a hand in the affair as Glaber here suggests. Adhémar of Chabannes, iii. lv, says that the Normans, led by Rodulf, intervened in Southern Italy at the instigation of Pope Benedict and there fought three battles in which they were victorious, but were defeated in a fourth, the survivors being sent in chains to Constantinople. According to the *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi*, pp. 113–14 n. 1, the Normans were pilgrims to Jerusalem under the leadership of Rodulf of Tosny. There is substance, therefore, in Glaber's account, and some support for the idea that the pope encouraged the Norman intervention, as Bates remarks: *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 41–2. A short time after this Benedict VIII successfully appealed to Henry II of Germany who intervened in Southern Italy, as Glaber reports in para. 4 below.

¹ *Iouis mons* or *Poeninus mons* is the Great St Bernard Pass: J. Moreau (ed.), *Dictionnaire de géographie historique de la Gaule et de la France* (Paris, 1972), p. 352.

etiam in angustissimis semitis prepotentes regionis illius constituerant, imperante cupiditate, seras et custodes ad precia transmeantium exigenda. At illi cum denegassent eis transitum, requisito^a primitus ex more precio, indignatus Normannorum exercitus, confractis seris cesisque custodibus, per uim transitum fecerunt, egressique non paruum Rodulfo contulerunt auxilium; sicque pars utraque, resumptis uiribus, secundo inierunt prelium, in quo utrorumque exercitus grauiter cesus; Normannorum tamen exercitui uictoria prouenit. Post paululum uero, terno commisso prelio, in sese pars utraque fessa cohibuit. Perspiciensque Rodulfus suos defecisse uirosque illius patrie minus belli^b aptos, cum paucis perrexit ad imperatorem Henricum, expositurus ei huius rei negocium. Qui benigne | illum suscipiens diuersis muneribus ditauit, quoniam rumor quem de illo audierat cernendi contulerat desiderium.

(f. 23^r)

4. Protinus imperator, congregans exercitum copiosum, ob tuendam rem publicam ire disposuit.¹ Tandem uero Greci, putantes a patria fugisse Rodulfum, prosilierunt ad castra que ipse uictor ab eis abstulerat: sed nequicquam, nam et ueterem Troadem ciuitatem festinanter cinxere muris, replentes eam copiose uiris et mulieribus. Interea pergens imperator ad regionem Beneuentanam, expugnauit ac subdidit uniuersas ciuitates et castra que Greci subriperant eius imperio. Ad supradictam autem cum uenisset Troadem rebellantes qui intus erant diu multumque ei restiterunt, nam sperabant ut sibi futura estate,^c sicut Greci promiserant fore, Basilius succurreret;² insuper adicientes in tantum Henricum humiliari, ut pedes | ^dBasilii territus pauore susciperet. At ille circumdans ciuitatem sui exercitus obsidione instruxit machinas, ut eam per uim caperet. Illi quoque deintus noctu egressi tulerunt secum faces pice perlitas, igneque succensas machinas a foris cremauerunt. Quod cernens imperator, accensus ira, potiores fecit reinstrui machinas, crudoque circumdari corio, uigilantique custodia iussit illas tueri. Exacto igitur iam tercio obsidionis mense

f. 24

^a requisito *Waitz*; requisitus *BAXD* ^b *One expects bello (Winterbottom)*
^c futura aestate *Migne*; futur(a)e (a)estati *BAXD* ^d *The medieval part of A resumes with this word*

¹ Henry II undertook the expedition to Southern Italy of 1021–2 at the request of Benedict VIII (1012–24) who visited Germany in 1020: Chalandon, i. 61. Melo, the great Lombard rebel, may have been at the German court at this time, where he died. No evidence exists to suggest that the Normans asked Henry II to intervene: Chalandon, i. 57.

rulers, driven by greed, had placed barricades and set guards in order to extract tolls from those making the crossing: but when they had denied them passage, wanting payment first, as was customary, the Norman army became angry, broke down the barricades, killed the guards, and forced a passage. This group brought Rodulf no small reinforcement. So both sides joined battle a second time with renewed strength; both suffered heavy losses, but the Normans emerged victorious. After a little while there was a third battle and each army withdrew to its own ground, exhausted. When Rodulf realized that his own countrymen were suffering heavy losses while the local population was useless in battle, he and a few companions went to see the Emperor Henry and explained to him the course of events. The emperor received Rodulf well and gave him various gifts, for rumour of his deeds had aroused Henry's curiosity.

4. Soon the emperor gathered a great army and set out to protect the common weal.¹ The Greeks, believing that Rodulf had fled from the country, advanced smartly to the towns which he had taken from them after his victories—but in vain; for they hastily threw up a wall around the ancient city of Troia and filled it with a great many men and women. In the meantime the emperor, having set out for Benevento, assaulted and captured all the towns and cities which the Greeks had wrenched from his empire. When he came to Troia the rebels in the city resisted him long and hard, hoping that in the next summer, as the Greeks had promised, the Emperor Basil would aid them.² They added that Henry would be so humiliated that he would take to his heels in terror before Basil. He laid siege to the city with his army, setting out his machines to take it by storm. But the besieged made a sortie under cover of night, carrying with them torches smeared with pitch, and in this way they destroyed the machines outside by fire. When he saw this, the emperor, blazing with anger, ordered that stronger machines should be built and covered with raw hide, and he commanded his men to guard them vigilantly. At the end of the third month of the

² The siege of Troia began in Apr. 1022 and was fruitless. Chalandon, i. 64–5, is critical of what he regards as the fanciful account given by Glaber because the South Italian sources do not mention the fall of Troia. On the other hand, as he admits, the German sources say that Henry captured the city.

alternisque cedibus utrique nimium fessi (nam et exercitum imperatoris dissenteria clades opido uexauerat), tandem obsessi meliore usi consilio inuenerunt uiam euadendi^a discriminis. Quadam autem die accipientes solitarium quendam indutum monachili habitu (quibus etiam Italia plurimum abundat), dederunt ei crucem gestare miseruntque post illum omnes ciuitatis pueros minoris ætatis. Sicque exclamando 'Kyrrieleison' deuenit ad imperatoris tentorium. Quod audiens imperator, iussit interrogari quid sibi uellent, cumque responsum fuisset quod misereri a se afflictæ ciuitati implorarent, respondit: 'Optime nouit ipse qui agnitor est cordium' inquit 'quoniam magis quam ego horum paruulorum patres illorum sunt homicidæ.' Illacrimansque iussit ut salui in ciuitatem redirent. Fecerunt autem ut iusserat imperator. Altera quoque die, iterum primo mane processerunt a ciuitate, ut prius clamantes 'Kyrrieleison', usque dum sonoritas uocum illorum aures pulsaret imperatoris. Qui statim egressus a tentorio respiciensque pupillorum turbam, pietate permotus, ut erat uir sapientissimus, uoce dominica usus ait: 'Misereor super turbam.'¹ Nam ante iam dixerat quoniam, si ei contingeret capere ciuitatem, quicquid masculini sexus inueniretur in ea suspenderetur patibulis, reliqua uero igne cremari, ipsiusque ciuitatis moenia ad solum pertrahi. Preterea mandauit imperator illis qui in ciuitate ceteris preerant, ut si indulgeri sibi ab eo uellent, iramque eius placare, ipsimet subuerterent partem murorum ciuitatis quæ contra suas machinas rebellis stare uidebatur.² Qui audientes certatim impleuerunt quod eis mandatum fuerat. Post hæc quoque precepit imperator eos pacifice ad se ingredi murumque ciuitatis ab eisdem reedificari. Acceptisque pacis obsidibus ab uniuersis regionis illius prouincialibus, reuersus est Saxoniam. Normanni quippe cum suo duce Rodulfo reuersi in suam patriam, gratanter recepti a proprio principe Richardo. Sequenti denique anno, mense Iulio, obiit Henricus imperator apud Saxoniam, sepultusque est honorifice in monasterio Bauoberch quod ipse, ut dictum est, in honore apostolorum principis ædificauerat.³

^a euadendi *BD*; euadendis *A*

siege both sides were exhausted by heavy losses (for the scourge of dysentery had sorely ravaged the emperor's army). In the end the besieged took better counsel and devised a way of avoiding ruin. One day they found a hermit dressed as a monk (Italy abounds with such men), gave him a cross to carry, and sent out after him all the young children of the city. So prepared, with loud cries of 'Lord have mercy', he approached the emperor's tent. When the emperor heard this he ordered that they be asked what they wanted of him, and when the answer came that they were begging mercy for the city he had afflicted, he replied: 'He who reads men's hearts knows very well that their own fathers are the murderers of these little ones, not I.' Weeping, he ordered that they should return in safety to the city. They did as the emperor ordered. The next day, at first light, they again trooped out of the city crying 'Lord have mercy' as before, until the sound of their voices reached the ears of the emperor. Immediately he left his tent, looked at the crowd of children, and was stirred by pity; being a just man, he used the words of the Lord, 'I have compassion on the multitude.'¹ Now before all this happened he had said that if he managed to capture the city all its males would be hung from gibbets, and everything else would be burnt and the walls razed to the ground. Then the emperor sent messages to the leaders of the city saying that if they wanted to gain his indulgence and placate his anger, they should themselves break down part of the walls of the city, which stood out stubbornly against his machines.² Hearing this they eagerly did as they were told. After this the emperor ordered them to come out to him in peace, and repair the wall. Then, after he had taken hostages from all the inhabitants of that region, he returned to Saxony. The Normans, led by Rodulf, went back to their own land and were joyfully received by Richard their prince. In the following year, in the month of July, the Emperor Henry died in Saxony, and he was buried with great honour in the cathedral of Bamberg, which, as we have said, he had built in honour of the prince of the apostles.³

¹ Mark 8: 2.

² Or perhaps 'that part of the city walls which . . .'

³ See above, Preface. 1.

ii. *De Rotberto rege Francorum*¹

5. In prescripto igitur tempore, disponente Francorum regnum Rotberto rege, plurimas ei intulere sui contumelię insolentias, illi maxime quos aut ex mediocri aut ex infimo genere tam ipse quam uterque Hugo, eius^a scilicet pater atque auus, fecerunt maximis honoribus sublimes.² Inter quos fuit Odo rebellionum maximus, qui fuit filius Tetbaldi Carnotensis cognomento fallacis, ceterique quamplures inferioris potentię, qui exinde extiterunt ei rebelles unde esse debuerant humiliores. Quorum non dispar fuit secundus Odo, filius scilicet prioris Odonis, qui quanto potentior tanto fraudulentior ceteris.³ Nam cum obisset Stephanus comes Trencorum et Meldorum, Heriberti filius,⁴ ipsius regis consobrinus, absque | liberis, arripuit idem Odo contra regis uoluntatem uniuersa quęque latifundia in regis uidelicet dominium iure cessura.

f. 24^v

6. Fuit etiam iuge litigium et bella frequentia inter ipsum Odonem et Folconem Andegauorum comitem,⁵ quoniam uterque tumidus superbia idcirco et pacis refuga. Necnon etiam Willemus, Henrici ducis priuignus, Adalberti Longobardorum⁶ ducis filius, eidem regi aliquando rebellis extitit, fauente ei Landrico Neuernis comite,⁷ qui eius filiam uxorem duxerat, et Brunone, Lingonensi episcopo,⁸ cuius habebat in matrimonio sororem. Ex qua suscepit

^a eius *GCA, Delisle; ei A*

¹ Hugh of Flavigny, p. 392, summarizes paras. 5 and 6 and also refers to Hugh of Chalon, 'cuius cognatam Constantiam Robertus habebat uxorem', on which cf. para. 7. *GCA*, pp. 109–10 uses this passage (from 'igitur') down to 'pacis refuga' in para. 6.

² On Hugh the Great and Hugh Capet see 1. ii. 6, 2. Preface. 1; and on King Robert, 1. Prefacen.; 2. viii. 15–16.

³ The founder of the greatness of the house of the counts of Blois-Champagne was Theobald 'the Deceiver' who married Liegard, daughter of Herbert II of Vermandois (on whom see above, 1. i. 5) and became count of Blois and Chartres before his death in 975. He is mentioned again at the very end of this book (ix. 39). His son was Odo I of Blois and Chartres (975–96), whose death has already been mentioned above, 2. vii. 14. He married Bertha, daughter of Conrad 'the Peaceful', king of Burgundy (937–93); his son was Odo II (996–1037), whose death is recorded below, ix. 39: Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, especially chs. 1–2.

⁴ Stephen I of Troyes and Meaux (994/5–1019 or later), son of Count Herbert 'le Jeune', whose death has been mentioned above 2. vii. 14, and who is referred to again below, vi. 22n.: Bur, p. 125. On Odo's 'seizure' of his lands see below, para. 8n.

⁵ For the wars of the houses of Blois and Anjou see Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 15–63. Fulk Nerra has already been mentioned above 2. iii. 4.

⁶ Otto-William, count of Mâcon (982–1026), was the son of Adalbert of Ivrea, king of Italy, who was deposed by Otto I of Germany in 968. His mother Gerberga married

ii. *Robert king of the Franks*¹

5. At that time Robert was king of the Franks. He had to suffer many insults and much abuse from his own men, particularly those whom he himself, or one of the two Hughs, his father and grandfather, had raised to great honour, although they came from middling or humble stock.² Chief amongst these rebels was Odo, son of Theobald the Deceiver, count of Chartres, with very many others of lesser rank, who rebelled against the king from positions that should have made them humble. Of the same kidney was Odo II, son of Odo I, who was more cunning as well as more powerful than the others.³ When Stephen, the count of Troyes and Meaux and son of Herbert died,⁴ Odo, contrary to the royal will, seized all the estates which ought by law to have reverted to the royal demesne, for Stephen had died without heir and he was a cousin of the king.

6. There were perpetual quarrels and frequent wars between this Odo and Fulk count of Anjou because both were swollen with pride and so little disposed towards peace.⁵ William, stepson of duke Henry and son of Adalbert, duke of the Lombards, was also a rebel against the king on one occasion,⁶ and he was supported by Landri, count of Nevers, who was married to his daughter,⁷ and by Bruno, bishop of Langres, whose sister he had married.⁸ By this

Henry, duke of Burgundy (on whom see above 2. Preface. 1; 2. viii. 15) in 974. Otto-William escaped from German custody and by marriage acquired the county of Mâcon. His stepfather later adopted him as heir to the duchy of Burgundy: Duby, pp. 155–6. This very oblique comment is Glaber's only reference to the fact that Otto-William contested Robert II's claim to the duchy of Burgundy on the death of Duke Henry in 1002, a fact which he leaves out of his description of the Burgundian civil war (2. viii. 15–16). Otto-William was related to St William of Dijon, Glaber's patron (on whom see below, v. 16), as Glaber tells us in *Life*, c. vi. This may explain our chronicler's discretion in the matter: Bulst, pp. 23–4.

⁷ Landri I married Matilda, daughter of Otto-William, in 989, and received the county of Nevers as her dowry: Pfister, p. 254. He fought for his father-in-law in the Burgundian civil war as Glaber reports, but after the fall of Auxerre to the royal forces in 1005 he made his peace with the king and arranged the marriage of his son Raynard to Adela, daughter of King Robert; her dowry was the county of Auxerre: Pfister, p. 219. Landry died 11 May 1028 and was succeeded by his son Raynard: R. de Lespinasse, *Le Nivernois et les comtes de Nevers* (Paris, 1909), p. 198.

⁸ Bruno de Roucy, bishop of Langres (980–1016) was the child of the marriage of Raynard, count of Roucy, and Alberada, half-sister of Lothar, king of the Franks (on whom see above, 1. iii. 7). Bruno's sister Ermentrude, heiress to the county of Mâcon, married Otto-William: Bulst, pp. 74–5, while another sister married Fromond count of Sens, on whom see below, vi. 20n.: Pfister, p. 255.

filios et filias, de quibus prius natam Landricus, reliquas uterque Willemus scilicet Pictauensis et Arelatensis duxere uxores.¹ Vnusque filiorum eius, Rainaldus nomine, duxit filiam Richardi Rotomagensis ducis, Adeledam nomine, uxorem.² Qui licet aduena, puer etiam furtime sublatus a Langobardorum patria, matrique non mediocriter astute per quendam monachum redditus, in Burgundia in tantum conualuit ut in diuitiis et militia non inueniretur secundus in patria. Sed huic plurimum aduersatus restitit Hugo, filius Lanberti Cabilonensis comitis, uiri honestissimi, qui inter cetera que gessit optima monasterium etiam construxit in pago Augustidunense, quod dicitur Paredo, in honore Sancte Marię Sanctique Iohannis Baptistę, in quo etiam sepultus honorifice quiescit.³ Fuit enim idem Hugo episcopus Autissioderi, regensque comitatum patris ex imperio regis, quoniam preter eum pater eius non habuit sobolem sexus masculini, idcircoque hostibus regis contrarius quoniam regi fidelissimus parebat in omnibus.

7.⁴ Accepit autem supradictus rex illius cognatam,^a nomine et animo Constantiam, inclitam reginam, filiam uidelicet prioris Willelmi Aquitanię ducis,^b ex qua etiam suscepit filios quattuor et filias duas.⁵ Extitit tamen aliquando quidam Hugo, dictus Beluacensis, qui inter ipsum regem eiusque coniugem nequam semen odii^c spargebat sui que gratia premii reginam ei fecerat odiosam.⁶ Tantam denique insuper gratiam a rege consecutus fuerat ut

^a neptam predicti fulconis is inserted above the line in A (see above, p. xci) ^b Guillemi comitis arelatensis natam de blanca sorore eius is inserted above the line in A
^c odii France; odiis A (and GCA)

¹ William V, duke of Aquitaine, married Otto-William's daughter Agnes, and their child Agnes later married Henry III of Germany as Glaber reports below, s. i. 17. Another daughter of Otto-William, Gerberga, married William II, count of Provence: R. Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne (888-1038): Étude sur les origines du royaume d'Arles* (Paris, 1907), pp. 224-5.

² Raynald, count of Burgundy (1026-57), was the son of Otto-William count of Mâcon (on whom see above, 3. ii. 6): Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, p. 136. Raynald married Adelaide, daughter of Richard II of Normandy, whom Glaber mentions very frequently. The younger son of their marriage was Guy of Burgundy, who later contested William the Conqueror's claim to the duchy of Normandy: William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. J. Marx (Rouen and Paris, 1914), p. 18; William of Poitiers, *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant*, ed. and tr. R. Foreville (Paris, 1952), p. 14.

³ On Hugh, count of Chalons and bishop of Auxerre, who was the only magnate of Burgundy to support King Robert in the Burgundian civil war, see above, 2. viii. 16, and below, para. 7. His father, Lambert, count of Chalons, founded the monastery at Paray-le-Monial in 971. When he died in 988 or 989 he was succeeded by his son Hugh, who

marriage he had sons and daughters; the eldest of the girls married Landri, while the others married two men who were both called William, the one count of Poitou and the other of Arles.¹ One of his sons, called Raynald, married Adelaide, daughter of Richard duke of Rouen.² This William, although a foreigner—for as a boy he had been secretly stolen from the land of the Lombards and restored to his mother with no small cunning by a certain monk—so prospered in Burgundy that he was second to none in the land in wealth and soldiery. But against him stood a formidable adversary, Hugh, son of that honourable man Lambert, count of Chalons who, amongst other fine actions, constructed a monastery in the county of Autun which is called Paray; it was dedicated to St Mary and St John the Baptist, and its founder was buried there in honour.³ This Hugh was bishop of Auxerre, and by the command of the king he ruled the county of his father, who had had no other male child; he ranged himself against the king's enemies, for he obeyed the king most faithfully in all things.

7.⁴ The king married a relative of this man, a woman who was very appropriately called Constance and who made a distinguished queen; the daughter of William I, duke of Aquitaine, she bore him four sons and two daughters.⁵ Once, however, one Hugh, called 'of Beauvais', sowed a wicked seed of hatred between the king and his wife, making her appear hateful to her husband, for his own advantage.⁶ He received such favour from the king that he was made Count of the Palace. One day it so happened that the king,

was then a canon of Autun cathedral. Almost immediately after his consecration as bishop of Auxerre on 5 Mar. 999 Hugh began the rebuilding of Paray on its present site and subjected it to Cluny. It was consecrated on 9 Dec. 1004: *Cartulaire du prieuré de Paray-le-Monial*, ed. U. Chevallier (Montbeliard, 1891), pp. xi-xiii. The present church of Paray-le-Monial was built c. 1100 and is modelled on St Hugh of Cluny's (1049-1109) great church of Cluny III: Conant, p. 118.

⁴ GCA, pp. 110-11, used this paragraph as far as 'regine fuit'.

⁵ Constance's father was probably William, count of Arles, and certainly not the duke of Aquitaine (F. Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens* (Paris, 1891), pp. 361-9); her mother was Adelaide, also called Blanche, daughter of Fulk the Good of Anjou and sister of Fulk Nerra's father Geoffrey Greycloak. Adelaide-Blanche married successively Stephen, count of the Gévaudan, Louis V of France (see also pp. 154-5). The GCA is somewhat overstating the relationship in saying that Fulk was her uncle: he was actually her cousin: Pfister, pp. 61-4. Constance was the aunt of Hugh of Chalons because his father, Lambert, married her sister Adelaide: Lebeuf, *Mémoires*, ii. 232-3. Constance was later to trouble her spouse and the French realm considerably: see below, ix. 34-6.

⁶ On Hugh of Beauvais, the favourite of King Robert, see Helgaud, p. 86.

comes palatii haberetur. Factumque est ut die quadam rex in silua uenatum iret, idemque Hugo, ut semper solebat, cum illo, ueneruntque missi a Fulcone Andegauorum comite, cognato^a scilicet eiusdem reginę, fortissimi milites duodecim qui supradictum Hugonem ante regem trucidauerunt. Ipse uero rex, licet aliquanto tempore tali facto tristis effectus, postea tamen, ut decebat, concors reginę fuit. Hic itaque rex ut sapientissimus Dei cultor semper fuit, humilium amator, superbiorumque ut ualuit osor. Si qua enim pontificalis sedes in suo regno proprio uiduaretur presule, cura erat ei maxima ut utilis pastor, licet genere infimus, restitueretur ecclēsię potius quam nobilitatis eligeretur persona secularis pompę. Qua de causa etiam primates regni sensit plurimum contumaces, qui, despectis humilibus, sui similes eligebant superbos.

f. 25 8. Fuit enim ei pax cum regibus in giro regni sui positis, maxime cum suprascripto imperatore Henrico. Nam cum aliquando ad inuicem | colloquendum super Mosam fluuium, qui limes est utriusque regni, conuenissent pluresque ex ambobus partibus musitarent indecens esse ut quis illorum, tantorum scilicet regum, semet humilians quasi in alterius transiret auxilium,¹ hoc etiam fore potissimum ut in fluminis medio nauibus portarentur simul locuturi. Sed uiri eruditissimi illud utique^b in mente habens 'Quanto magnus es humilia te in omnibus',² primo namque mane surgens imperator transiit cum paucis ad regem Francorum nimioque amplexu semet deosculantes, sacramentisque missarum decenter ab episcopis in conspectu illorum celebratis, prandere simul utrisque congruit. Expleto quoque prandio, obtulit Rotbertus rex immensa munera auri atque argenti et preciosarum gemmarum Henrico, centum insuper equos honestissime faleratos, super unumquemque lorica et galea,^c mandans insuper tantum illorum amicitiam minuere quantum contingeret ex omnibus illi relinquere. At Henricus,

^a auunculo is inserted above the line in A

^b utique Winterbottom; uterque A

^c Perhaps read lorica et galeam

¹ *auxilium*, aid, presumably implied a kind of vassalage. A charter granted by Robert II to Saint-Bénigne of Dijon records a meeting of these two rulers, probably in 1006: Chevrier and Chaume, pp. 31–3. But the account here clearly refers to the meeting of 1023, at Deville-sur-Meuse, fully recorded in the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium* in *MGHSS* vii. 480, which specifically mentions the gift of a tooth of St Vincent to Henry that Glaber notes here. Fulbert of Chartres was apparently asked to attend this meeting, but was unable to be there and wrote to King Robert apologizing: Behrends, *Fulbert*, no. 81, pp. 146–7. The ambitions of Odo II of Blois were the real reason for this meeting. After the death of Stephen I of Troyes and Meaux in 1019 or later King Robert

accompanied as usual by Hugh, went hunting in the woods, when twelve bold knights who had been sent by Fulk of Anjou, the queen's relative, arrived, and slew Hugh before the king's own eyes. The king mourned for a while, but soon lived in concord again with his wife, as was only proper. He was a very wise king and always a devout worshipper of God, who loved the humble and (so far as he could) hated the proud. If any bishopric in his realm lost its incumbent, he took great care to fill it, preferring a suitable pastor of low birth to a nobleman steeped in the vanities of this world. Because of this he incurred the hostility of the magnates of the realm, who scorned the humble and preferred men as proud as themselves.

8. He lived in peace with the rulers around his borders, especially the Emperor Henry. One day the two kings came together for a meeting on the river Meuse, which forms the frontier between their kingdoms. But some from both realms muttered that it would be improper for one of these two great kings to humiliate himself by crossing to the other as though to aid him,¹ and so it would be preferable if each went by boat and they talked in mid-river. But recalling the saying of a wise man: 'Inasmuch as thou art great, humble thyself in all things';² the emperor arose at dawn, and, taking with him only a small escort, crossed the river to the king of the French; they embraced warmly and kissed, heard mass celebrated by the bishops, and decided to take breakfast together. When the meal was over King Robert offered to Henry vast presents of gold and silver and precious stones, together with one hundred splendidly caparisoned horses each bearing a cuirass and a helmet; he proclaimed that if the emperor refused any of these, then by so much would their friendship be diminished. Henry understood how enormously generous his friend was, but he chose

granted his lands, which formed the kernel of the county of Champagne, to Odo II, who had a strong family claim. However, the king thought better of the matter when Odo's arrogance and ambitions, especially in Rheims, became apparent. Henry II was worried by Odo II's claims to the kingdom of the childless Rudolf III of Burgundy (on which see above, para. 5n.) and his interests in Lorraine. In these circumstances Robert II revoked his grant to Odo. In para. 5 Glaber says that Odo seized all Stephen's estates, ignoring the initial grant, an accusation he repeats below, ix. 37. The bitter conflict between the Capetians and the House of Blois continued, as Glaber relates below, ix. 37–9, where he reveals very clearly his hostility to Blois: Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, pp. 157–70.

² Ecclus. 3: 20 (18).

cernens amici liberalitatem, suscepit ex illis tantum librum euangelii, auro et lapidibus preciosis insertum, ac philaterium simile factum continens dentem sancti Vincentii leuitę et martyris;¹ uxor uero illius pares auri tantum naues accepit. Cetera autem egrediens in gratia dimisit. Sequenti igitur die iterum rex Rotbertus cum episcopis transiens ad imperatoris tentoria, qui cum satis sublimis suscipiens, expletoque simul prandio, centum libras ei ex auro puro obtulit. Rex quoque pares tantum naues auri ex illo sumpsit, firmatoque uterque pacto amicitię redire ad propria. Ab aliis quoque regibus satis gratifere fuit semper habitus, Adalrado scilicet rege Anglorum² et Rodulfo rege Austrasiorum³ necnon et Sancto rege Nauarrię Hispaniarum;⁴ mittebantque ei munera et petebant ab eo auxilia.

iii. *De stella comete que apparet plurima portenderit*⁵

9. Apparuit igitur prefati regis tempore in occidentalis aeris parte stella que uocatur cometis, Septembrio mense, incipiente nocte, perdurans spacio trium fere mensium. Que scilicet nimia claritate fulgens maximam aeris partem sibi inlustrando uendicabat, usque dum circa galli cantum occumberet. Sed utrum nouiter a Deo stella mittatur, seu ab eodem ob gratiam portenti alicuius stelle lumen multiplicius augeatur, ipsi soli scire competit qui cetera indicibiliter sua sapientia disponit. Illud tamen habetur probatissimum, quoniam quotiens huiusmodi hominibus ostenditur fieri in mundo paulo post quoddam mirum atque terribile patenter innuitur.

10. Denique contigit in proximum ecclesiam beati Michahelis archangeli cremari incendio, que scilicet, constituta in quodam promuntorio litoris oceani maris, toto orbe nunc usque habetur uenerabilis.⁶ Nam et inibi certissimum^a conspicitur, uidelicet ex

^a *Perhaps certissime; the text remains dubious (and probably lacunose)*

¹ St Vincent of Saragossa, who was martyred in 304 under Diocletian. His cult spread rapidly in the Roman Empire, and St Augustine testifies in a sermon to his widespread fame. His feast-day is 22 Jan.: *ODS*, p. 424.

² On whom see above, 2. ii. 3n.

³ Rudolf III of Burgundy (993–1032), whose sister Bertha married Odo I of Blois, creating the claim of that family to the throne of Burgundy as Glaber remarks below, 3. ix. 37. On this claim see above, ii. 5n. Glaber always describes this kingdom as 'Austrasia': 3. ix. 38; 5. i. 17; 5. iv. 22, although the defunct Austrasia of Merovingian and Carolingian times extended north of the Seine to include most of what later became Flanders, the northern Meuse region, Holland, and the valley of the Moselle:

from all this only a gospel-book set with gold and precious stones, and a similar reliquary containing the tooth of St Vincent, deacon and martyr;¹ his wife would take only a pair of golden vessels. The rest he refused graciously and took his leave. The following day, in his turn, King Robert with his bishops crossed the river and went to the camp of the emperor, who received him with great honour, and, when a meal had been taken, offered him one hundred pounds of pure gold, but the king would only take a pair of gold vessels. When they had confirmed their friendship they returned to their own lands. Other princes also showed consistent friendship with Robert; Æthelred, king of the English,² Rudolf, king of Austrasia,³ and Sancho, king of Navarre in Spain,⁴ all sent him presents and begged his aid.

iii. *A comet and all it portended*⁵

9. In the days of this same king a star of the sort called a comet appeared in the western sky; it was first seen at the start of a September night, and it lasted for almost three months. It shone with such a brilliant light that it lit up the greater part of the sky until it vanished at cock-crow. Whether this was a new star sent by God, or whether it was an existing star whose light He had increased as an omen, is known only to Him whose ineffable wisdom arranges all things. What is very certain is that whenever such a prodigy appears to men it clearly portends some wondrous and awe-inspiring event in the world shortly after.

10. Soon after, the church of St Michael the Archangel was destroyed by fire; this church is built on a headland at the edge of the ocean, and it is universally venerated, even down to our own days.⁶

McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 17–18, map 1, p. 370. It seems likely that Glaber used this term culled from the past in order to distinguish the kingdom beyond the Saône from French Burgundy, which was where he lived, for he clearly regarded Henry as duke of Burgundy: 2. Preface. 1. On the two Burgundies see above, pp. xix–xx.

² Sancho III, 'El Mayor', died in 1035. Cf. below, iii. 12n.

³ In the preceding chapters Glaber has reported events which occurred as late as 1024, but he now turns back sharply in order to prepare us for the coming of the millennium of the Nativity. He refers here to the appearance of Halley's comet in Aug.–Sept. 989 (P. Moore and J. Mason, *The Return of Halley's Comet* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 46), and to the destruction of the Mont-Saint-Michel by fire in 992 (J. Laporte, 'L'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel aux x^e et xi^e siècles', in *Millénaire monastique du Mont-Saint-Michel* (Paris, 1966–71), i. 64).

⁶ Mont Saint-Michel: see previous n.

f. 25^v incremento atque decremento lunari, eundo ac redeundo processu mirabili in giro eius promuntorii reuma scilicet Oceani. Cuius etiam maris excrementum *malinas* uocant, decrementum quoque | *ledones* numcupant;¹ atque ob hoc maxime predictus locus a plurimis terrarum populis sepius frequentatur. Est etiam non longe a predicto promuntorio fluuiolus cognomento Arduus, qui post haec paululum excrescens, per aliquod temporis spacium intransmeabilis effectus, atque ad predictam ecclesiam ire uolentibus uiam plurimum impediens, aliquantisper eiusdem itineris obstaculum fuit. Postmodum uero in sese rediens profundissime litus suo cursu sulcatum reliquit.

11. His ita gestis contigit ut uenerabilis Abo, pater monasterii sancti Benedicti Floriacensis cognominati, gratia propagandę religionis monasticę in prouintiam transiret meridianorum Wasconum. Cumque illuc deueniens in quodam moraretur coenobio ibique more solito ea quę Dei sunt sedule exerceat, nimio a cunctis uenerabatur affectu. Accidit igitur die quadam ut in atrio eiusdem coenobii, exardescens quorundam litigiosorum irarum stimulis, nimium acer oriretur tumultus. Dumque uir reuerentissimus, predictus uidelicet Abo, comperiens, ad eundem tumultum sedandum pugillares gerens in manibus tabellas cum stilo processisset, unus e uulgo afflatus spiritu diabolico irruens in eum eiusque latus lancea perforans Christi martyrem fecit. Qui etiam, ut fertur, paulo post arreptus a doemone miserabiliter uitam finiuit. Corpus uero predicti patris tam sui quam ceteri quique fideles eiusdem prouintię honorifice inibi sepelierunt, ubi etiam ad laudem sui nominis perplura postmodum Dominus largitus est hominibus beneficia.²

12. Tunc igitur temporis, in Italia atque in Galliis, plerique episcoporum nonnulla inter se de diuersis questionibus habuere synodorum conciliabula. Nam de ieiuniis, quę plerique fidelium scilicet inter Ascensionem Saluatoris et Pentecosten obseruant, ita decreuerunt ut ne per imperium sacerdotum fierent, excepto sabbato

¹ See Du Cange s.vv.

² Abbo, abbot of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (988–1004), *ODS*, p. 1. He was a notable scholar and one of the founders of the greatness of his abbey, which, although originally reformed by St Odo of Cluny, was independent and itself the centre of a monastic family. It was on a visit to one of these dependencies, La Réole in Gascony, that Abbo was killed on 13 Nov. 1004. After 1031 he was revered as a martyr, his feast-day being

In that place there is most certainly something to see, for as the moon waxes and wanes the tides of the Ocean ebb and flow with strange motion about the headland. When the tides are in full flow they call them *malinae*, but when they are ebbing, *ledones*.¹ Because of this spectacle the place is much visited by people from all over the world. Not far away is the little river Ardre, which after the fire flooded somewhat, making it impossible to cross. Those wishing to visit the church found their way barred, and so for a while this route was closed. Afterwards the river returned to its bed, leaving the bank deeply scored by its passage.

11. Then the venerable Abbo, father of the monastery of Saint-Benoît-de-Fleury, went down to the land of the Gascons in the far south in order to propagate the monastic observance. Once there, he stayed in a monastery, where, in his usual way, he busied himself in God's work and so came to be venerated by all. One day, in the courtyard of the monastery, a bitter tumult arose in some dispute in which tempers were raging. Then that reverend man Abbo, becoming aware of the matter, rushed out, bearing his writing-tablets and pen, to calm the tempest, but, possessed by an evil spirit, one low fellow rushed upon him and by driving a lance through his side made of him a martyr of Christ. It is said that the fellow was shortly afterwards seized by a demon and ended his life in misery. The body of the holy father was honourably buried there by his followers and the other faithful of that land; there, for His name's sake, God has since granted many benefits to men.²

12. At the same time, in Italy and Gaul, many of the bishops held synods to settle various problems. The matter of the fast which the greater part of the faithful observe between Ascension and Pentecost arose, and it was decided that it should not be enforced by sacerdotal authority except on the Saturday of

13 Nov. His life is recorded in Aimō's *Vita Sancti Abbonis*, which is written in the form of a letter to Hervé, treasurer of Tours (on whom see below, iv. 14–15), *PL* cxxxix. 375–414. For Abbo's works see *ibid.*, cols. 463–582. He was a great champion of monastic liberties and of the power of the Roman See; it was at Fleury under his rule that the notion of monastic exemption flowered, on which see above, pp. lx–lxi. Glaber's account of his death resembles Aimō's only in general terms: see above, p. li. For a biography see P. Cousin, *Saint Abbon de Fleury: Un savant, un pasteur, un martyr à la fin du X^e siècle* (Paris, 1954).

Pentecosten, et a quibus fieri uellent ne prohiberentur fieri. Simulque incidit questio cur monachi per tres uel quattuor dominicas dies ante diem Natiuitatis Dominicę seu quadragesimalis obseruationis tempore ymnum scilicet *Te Deum Laudamus* decantarent contra morem Romanę ecclesię. Qua uidelicet questione aggressi tam abbates quam monachi responderunt se pro nulla re illud agere nisi ex beati Benedicti nominatissimi atque excellentissimi patris preceptione, cuius etiam actus simul et dicta a summo Romanorum pontifice, uidelicet Gregorio, haberentur descripta ac laudabiliter roborata.¹ His denique compertis episcopi,^a usus monachorum autenticus ex more uiguit. Necnon etiam de die Adnuntiationis dominicę, qui celebratur octauo kalendarum Aprilium, si forte quolibet alio tempore preter quadragesimam excoli congruentius potuisset ab eisdem pontificibus non parua inlata est questio. Ferebatur enim a quibusdam eandem uidelicet Adnuntiationem dominicam Hispanorum^b more quinto decimo kalendarum Ianuariarum die inreprehensibiliter posse celebrari^c.

f. 26 Nam cum ego postmodum in monasterio Cluniacense | cum ceteris fratribus degerem, conuenerunt illuc ab Hispaniis quamplures honestę conuersationis iam dudum more uiuentes proprię regionis monachi. Propinquante uero die Natiuitatis dominicę petierunt predicti monachi uenerabilem Odilonem, eiusdem loci abbatem, ut more suorum liceret eis dominicam celebrare Annuntiationem. Quod cum fecissent segregati a ceteris, uisum est nocte eadem duobus senioribus loci quod unus de Hispanis fuscina focaria arriperet desuper altare puerum, mitteretque illum in sartagine prunis plenam, ita clamantem: 'Pater, pater, quod tu dedisti isti auferunt.' Quid plura? Apud nos antiqua consuetudo, uti decebat, preualuit.²

iv. De innouatione basilicarum in toto orbe

13. Igitur infra supradictum millesimum tercio iam fere imminente anno, contigit in uniuerso pene terrarum orbe, precipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis, innouari ecclesiarum basilicas, licet

^a So A ^b Hispanorum *Pithou*; hispaniorum A ^c celebrari *Migne*; celebrare A

¹ Pope Gregory I 'the Great' (590-604), whose life of St Benedict forms Book 2 of his *Dialogues*, ed. A. de Vogüé (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 3 vols., Paris, 1978-80).

² In 1032 Sancho III, 'El Mayor' (1000-35), king of Navarre, dispatched the monk

Pentecost, but that those who wished to continue the observance should not be prohibited from doing so. Then there was the question why monks sang the *Te Deum* on the three or four Sundays before Christmas and during Lent, contrary to the custom of the Roman church. When taxed with this the abbots and monks replied that they only did so because of the precept of the renowned and excellent father, St Benedict, whose life and pronouncements were recorded and given force by the most eminent Gregory, bishop of the Romans.¹ When the bishops heard this, the usage of the monks was allowed to flourish as before. Then what was certainly not a minor matter was debated by the prelates. The feast of the Annunciation is celebrated on 25 March: might it not be more appropriately celebrated at some other time, outside Lent? Some maintained that the feast of the Annunciation could be celebrated quite licitly, according to Spanish custom, on 18 December. Some time after this when I was sharing the life of the brethren of the monastery of Cluny, a number of worthy monks came from Spain where they had long lived according to the usages of that region. When Christmas approached these monks begged the venerable Odilo, abbot of that house, to permit them to celebrate the Annunciation according to their custom. When they had celebrated this, segregated from the rest of the community, two of the eldest monks of the house that night dreamt they saw one of the Spaniards, armed with a cooking-fork, seize a young boy from upon the altar and put him in a frying-pan full of hot coals. The young boy cried out: 'Father, Father, they are taking away what you have given.' There is no more to be said: amongst us the ancient custom was very properly confirmed.²

iv. Reconstruction of churches throughout the whole world

13. Just before the third year after the millennium, throughout the whole world, but most especially in Italy and Gaul, men began to

Paternus to Cluny. It was from this date that Cluniac penetration into the Spanish church began: Defourneaux, p. 79. Glaber later refers to Spanish monks who had taken the habit at Cluny and who spread love of the house in their own land, below, 4. vii. 22. He has already referred to Spanish monks fighting against Islam, above, 2. ix. 18. It seems likely that Glaber was at Cluny when Paternus was there, and that he and his followers provided information about events in Spain. The Spanish date of the Annunciation is put in its context by H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 14-17.

pleręque decenter locatę minime indignissent, emulabatur tamen quęque gens christicolarum aduersus alteram decentiore frui. Erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet, reiecta uetustate, passim candidam ꝥcclesiarum uestem indueret.¹ Tunc denique episcopalium sedium ꝥcclesias pene uniuersas ac cetera quęque diuersorum sanctorum monasteria seu minora uillarum oratoria in meliora quique permutauere fideles.

14.² Eo quoque tempore inter cetera beati Martini Turonis monasterium emicuit, a uenerabili scilicet uiro Heriueo, eiusdem loci archiclauro, euersum atque ante ipsius obitum mirifico opere reedificatum.³ De cuius etiam uita et conuersatione qualis a puericia usque ad presentis uitę terminum extiterit, si quis referre quiuisset, pleniter incomparabilem huius temporis ostenderet uirum hominibus. Duxit enim ex nobilibus Francorum, mente nobilior ipse, prosapiam, et ut lilium uel rosa de spinis, de ferocioribus secundum sanguinem patrię fuit. Qui, ut generosioribus mos est, nobiliter educatus, dehinc uero scolis artium liberalium applicatus. Sed intellegens ex his plerosque plus fore contumaces quam diuinę oboedientię subditos, sufficere sibi credidit si exinde salutem animę reportaret. Relictis autem pompaticę scientię studiis, ad quoddam monasterium clam ingrediens, monachum se fieri satis deuote postulauit. Sed quoniam, ut diximus, clari erat generis, idcirco parentum minas pertimescentes nullo modo adqueuerunt fieri quod poposcerat fratres eiusdem monasterii. In hoc tamen illum seruantes ei fidem dederunt, ut, si uis non obstaret parentum scilicet ipsius, libentissime quod petebat explerent. Tandem inibi commorans, qualis postmodum futurus esset dans sanctitatis indicium, uniuersisque ibi degentibus imitabile prebuit exemplum. Comperiens uero pater eius quod fecerat, furore arreptus, uenit ad predictum monasterium, filium exinde abstracturus, reuera potioribus lucris inseruientem, satisque uerbis

¹ Glaber mentions the building or rebuilding of a number of major churches about this time: Loches (2. iv. 5), Orlęans cathedral (2. v. 9), Paray-le-Monial (3. ii. 6), Saint-Martin-de-Tours (3. iv. 15), Saint-Bęnigne (3. v. 16 and *Life*, cc. viii, xii), the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem (3. vii. 25), S. Giusto di Susa (4. iii. 7). For a survey of the enormous church-building activity around the year 1000, see Conant.

² The *Vita Heriuei*, published by Martęne and Durand, *Thesaurus nouus*, iii. 1689–92, is based upon this passage, with only one minor addition, the name of Hervę's father.

³ Hervę, son of Landri of Buzenęais (between Loches and Cbęteauoux in Berry) became treasurer of Saint-Martin-de-Tours and died in 1022. He is known chiefly from the *Dialogus ad Fulbertum* in Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta* (1675–6), i. 349–74, (1723), pp. 213–

reconstruct churches, although for the most part the existing ones were properly built and not in the least unworthy. But it seemed as though each Christian community were aiming to surpass all others in the splendour of construction. It was as if the whole world were shaking itself free, shrugging off the burden of the past, and cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches.¹ Almost all the episcopal churches and those of monasteries dedicated to various saints, and little village chapels, were rebuilt better than before by the faithful.

14.² Amongst others at that time the church of Saint-Martin-de-Tours was prominent. That venerable man Hervę, treasurer of the house, first demolished then rebuilt it with great labour, all within his own lifetime.³ If anybody had been able to record them, the life and manners of that man, his conduct from infancy to the end of this earthly life, would provide an incomparable example to the men of this age. He was born of a noble French family, though he was yet nobler in mind, and like a rose or a lily amongst thorns he was related by blood to some of the most ferocious men of this country. As is the custom amongst those of high birth he was educated as a noble and then sent to the schools of the liberal arts. But understanding that most learnt from such studies only pride, not obedience to the Divine Will, he thought it enough for him if he brought home the salvation of his soul. He abandoned the study of such showy knowledge and secretly entered a monastery, asking fervently to become a monk. But because his family (as we have said) was distinguished, the brethren of that monastery would in no way agree to what he asked, fearing the anger of his parents. To please him they promised that if his parents made no obstacle by force, they would freely grant him what he asked. For a time he tarried in that place, giving ample proof of his future sanctity and providing for all who lived there a worthy example. When his father heard what he had done he was transported with rage, came to the monastery, and dragged his son thence, pouring reproaches

17. This work is a dialogue between its author, Hugh, archdeacon of Tours, and one Fulbertus, who may be the famous bishop of Chartres or 'Fulbertus Exiguus'—if he was a different man, as Behrends argues in *Fulbert*, p. lxiii. On Hervę of Tours see G. Oury, 'L'idęal monastique dans la vie canoniale: Le bienheureux Hervę de Tours (†1022)', *Recue Mabillon*, lii (1962), 1–31, esp. pp. 4, 15. For a full description of the great church that Hervę built see C. K. Hersey, 'The Church of Saint-Martin at Tours', *The Art Bulletin*, xxv (1943), 1–39.

f. 26^v redargutum, uim ei faciens, duxit illum inde secum usque in regis curiam, ipsumque regem obsecrans ut eius animum ab hac intentione honorum sponsonibus reuocaret. Quem cernens rex uidelicet Rotbertus, ut erat pius ac religiosus, dulcius illum exhortans qualiter bonum propositum mente | integra conseruare satageret, atque in presens beati Martini ꝑcclesię archiclauum esse precepit, cupiens illum postmodum ceteris imitabilem constituere pontificem. Id denique multoties pertemptatum est, sed, ipso rennuente, effectu caruit. Suscepta quippe ac si coactus ꝑcclesię cura, uesteque alba tectus interdum more canonico, mentem tamen et uitam pleniter possedit monachicam. Nam semper ad nudum tectus cilicio, inrefragabili macerans corpus ieiunio, sibi parcissimus, largus pauperibus, uigiliis et orationibus instabat assiduus.

15.¹ Preterea uir Deo plenus mente concepit ut ꝑcclesiam, cui custos adscitus fuerat, amplioris altiorisque totius operis corpore sublimaret. Sancto itaque Spiritu se docente designauit latomis incomparabilis iactare fundamentum operis, quod ipse, ut optauerat, ad perfectum duxit. Expleto itaque opere, accersitisque plurimarum urbium episcopis, opus predictum Deo consecrari studuit, ipsoque die sanctum Dei confessorem Martinum intro, sicut decebat, reposuit. Venerabatur enim eodem dię preteritę dedicatio basilicę, quarto uidelicet nonarum mensis Iulii. Fertur etiam quoniam idem uir Domini, Heriueus, ante aliquot dies prefatę translationis Dominum rogauisset ut ad ostensionem dilectionis sponse sę ꝑcclesię per beatum Martinum, ut olim fecerat, quodcumque miraculum dignaretur demonstrare. Cui in oratione prostrato apparuit idem confessor, blando usus alloquio, ita inquiring: 'Hoc quod petis, fili dilectissime, scito potiora posse te apud Dominum impetrare, sed tempori huic sufficere debent exhibita dudum miracula, quoniam contiguum instat prius exparsi seminis collectura^a messis. Sola enim animarum erigens medela exoranda est uniuersis. Pro his enim Domini misericordiam obsecrare minime omitto. Nam et pro his noueris me apud Dominum precipue interuenire qui illi assidue in presenti seruiunt ꝑcclesia. Quidam enim illorum, plus iusto presentis seculi implicati negociis, armis insuper militaribus

^a collectura *Winterbottom*; collecturę *A*

¹ The rebuilding of the church of Tours seems to have been begun after a disastrous fire in the city in 1001: *Annal. Turonenses* in Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta* (1675-6), i. 372, (1723), p. 217. Glaber here tells us that Hervé lived for four years after its consecration,

upon this child who only sought the higher good. He seized him and took him to the royal court, where he begged the king to deflect him from this course by offering great honours. King Robert was a pious and religious man, and gently exhorted Hervé that he should preserve this good intention untouched in his mind; for the moment he had him made treasurer of the church of Saint-Martin, hoping later to make of him an exemplary bishop. The attempt was often made thereafter, but was always thwarted by Hervé's refusal. Although charged against his will with the care of a church, and sometimes dressed in white according to the canon, in spirit and way of life he was a monk through and through: he habitually wore a hair shirt next to his skin, he mortified his body by relentless fasting, was miserly to himself and generous to the poor, and devoted himself to constant vigils and prayers.

15.¹ This God-inspired man conceived the idea that the whole fabric of the church entrusted to his care should be enlarged and made more lofty. Guided by the Holy Spirit, he indicated to the masons where to lay the foundations of the incomparable work which he himself brought to an end just as he had wished. When the work was finished the bishops of many cities were invited, and he busied himself with the consecration of this monument to God. On that day, as was only proper, the body of the holy confessor of God, Martin, was placed within. The dedication-feast of the former church fell on that same day, 4 July. It is said that some days before this translation Hervé, that man of God, begged the Lord to deign to show His affection for this church, His spouse, as He had done before, by performing some miracle through the agency of St Martin. While he was prostrate in prayer the Confessor appeared and in gentle tones addressed him thus: 'My dear son, you should know you could get much more from the Lord than that which you ask, but for the moment miracles already performed must suffice, because the most urgent thing is to collect the harvest from the seed already sown. Only that which heals and uplifts souls may be prayed for by all men. I do not forget to intercede with the Lord for these. You can be assured that I intercede specially with the Lord for those who serve him zealously in this church. Certain of these have become more involved than is proper in the business of this

but in fact this seems to have occurred in 1014, and he died in 1022 (Oury, *Revue Mabillon*, lii (1952), 4, 15).

famulantes, quibus trucidati in prelio deciderunt.¹ De quibus nolo te lateat quoniam uix apud Christi clementiam obtinui, ut erepti de ministris tenebrarum locis refrigerii ac lucis sistere mererentur. Ceterum tu delectabile Domino uotum ut ceperas explē.² Superueniente igitur designato die, congregatisque episcopis et abbatibus, cum innumera multitudine fidelium utrorumque sexuum et ordinum, priusquam inciperent sacra fieri, uir reuerentissimus Herieus sanctioribus qui conuenerant sacerdotibus hoc quod ei reuelatum fuerat manifestare curauit. Peracta uero ex more sacratione, omnibus utensilibus rite compositis, coepit idem uir artioris uitę macerationibus sese conterere, atque solitarius in exigua penes ꝛclesiam cellula psalmis et orationibus uacans degere. Qui cum post haec anno miii^{to} cognouisset se in breui migraturum a seculo, iam iamque egrotare coepisset, ac plures ad eum uisitandi gratia concurrerent, simulque prestolantes in eius discessu aliquod fieri uidere miraculum, utpote qui | tanti meriti presciebant uirum. Ipse uero mente sagaci predixit illis ac monuit ut alia curarent signumque quod^a minime essent uisuri ne expectarent. Pro se potius obsecrabat ut piissimum Dominum attentius orarent. Iam siquidem propinquans sui exitus horam, erectis in caelum manibus et oculis creberrime dicebat: 'Domine miserere! Domine miserere!' Sicque inter haec uerba ultimum efflauit spiritum, sepultusque est in eadem ꝛclesia, in eo scilicet loco ubi primitus beatus Martinus sepultus quieuerat.

v. *De monasteriis reedificatis bene a Willemo abbate uel institutis*²

16. Claruit eo in tempore in predicta domorum Dei melioratione uenerabilis abba Willemus, a beato siquidem Maiolo primitus ꝛclesię sancti martyris Benigni pater constitutus. Quam uidelicet ecclesiam ilico tam mira locatione permutauit ut huiusmodi alter^b difficile queat inueniri. Regulari etiam districtione non minus effloruit atque incomparabilis huius ordinis suo tempore propagator extitit. Sed quantum pro hac re diligebatur a religiosis et piis, tanto magis detrahebatur insidiabaturque a fraudulentis et

^a signumque quod *Winterbottom*; signum quodque *A*

^b *Correctly altera (Migne)*

¹ This is not the first reference to clergy going to war: see above, 2. ix. 18.

² Glaber here introduces us to St William, his great patron. Para. 16 reads like a summary of the *Life of St William*. We know that he interrupted the writing of the *Histories* in order to produce this biography, as he tells us in *Life*, c. xiii, and below, 4. iv. 9. There

world, and while serving the arms of war they have fallen victim to them in battle.¹ I do not wish to conceal from you that it was only with difficulty that I won from the clemency of Christ that, snatched from the servants of the shadows, they should dwell in places of refreshment and light. For the rest, fulfil this pleasing vow which you made to the Lord.' On the appointed day bishops and abbots and a great multitude of the faithful of both sexes and orders gathered, but before they began the consecration the holy Hervé took care to tell all the holier priests who had gathered there what had been revealed to him. When the consecration had been carried out according to custom, and all that was necessary duly completed, this man began to mortify the flesh in a life yet more ascetic than before, passing his years in psalms and prayer, alone in a mean cell close to the church. When, after four years, he realized that he was about to die and his health became weaker and weaker, many came to visit him, hoping to witness a miracle at his death, inasmuch as they perceived him to be a man of great merit. But he wisely forewarned them, admonishing them to occupy themselves on other matters and not to expect a sign that they would certainly not see. Rather, he begged, they should earnestly pray for him to the good Lord. When the moment of death was close, he raised his hands and eyes to the heavens and cried out repeatedly; 'Lord have mercy! Lord have mercy!' With these words he breathed his last. He was buried in that church in the very place where the body of St Martin first rested.

v. *Monasteries splendidly rebuilt or founded by Abbot William*²

16. Amongst those who at that time distinguished themselves in the refurbishing of the churches of God was the venerable abbot William, who was formerly chosen by the blessed Mayol as father of the church of the holy martyr Benignus. He rebuilt this church to such a wonderful plan that it would be difficult to find another as beautiful. Nor was he any the less famous for the rigour of his rule, and in his time he was an incomparable propagator of the regular order. But although he was much loved for this amongst the pious and religious, he was equally criticized and plotted

is other material in Books 3 and 4 related to material in the *Life*, on which see above, pp. lxx–lxxi.

impiis.¹ Fuit enim ex Italia ortus, nobilem ducens a parentibus prosapiam, nobilior tamen inlustrem per assecutam scientiam. Nam in eodem territorio, scilicet in fundo qui ei parentum iure debebatur, prius uocato Vulpian, construxit monasterium totius gratiae abundantissimum, postea ab ipso mutato nomine Frutuar- iense cognominatum. Quod cum multigenis locupletasset benefi- ciiis, constituit ibi monachorum patrem per omnia se imitantem nomine Iohannem.² Erat enim predictus Willelmus acer ingenio et insignis prudentia, idcirco summum in palaciis regum ac cetero- rum principum obtinebat locum. Quodcumque denique monas- terium proprio uiduabatur pastore, statim compellebatur tam a regibus uel comitibus quam a pontificibus ut meliorandi gratia illud ad regendum susciperet, quoniam ultra cetera diuitiis et sanctitate ipsius patrocinio assumpta cernebantur excellere mon- asteria. Ipse quoque firma testabatur assertionem quia, si huius institutionis tenor quocumque loco a monachis custodiretur, nul- lam omnino indigentiam cuiusque rei paterentur. Quod etiam euidetissime declaratum est in locis sibi commissis.

17. Fertur siquidem eadem institutio usque huius consuetudi- nis ex sancti patris Benedicti monasteriis uel regula exordium habuisse, atque per beatum Maurum, ipsius uidelicet discipulum, ad nostrum, id est Gallicanum, territorium delatam^a fuisse.³ Extat etiam ueridica relatio quoniam, post beati Mauri obitum, succe- denti tempore, hostium infestationibus expulsi monachi a monas- terio cognomento Glannofolio, quod ipse construxerat, sicut in eius gestis habetur, in Andegauense territorio, uenientesque ad monasterium sancti Sauini confessoris Pictauensis tulerunt secum totam quam^b ualuere suppellectilem, ibique per aliquod spacium

^a Correctly delata (*Winterbottom*)

^b quam *Duchesne*; que *A*

¹ This appears to be an allusion to the accusations of political plotting made against St William and reported in *Life*, c. xi. These accusations gained force from the fact that St William was related to Otto-William, count of Mâcon, who contested Robert II of France's claim to the duchy of Burgundy (see above, ii. 6n.) and perhaps to Arduin of Ivrea, who fought Henry II for the crown of Italy (see *Life*, c. ixnn.; above, Preface. 1n.).

² In the *Life of St William*, c. ix, Glaber says that while on a journey to Italy the saint fell ill and was persuaded by his family to found a new abbey, later called Fruttuaria, on their patrimony at Volpiano. The chronicler of Saint-Bénigne reports that later William appointed as its abbot 'Ioannes uero homo dei', a former hermit of Italian origins who had been drawn by the reputation of William to Dijon: *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 154. Although William was in charge of the new abbey he never seems to have become its abbot, perhaps to safeguard its independence (A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots*

against by the deceitful and impious.¹ He was born in Italy of noble stock, but he gained a greater nobility by his distinguished attain- ment of learning. In that country he inherited from his parents an estate formerly called Volpiano, and there he built a monastery full of all grace, later changing the name to Fruttuaria. When he had enriched it with many gifts, he appointed as father of the monks one John, who was his worthy imitator in all things.² William had an acute intelligence and outstanding prudence, and because of this he was given a high place in the courts of kings and other princes. Whenever a monastery was deprived of its pastor, he was compelled by its owner, whether king, count, or bishop, to take charge of it and reform its life, for all saw that monasteries under his authority flourished above all others in wealth and sanctity. He himself firmly promised that the monks of any house should want for nothing if they observed the Rule. This was manifestly obvious in the houses put into his care.

17. As for the institution and the observance of this custom, they are said to have taken rise from the monasteries founded by the holy father, Benedict, and from his Rule, and to have been brought to our land of Gaul by his disciple St Maurus.³ There still exists a trustworthy account of how, some time after St Maurus' death, the monks were driven by enemy attack from the monastery of Glan- feuil, which, according to the *Vita*, he built in Anjou. They came to the monastery of the confessor St Sabinus in Poitou bearing with them all the possessions they could carry, and there for a time they gave their attention to those things which they had learnt. But

du Moyen Âge latin (Paris, 1932), pp. 68–76); Bulst, pp. 129–33. Wilmart, relying on a grant of immunity by Conrad II (1024–39), dated early in 1027, argues that John was made abbot shortly before that date, probably in 1026, but Bulst, pp. 130–1, suggests convincingly that John was probably blessed in the presence of Henry II (1002–24) in 1023 at Brumath. The evidence about when his rule ended is even more difficult. Wilmart, p. 75, thinks that there is nothing dependable before a privilege of 1055 which mentions Suppo as abbot of Fruttuaria. Bulst, pp. 126–7, takes a rather different view of the evidence and suggests that John was succeeded by Andreas as abbot by 1041, but lived on until 1049. John, abbot of Fruttuaria, was the author of a short treatise for young monks, published by Wilmart, pp. 94–8. He should not be confused with John, abbot of Fécamp (1028–78), on whom see Bulst, pp. 158–61; J. Leclercq and J. P. Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI^e siècle, Jean de Fécamp* (Paris, 1946); Wilmart, pp. 101–37.

³ St Maurus (6th c.) was allegedly the assistant of St Benedict at Monte Cassino; later tradition asserted that he came to Gaul and founded the abbey of Glanfeuil near Angers. His *Vita* by Ps.-Faustus is in *AASS Boll.* Jan. i. 1039–50; *AASS OSB*, saec. 1, pp. 274–98; cf. *ODS*, p. 295.

f. 27^r temporis iis^a que didicerant operam dedere, rursusque illo frigescente eiusdem districtiois tenore | apud monasterium sancti Martini Augustudunensis suscepta dinoscitur aliquoties uiguisse. Deinde uero quasi terna transmigratione in superiore Burgundia locatum Balmense occupauit monasterium.¹

18. Ad ultimum quoque predicta uidelicet institutio iam pene defessa, auctore Deo, elegit sibi sapientię sedem, uires collectura ac fructificatura germine multiplici in monasterio scilicet cognomento Cluniaco. Quod etiam ex situ eiusdem loci adclino atque humili tale sortitum est nomen; uel etiam, quod aptius illi congruit, a cluendo dictum, quoniam cluere crescere dicimus.² Insigne quippe incrementum diuersorum donorum a sui principio in dies locus idem obtinuit. Construxit igitur predictum coenobium primitus pater monachorum supradicti Balmensis monasterii, Berno uocatus, iubente Willemo piissimo Aquitanorum duce, in pago Matisconense super Graonam fluuiolum.³ Quod etiam coenobium in primo non amplius quam quindecim terrę colonias dicitur in dotem accepisse; fratres tamen duodecim numero inibi memorantur conuenisse. Ex quorum ueluti optimo semine multiplicata stirps Domini exercituum innumerabilis magnam orbis plagam cognoscitur replese. Qui quoniam his que Dei sunt, uidelicet iusticie et pietatis operibus, incessanter adhererunt, idcirco bonis omnibus repleti meruerunt; insuper et futuris imitabile reliquerunt exemplum. Nam post prefatum Bernonem suscepit regiminis curam sapientissimus Abba Odo, uir per omnia religiosissimus, qui fuerat sancti Martini Turonis ecclesię prepositus, moribusque et

^a iis France; ea A; perhaps ad ea (Winterbottom)

¹ Glaber is here reporting a tradition also found in the *Life of St Hugh of Autun* (in *AASS Boll.*, Apr. ii), according to which pious men petitioned St Benedict at Monte Cassino to send St Maurus to France, where he founded Glanfeuil; later the monks fled from there to Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe near Poitiers. At the request of one Badillo this community later provided monks to reform the abbey of Saint-Martin at Autun, from where Berno (c. 850–927), the later founder of Cluny, was despatched to reform Baume: L. M. Smith, *The Early History of the Monastery of Cluny* (Oxford, 1920), pp. 9–11. This tradition established an immaculate pedigree for Cluny stretching right back to St Benedict. Our knowledge, however, of the early life of Berno and the origins of Cluny is highly unsatisfactory, but it does seem likely that Berno had been connected with Saint-Martin-d'Autun. The importance of this was that Saint-Martin had been reformed by monks from Saint-Savin, which was one of the centres of the reform of St Benedict of Aniane; the Cluniacs were later at great pains to stress the derivation of their customs from this Carolingian reformer, e.g. John of Salerno in his life of St Odilo: 'Ipse autem pater Heuticius [St Benedict of Aniane] institutor fuit harum consuetudinum, quae

when their ardour for the Rule began to wane it was taken up for a time in the monastery of Saint-Martin-d'Autun. Then, in what we may call its third migration, it passed into Upper Burgundy, to the monastery of Baume.¹

18. In the end the Rule, by now almost defunct, with the aid of God found a refuge in wisdom where it might gather strength, bear fruit and branch forth; this was at the monastery called Cluny. The name of this place is derived from the fact that its site is low and inclined, or perhaps, and this would be more appropriate, from *cluere*, which means to grow.² Truly it has daily grown brilliantly in many gifts ever since its foundation. This monastery was originally built by Berno, father of the monks of Baume, at the order of the most pious Duke William of Aquitaine, in the county of Mâcon on the little river Grosne.³ It is said that at first it received an endowment of only fifteen manses, and that monks to the number of twelve lived there. From this splendid seed sprang an innumerable lineage of the Lord of Hosts, which has filled a vast tract of the earth. Because they were always devoted to godly works such as justice and mercy, they deserved to receive many good things, and they set an example for imitation by future generations. After Berno, the very wise and holy abbot Odo took over the government of this house. He was formerly Provost of the church of Saint-Martin at Tours and was distinguished for the sanctity of his

hactenus in nostris monasteriis habentur' (*PL* cxxxiii. 533): G. de Valous, *Le Monachisme clunisien des origines au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1935), i. 19n.

² Glaber is trying to find an appropriate etymology for the name Cluny. He first suggests that it was so named because it was built on a sloping site ('adclino'), but this was evidently too prosaic. He therefore advances the idea that it was derived from *cluere*, which in Medieval Latin means 'to be brilliant' (Niermeyer, p. 192). Glaber's notion that it meant 'to grow' is unaccountable. A. Dusat and C. Rostaing, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France* (Paris, 1963), p. 197, suggest that Cluny derives from the name of a Gaulish notable, *Clunius*, plus the Gallo-Latin possessive suffix *-ācum*. Professor Ellis Evans, Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford, tentatively suggests some connection with Welsh *clun*, upper part of the thigh, hip, haunch, buttock, leg (cognate with Latin *clunus*), but he stresses that 'we do not know the origin'.

³ Cluny was founded by William 'the Pious', duke of Aquitaine (898–918), for a summary of whose career see J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making (843–1180)* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 59–60. The *Life of St Hugh of Autun* says that when the first abbot, St Berno, asked for the site of William's favourite hunting-lodge at Cluny, the duke was dismayed, but was swayed by the argument 'think what reward God will give thee for dogs, and what for monks' (tr. Smith, *Early History*, p. 12). Duke William founded Cluny in 909 or 910; the foundation-charter can be found in Bernard and Bruel, i. 112. For a modern discussion of the importance of this act see Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, pp. 4–8.

conuersatione sanctitatis ualde ornatus. Hic enim in tantum huius instituti propagator extitit ut a Beneuantana prouintia quęque habebantur in Italia et in Galliis usque Oceanum mare potiora monasteria illius dicioni gratularentur esse subiecta. Post cuius obitum successit Heimardus, uir simplex, in ipsius locum, qui licet non adeo famosissimus regularis tamen obseruantię non impar custos. Post hunc quoque sanctus ac uenerabilis eligitur Maiolus, cuius superius memoriam fecimus, qui etiam successorem sibi monachorum patrem preuidit Odilonem. Hic etenim quintus a primo Berno abba extitit predicti Cluniensis coenobii.¹ Ex quo uidelicet coenobio per diuersas prouintias fratres sepius petiti atque monachorum patres ordinati plurimum Domino adquisiuere lucrum. Hic tamen pater, scilicet Willemus, de quo in presentiarum sermo exordium habuit, pre omnibus exinde precedentibus prescriptę institutionis laboriosior ac spermologius fructificator est repertus.

vi. *De sanctorum pignoribus ubique reuelatis*

f. 28 **19.** Candidato igitur, ut diximus, innouatis ꝥclesiarum basilicis uniuerso mundo, subsequenti tempore, id est anno octauo infra predictum millesimum humanati Saluatoris annum, reuelata sunt diuersorum argumentorum indiciis quorsum² diu latuerant plurimorum sanctorum pignora. Nam ueluti quoddam resurrectionis decoramen prestolantes Dei nutu fidelium obtutibus patuere, quorum etiam mentibus plurimum intulere solamen. Haec enim reuelatio primitus in Senonica Galliarum urbe apud ꝥclesiam beati martyris Stephani dinoscitur cepisse. Cui etiam preerat archipresul Leotericus,³ a quo scilicet admiranda relatu reperta sunt ibi antiquorum sacrorum insignia; quippe inter cetera perplura quę latebant dicitur uirgę Moysi inuenisse partem. Ad cuius rei famam conuenerunt quique fideles, non solum ex Gallicanis prouintiis uerum etiam ex uniuersa pene Italia ac de transmarinis regionibus; simulque egrotantes non pauci sanctorum interuentu

¹ The abbots of Cluny down to Glaber's time were: Berno (909 or 910–27), Odo (927–42), Aymar (942–8—died 965), Mayol (948–94), and Odilo (994–1049), to whom this work is dedicated (see e.g. G. de Valous, art. 'Cluny' in *Dict. d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, xiii (Paris, 1956), esp. cols. 39–49; bibliog. 169–74); Glaber has already talked about Mayol's captivity by the Saracens, above, i. iv. 9, and it is to this that he refers here. Odilo was the fifth abbot by the inclusive reckoning normal in Latin, but fourth after Berno according to the exclusive count regular in English.

² Niermeyer, p. 880, cites only this passage for *quorsum* meaning 'where'.

manners and conduct. He was the propagator of the Rule to such an extent that all the more important monasteries of Italy and Gaul, from Benevento to the Ocean, rejoiced to submit to his command. After his death Aymar succeeded him. He was a straightforward man who, although not so famous, was no less trusty a guardian of the observance of the Rule. After him the holy and venerable Mayol, whom we have already mentioned, was elected and he chose Odilo to lead the monks after him. He was the fourth abbot of Cluny after the founder Berno.¹ From this house brethren were frequently called out into many provinces, where they were set in authority as abbots and won much profit for the Lord. Father William, with whom this present chapter was begun, turned out to be a more industrious labourer and a more fruitful sower of the Rule than anyone who had gone from that house before him.

vi. *Holy relics found everywhere*

19. When the whole world was, as we have said, clothed in a white mantle of new churches, a little later, in the eighth year after the millennium of the Saviour's Incarnation, the relics of many saints were revealed by various signs where² they had long lain hidden. It was as though they had been waiting for a brilliant resurrection and were now by God's permission revealed to the gaze of the faithful; certainly they brought much comfort to men's minds. This revelation is known to have begun in the city of Sens in Gaul in the church of the holy martyr Stephen. The archbishop of that place was Lierri.³ Wonderful to relate, he discovered there many ancient and holy things which had long lain hidden, amongst them a fragment of the staff of Moses. News of this discovery brought numbers of the faithful, not just from the provinces of Gaul but from most of Italy and the lands beyond the sea; no small number of them were sick people who returned, cured by the intervention of

³ Lierri, archbishop of Sens, who was probably elected in 999 (*Odorannus*, p. 9), died in 1032: so the *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi*, p. 116, which also records (p. 108) that in the lifetime of Abbot Raynard of Saint-Pierre-de-Sens, who died in 1015 (and the context suggests actually in that year), Lierri searched for and found the long-lost relics of SS Savinianus and Potentianus. Healings and other miracles followed at their tombs. The 'invention' of relics was a growth industry in this period. Glaber records in the *Life*, c. viii, that when William rebuilt the abbey of Saint-Bénigne he found the long-lost tomb of the patron saint. The forging of relics, as recorded by Glaber below, 4. iii. 6, was a natural consequence of the cult. On the importance of the cult of relics see above, pp. lxix–lxx.

exinde redierunt incolumes. Sed, ut sepiissime contingit,^a quoniam unde humana utilitas sumit exordium, cupiditatis uicio impellente, exinde solet incurrere casum.^b Nam predicta urbs conuentu populorum, ut diximus, gratia pietatis effecta opulentissima, conceperunt illius habitatores nimiam pro tanto beneficio insolentiam.

20. Siquidem mortuo ipsius ciuitatis comite Frotmundo nomine, uiro eque^c simplicissimo, suscepit eius filius principatum satis nequam res ciuiles dispositurus.¹ Nimium quippe flagitiosus effectus, ecclesie insuper decus nisu quo ualebat foedare temptabat. Iudæorum quoque in tantum preuaricatorias diligebat consuetudines ut se regem ipsorum suo prenomine (Rainardus quippe dicebatur) suis omnibus imperaret.^{2 d} Cum enim in ceteris mendacissimus, etiam christianæ fidei insidiosus habebatur detractor, atque ideo pauperum iudicia absque ulla promulgabat pietate, penitus humanitate remota. Nam rei quam dicturus sum tot testes extiterunt quanti in eadem ciuitate eo tempore uiuebant homines.

21. Comprehensus aliquando flagiciosus quidam furtum faciens ductusque ad eum ut eius audientia quid de eo faciendum esset assignaretur. Qui statim omni miseratione remota suspendi in patibulo illum adiudicauit. At ipse qui deprehensus fuerat lacrimabiliter predictum Rainardum rogare coepit ut ei ad presens uitam indulgeret, promittensque se deinceps non latrocinaturum; sed nequicquam. Crudelior quippe fiebat, sacramentis etiam se obstringens non ultra uicturum obsecrantem se miserum. Qui uidens minime posse prolatam de se immutare sententiam, hoc solummodo impetrauit ut predicto fieret confessus suorum facinorum episcopo, sibi que protinus morituro, quod huius ministerio concessum est, clementer remitteret. Quod ut optinuit, ilico a nequam ministris compellitur suspensum iri; eductusque ad constitutum locum, haec uerba sepius iterabat: 'Domine Ihesu, qui in hac die pependisti in cruce pro salute hominum, indulge

^a contingit *France*; contigit *A* ^b Perhaps casus ^c For this apparently superfluous use of *eque* cf. *S.* iv. 22 ^d An infinitive meaning 'to call' seems to be lacking

¹ Fromond, count of Sens (997–1012) was married to a daughter of Alberada and Raynard de Roucy (on whom see above, ii. 6n), and was therefore a brother-in-law of Otto-William count of Mâcon (on whom see above, ii. 6n). Fromond's son and successor was Raynard II (1012–55): C. Larcher de Lavernade, *Histoire de la ville de Sens* (Sens, 1845), pp. 67–9; Pfister, p. 260; Bur, pp. 145–6, 136.

² The reason for this title is not clear, but by this time anti-Semitism was established

the saints. But as so often happens when something occurs which at the start is good for men, the vice of greed flourishes and in the usual way disaster strikes. This city, to which such vast crowds resorted, as we have said, became immensely rich as a result of their piety, but its inhabitants conceived a terrible insolence because of this blessing.

20. After the death of Fromond, who was both count of that city and a man of straightforward simplicity, power fell to his son, who was to administer the affairs of the city very badly.¹ Driven by vice, he despoiled the glory of the church as energetically as he could. So much did he admire the wicked customs of the Jews that he ordered his whole entourage to place before his name (which was Raynard) the title King of the Jews.² He was deceitful in all things and an underhand detractor of the faith; he conducted the trials of the poor without mercy, for he was completely devoid of humanity. The story I am going to tell has as many witnesses as there were men then living in that city.

21. A criminal was once caught thieving and brought before the count so that his judgement should decide what was to be done with him. Immediately Raynard, with no pity at all, ordered that he be hung from a gibbet. The captive tearfully begged Raynard to spare his life on this occasion, promising that he would never rob again, but nothing came of this. Indeed it only made him the more cruel, and he swore that the miserable suppliant should not live any longer. He, seeing the sentence imposed upon him could not at all be changed, was only able to secure that he should be shriven of his wicked deeds by the bishop, who should kindly grant the forgiveness that was a power of his ministry. As soon as this was done the vile servants dragged him out to be hung. As he was led to the appointed place he kept repeating these words: 'Lord Jesus, thou who on this day was hung from the cross for the salvation of all men, have mercy in Western Europe: R. Chazan, '1007–1012: Initial Crisis for Northern European Jewry', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, xxxviii–xxxix (1970–1), 101–17. It is possible that Raynard had come to recognize the economic advantages of helping and protecting a Jewish community, as Bishop Rudiger of Speyer was to do in 1084 (R. Chazan (ed.), *Church, State and Jew in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1980), pp. 58–63), but this can only be a guess based on Glaber's references to the greed of the Sénonais. The *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi* is also deeply hostile to Raynard, who continued his father Fromond's feud against Archbishop Lierris of Sens (on which see below, para. 23 n.), but makes no suggestion of favour towards the Jews.

f. 28^v mihi.⁷ Erat enim ille dierum sextus qui idcirco fidelibus uniuersis reuerentior habetur.¹ Esto; uincitur, eleuatur, artatoque suspenditur gutture. Cunctisque ab hac funesta, ut putabant, executione recedentibus, pendens uelut exanimis mansit in diem | alterum. Tunc nutu diuino, ruptis ligaminibus, suscepit terra solum hominem pariter et uiuum, qui cogebatur subire necem sibi sublatus per aeris uacua. Qui egressus^a ciuitatem stupidum uniuersis prebuit spectaculum. Sed heu! proh dolor! ad pristina reuersus flagitiosus euasit.

22. Cui rei simile fertur contigisse in Tricasina ciuitate non longo ante tempore. Nam dum quidam fures boues pre se minantes a dominis bouum insequi se intellexissent, commiserunt eosdem boues uiro cuidam seni et innocenti, quasi uictus necessaria quesituri, reuera fuge presidium petentes euasuri. Quod cum fecissent, statim deprehensus est senex cum bobus; trahitur, ceditur ac reorum more uincitur, ductusque ad principem ciuitatis, comitem uidelicet Heribertum,² uult causam discutere; non auditur, quin potius ac si cruda senectute reus necis suspendio ab eodem comite adiudicatur;³ quodque etiam absque ulla dilatione peractum est. Sed mox ut suspendium pertulit mirum in modum iuuenca magni et perualidi corporis erecto corpore cornua suspensi plantis subposuit sicque per triduum sine dolore uiuum sustinuit. Expletoque triduo, audiuit is qui pendeat uiatores iuxta pretereuntes sermocinari adinuicem. Qui exclamans uoce qua potuit ad deponendum se quantotius uenire rogabat. Illi uero audientes doemonica fieri illusionem credebant. Proclamante quoque ipso attentius, seque uiuere affirmante, occurrerunt uiri, soluentes illum deposuerunt. Qui perductus ad ciuitatem, dum percunctaretur quomodo tandem in patibulo pendens sese habuisset, aiebat: 'Dum essem' inquit 'iuuenior, accepta iam coniuge excepi cum ipsa oblatum mihi a quodam de sacro fonte filiolum, cui etiam consensimus dare ex nostra parua facultatula, quem solum de matre susceperamus liberali gratia, uitulum unum. Vt enim pridem sum dimissus celsa de trabe pendere, uisa est mihi

^a One would expect *ingressus* (so Migne); but perhaps cf. 4. ii. 5

¹ i.e. Good Friday.

² Herbert 'le Jeune', count of Meaux and Troyes, who died on 28 Jan. 994 or 995, was a grandson of Herbert II of Vermandois (on whom see above, 1. i. 5). He enjoyed

upon me.⁷ For this was the Friday which is for this reason revered amongst all the faithful.¹ Well, he was bound, raised up, and hung by his constricted throat. Then everyone left this sad scene of (as they thought) execution, and he was left for dead, hanging there till the next day. But, through the will of God, the rope then snapped, and so he who was compelled to submit himself to a violent death hoisted through the yielding air, fell to earth a free and living man. When he entered the city everyone found it a stupefying spectacle. Alas, he returned to his former ways and turned out wicked.

22. A similar thing is said to have happened not long before in the city of Troyes. Some thieves were driving oxen before them when they realized they were being pursued by the owners of the beasts. They therefore entrusted the animals to the care of an innocent old man; they pretended they were going off in search of food, but really they intended to take flight and escape. The old man was at once found with the oxen; he was dragged away, beaten and bound like a guilty man, then taken before Count Herbert, the ruler of that city.² He wished to plead his case but he was not heard, but rather, as if a criminal in his rough old age,³ he was condemned to hang by the count. The sentence was carried out without any delay. But as soon as he was hung, strange to tell, a big strong heifer came, and, holding itself erect, placed its horns under the feet of the hanging man; in this way it held him up free from pain and alive for three days. After three days the unfortunate man heard wayfarers passing close by chattering amongst themselves. He shouted out as loudly as he could, begging them to hurry and cut him down, but they thought this was some demonic illusion. However, he shouted out more loudly, affirming that he was really alive, so the men came to him, freed him, and cut him down. He was brought to the city, and when he was asked how he had survived for so long hanging from a gibbet, he replied: 'When I was young and had taken a wife, we took a godchild to whom we vowed we would make some gift out of our limited resources; the only thing we had was a bull-calf, which my mother had had the generosity to give us. When I was left to hang from the high tree it

a considerable part of the inheritance of the latter's eldest son, Herbert 'le Vieux', who died without heir between 980 and 984: Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, pp. 108–14. For his son and successor Stephen see above, ii. 5n.; 8n.

³ For 'cruda senectute' see Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 304; cf. *Life*, c. iii n.

grandior uniuersis occurrisse, extensoque corpore atque erecta ceruice leniter meis submisit cornua plantis ac me huiusmodi quamdiu pependi sustinuit.' Hoc uero illo, qui seruatus a morte fuerat, referente, ad illius exemplum data est postmodum in giro filiolis fontis sacrae fidei uitulorum innumera multitudo.

23. Preterea Rainardo, ut diximus, iudaizante, quin potius insaniente, suasum est regi, qui uidelicet illum frequenter ob suam improbitatem redarguerat, ut scilicet tantae ciuitatis principatum regio subiugaret dominio, ne siquidem diutius uires pessimi incrementi sumeret scandalum sacrae fidei. Qua ratione rex compulsus misit exercitum qui predictum Rainardum a ciuitate pellerent, sibique illam tuendam seruarent. Venientes uero qui missi fuerant a rege coeperunt urbem cum nimia depopulatione,^a partem etiam eius non modicam incendio cremare.¹ | Superauit siquidem magnitudinem prioris gaudii pro merentibus flagitiis enormitas calamitatis.

vii. *De euersione templi Iherosolimorum et cede Iudeorum²*

24. Eo quoque in tempore, id est anno nono post prefatum millesimum,³ ecclesia, quae apud Hierosolimam sepulchrum continebat Domini ac Saluatoris nostri, euersa est funditus iussu principis Babilonis.⁴ Cuius uidelicet euersionis occasio tale quod dicturi sumus cognoscitur exordium habuisse. Cum enim de toto terrarum orbe ob insigne dominicum memoriale plurima fidelium multitudo Hierosolimam uisitaturi pergerent, rursus coepit inuidus diabolus per assuetam sibi Iudaeorum gentem uerq̄ fidei

^a depopulatione *BD*; depopulationem *A*

¹ The seizure of the city of Sens was the outcome of a long feud between the counts and Archbishop Liéri (on whom see iv. 19). Count Fromond was determined to impose his younger son Bruno on the church as archbishop. This was foiled by papal intervention, but his son and successor, Raynard (on whom see para. 20n.) renewed the quarrel until Liéri appealed to King Robert in 1015. Robert seized the city and Raynard fled to Count Odo of Blois, returning to ravage the suburbs. A curious settlement was then reached: Raynard was to enjoy the county until his death, when it was to be divided between the archbishop and the king. In fact this was not implemented, for Fromond III (1055–9) succeeded his father: *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi*, pp. 110–12, 124. See also Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, pp. 145, 158.

² Hugh of Flavigny condenses this account, attributing the destruction of the Temple to 'Iudeorum nequicia', but, as Sackur, p. 415, points out, giving the date as 1028.

seemed to me that a calf, bigger than any other, came, arched its body, held up its neck, and gently placed its horns under my feet so that it supported me all the time I was hanging.' Since this man who escaped from death told his story, the people of that area have followed his example and given to godsons as baptismal presents a great multitude of bull-calves.

23. Meanwhile, in the matter of Raynard the Judaizer (or rather the Mad), it was suggested to the king, who had already often reproached him for his wild behaviour, that such a great city should be brought under royal control, to prevent any further increase in the scandal to the holy faith. With this motive the king sent an army to drive out Raynard and occupy the city in his name. The royal expedition seized the city and inflicted heavy losses, destroying quite a large part of it by fire.¹ And so it was that dire disaster overshadowed former pleasures as a fitting punishment for sin.

vii. *The destruction of the temple at Jerusalem and the massacre of the Jews²*

24. In the same ninth year after the millennium³ the church at Jerusalem, which contained the Sepulchre of Our Lord and Saviour, was destroyed at the command of the Prince of Cairo.⁴ This is known to have begun in the way I am about to describe. Because of the fame of this monument, great multitudes of the faithful from all over the world were drawn to Jerusalem. Therefore, the devil, driven by envy, sought to pour out the venom of his

³ Adhémar de Chabannes, III. xlvi, gives 1010. For the close similarity of the two accounts see above, p. xlvi.

⁴ Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (996–1021) was the sixth Fatimid Caliph of Cairo (Babylon was the normal name for Cairo used in the West throughout the Middle Ages). He began his persecution of Christians and Jews in 1003; the destruction of churches seems to have reached its peak 1007–12. He was unstable and despotic, but moved at least in part by an austere morality: it may have been horror at the fraudulent 'Miracle of the Holy Fire' (on which see below, 4. vi. 19) which prompted his destruction of the Holy Sepulchre. In later life this extraordinary man proclaimed himself divine and even set about what amounted to a persecution of Muslims. This period saw a softening of his attitude to Christians and this may reflect the influence of his mother who was, as Glaber says in para. 25, a Christian. His father, the fifth Fatimid Caliph, al-'Azīz bi'llāh (975–96), was highly tolerant of Christians, using his influence to make his brother-in-law Orestes patriarch of Jerusalem. This would seem to be the truth underlying Glaber's description of him in para. 25 as 'another Nicodemus': *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.vv. al-Ḥākim, iii. 76–82; al-'Azīz, i. 823–5.

cultoribus uenenum suę nequitię propinare. Erat igitur huius generis apud Aurelianensem Galliarum regiam urbem non modica multitudo, qui ceteris suę gentis tumidiores et inuidi atque audaciores sunt reperti. Hi denique nequam consilio inito corruperunt quendam, data pecunia, uidelicet girouagum sub peregrino habitu, nomine Rotbertum, fugitiuum utique seruum beatę Marię Mele-
 rensis cęnobii.¹ Quem accipientes caute miserunt ad principem Babilonis cum Hebraicis characteribus scriptis epistolis, pictaciolis ferri baculo insertis, ne quo casu potuissent ab eo diuelli. Qui egressus detulit litteras predicto principi refertas dolo et nequitia, et quoniam nisi celerius domum Christianorum uenerabilem subuerteret, sciret se in proximum Christianis regnum illius occupantibus omni penitus dignitate carere. His uero princeps auditis, protinus furore arreptus, misit Hierosolimam de suis qui predictum funditus subuerterent templum. Qui uenientes fecerunt ut eis fuerat imperatum; ipsum quoque concauum sepulchri tumulum ferri tuditibus quassare temptantes, minime ualuerunt. Tunc etiam beati martyris Georgii ecclesiam in Ramulo pariter subuerterunt, cuius olim uirtus Sarracenorum nimium gentem terruerat; fertur enim crebro illuc eos ingredi cupientes raptum cecitatem pertulisse.² Eterso igitur, ut diximus, templo, post paululum manifeste claruit quoniam Iudeorum nequitia tantum sit nefas patratum. Utque diuulgatum est, per orbem uniuersum communi omnium Christianorum consensu decretum est ut omnes Iudei ab illorum terris uel ciuitatibus funditus pellerentur. Sicque uniuersi odio habiti, expulsi de ciuitatibus, alii gladiis trucidati, alii fluminibus necati, diuersisque mortium generibus interempti, nonnulli etiam sese diuersa cede interemerunt: ita scilicet ut digna de eis ultione peracta uix pauci illorum in orbe reperirentur Romano. Tunc quoque decretum est ab episcopis atque interdictum ut nullus Christianorum illis se in quocumque sociaret negotio. Si qui tamen de illis ad baptismi gratiam conuerti uoluissent, omnemque Iudaicam respuere consuetudinem uel morem, illos tantum suscipere | decreuerunt. Quod et fecerunt plurimi illorum, magis amore presentis uitę coacti metu mortis quam uitae sempiternę gaudiis. Nam quicumque illorum sese tales mentiendo

f. 29^v

¹ An abbey where Glaber had resided: see above, p. xxxi.

² The city of Ramla, with its church of St George, was very well known to pilgrims because it lay half-way between the coast of Palestine and the city of Jerusalem, being therefore a popular stopping-place. The army of the First Crusade captured Ramla on 3 June 1099 and immediately founded there the first Latin bishopric in the Holy Land: *Le*

malice upon the practitioners of the true faith by using his accustomed instruments, the Jews. There were a great many of that race in Orléans, the royal city of Gaul, and they are notorious for being even more arrogant, envious, and insolent than the rest of their brethren. They conceived a dastardly plot: they bribed one Robert, a fugitive serf from the house of Moutiers-Sainte-Marie,¹ who was no more than a vagabond masquerading as a pilgrim. With infinite precaution they sent him to the prince of Cairo with letters written in the Hebrew alphabet; the parchment strips were hidden inside the iron of his staff lest he should be robbed. The fellow set off and delivered these letters, which were full of evil and lies: they alleged that if he did not quickly destroy the venerable Church of the Christians, then they would soon occupy his whole realm, depriving him of all his power. When the prince heard this he was transported with rage, and he sent some of his servants to Jerusalem to destroy the church. Once there they did as he commanded, but when they tried to shatter the block of stone about the Sepulchre with iron hammers, they failed. Then they also destroyed the church of the holy martyr George at Ramla, although previously his power had always terrified the Saracens, for it is said that he often struck blind those who invaded his church in search of plunder.² A little while after the Temple had been destroyed it became quite clear that the wickedness of the Jews had brought about this great disaster. Once they knew this all the Christians throughout the whole world decided unanimously to drive the Jews from their lands and cities. They became the objects of universal hatred; they were driven from the cities, some were put to the sword, others were drowned in rivers, and many found other deaths; some even took their own lives in diverse ways. So it was that after this very proper vengeance had been taken, very few of them were to be found in the Roman world. Then the bishops proclaimed that no Christian could have any kind of dealing with them. They exempted from this section those who wished to convert to the grace of baptism and renounce all Jewish customs and ways. Many of these only did this through fear of death, out of love of this present life rather than aspiration after eternal joy. For all those

'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1969), p. 136. In his account Adhémar of Chabannes, III. xlvii, also mentions attempts to destroy the church of Bethlehem and the monastery of St Catherine on Mt. Sinai. On his account see above, pp. xlvii–xlviii.

fieri poposcerant paulo post ad morem pristinum sunt impudenter reuersi.

25. Preterea, his ita gestis, predictus litterarum baiulus ad natium male securus repedauit solum. Coepit itaque sedule perquirere si forte quempiam gentis suę fraudis conscię repperiret. Inuentis uero perpaucis in ciuitate Aurelianorum pauide admodum degentibus, rursus coepit illorum familiarius uti consortio. Accidit igitur ut peregrinus quidam eius in transmarino socius itinere atque certissime illius itineris conscius negocii illuc deueniret, rursusque illum Iudeorum amicitias^a nimis herere cerneret, palam uniuersis indicare curauit quanti mali gerulus ille esset homuntio, et cuius rei causa Iudeorum potiretur opibus. Qui ilico comprehensus acrisque agitated uerberibus proprię delationis^b confitetur crimen; moxque a ministris regis in conspectu totius plebis extra ciuitatem igni est traditus atque consumptus. Iudei tamen profugi ac uagabundi, qui in locis abditis delitescerent predictę superfuerant cladi, post quinquennium euersionis templi cęperunt in urbibus apparere perpauci. Et quoniam oportet, quamuis ad illorum confusionem, ut ex illis aliqui in futurum supersint, uel ad confirmandum proprium nefas seu ad testimonium fusi sanguinis Christi,¹ idcirco uero credimus Christianorum animositatem, diuina dispensante prouidentia, in eis ad tempus mansueuisse. Eodem nichilominus anno, diuina propitiante clementia, cepit mater ipsius principis, uidelicet Ammirati Babilonis, mulier christianissima, nomine Maria, reędificare Christi templum, iusu eius filii euersum, politis et quadris lapidibus. Nam et uir ipsius, quasi alter Nichodemus, pater huius scilicet de quo presens est sermo habitus, occulte Christianus dicitur fuisse.² Tunc quoque de uniuerso terrarum orbe incredibilis hominum multitudo, exultanter Iherosolimam pergentes, domui Dei restaurandę plurima detulerunt munera.

^a amicitias B; amiciis A

^b delationis D; delationi A corr.; dilationi B

¹ This notion of the Jews dispersed and suffering as penitents for the crucifixion is ultimately derived from the thinking of Pope Gregory the Great (on whom see above iii. 12 n.): for a summary see B. S. Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy* (Minnesota, 1977), pp. 27–43. Alexander II (1061–73) was to echo much the same sentiment in a

who had thus falsely demanded to be made Christians soon shamelessly returned to their former state.

25. After all this the bearer of the letters, filled with false confidence, returned to his native soil. He began carefully to see if he could find anyone of the Jewish race that was implicated in his evil deeds. Finding only a few living in terror in the city of Orléans, he again began to share their lot as a friend. It so happened that a pilgrim who had been of his company on the journey across the sea and who knew all about the reasons for his voyage came to that city. When he saw that Robert was again cultivating excessively the friendship of Jews, he denounced the wretch in the sight of all as the bearer of such evil, and revealed why he was in possession of Jewish wealth. After he had been arrested and severely beaten, he confessed to his criminal act of tale-bearing; then the royal officers, in the sight of all the people, bore him away to a place outside the city where he was thrown into the flames and perished. The dispersed and wandering Jews who had survived this affliction remained hidden in distant and secret places until five years after the destruction of the Temple, when a few began to reappear in the cities. For it was proper, although ultimately to their confusion, that some of them should survive for the future to serve as witnesses of their own perfidy, or testimony to the blood of Christ which they had shed.¹ That is why, we believe, thanks to the disposition of divine providence, the fury of the Christian people against them was for a moment cooled. In that same year, by divine clemency, the mother of that prince, the Emir of Cairo, a truly Christian woman called Maria, began with well-dressed square stones to rebuild the Temple of Christ, which had been destroyed by the command of her son. Her husband, the father of the fellow we have been writing about here, was like another Nicodemus, for it is said that he was secretly a Christian.² Then an incredible multitude of men from all over the world came exultantly to Jerusalem bearing countless gifts for the restoration of the house of God.

passage which found its way into the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres: 'the Jews . . . are protected but deprived of country and liberty and are dispersed suffering throughout the whole world': *PL* clxi. 825.

² Cf. John 3: 1–21.

viii. *De herese apud Aurelianis reperta*¹

26. Tertio de uicesimo infra iamdictum millesimum anno² reperta est apud prefatam Aurelianensem urbem cruda nimium atque insolens heresis, quę scilicet diutius occulte germinata in perditionis segetem male pullulans^a plures in suę cecitatis precipitauit laqueum. Fertur namque a muliere quadam ex Italia procedente hęc insanissima heresis in Galliis habuisse exordium, quę, ut erat diabolo plena, seducebat quoscumque ualebat, non solum idiotas ac simplices uerum etiam plerosque qui uidebantur doctiores in clericorum ordine. Quę scilicet ueniens ciuitatem Aurelianensem dum moraretur ibi per aliquod^b spacium temporis, ueneno suę nequitię plures infecit. Quod etiam seminarium nequam in plures hi qui susceperant toto conamine spargere nitebantur. Fuerunt nempe huius peruersi dogmatis heresiarces duo (heu pro dolor), |^c qui in ciuitate putabantur genere ac scientia ualentiores in clero, quorum unus Heribertus, alter Lisioius^d dicebatur. Hi denique, quamdiu res latuit, tam apud regem quam apud palatii proceres summam obtinuerant amicitiam; nempe iccirco facilius quosque decipere potuerunt, quorum mentes amor fidei uniuersalis minus adstrinxerat. Qui non solum in predicta urbe sed etiam in uicinis urbibus malignum dogma spargere temptabant, dum quendam sane mentis in Rotomagorum ciuitate presbiterum, cupientes sue consortem facere uesanie, missis legatis qui ei omne secretum huius peruersi dogmatis explanantes docerent; dicebant nempe fore in proximum in illorum scilicet dogma cadere populum uniuersum.^e Quibus compertis, presbiter sollicito perrexit ad christianissimum comitem eiusdem ciuitatis Richardum³ <et>^f exposuit ei omnem rei ut compererat ordinem. Qui uidelicet comes protinus misit celeriter ad regem, palam ei faciens clamdestinam in regno proprio Christi ouium pestem. Vt autem cognouit

(Ax, f. 30)

^a pullulans B; pupullans A ^b aliquod B corr., D; aliquot A (and B) ^c ff. 30-1 of A are in the hand of Ax. Our text is based on B ^d Lisioius D; lisioius B Ax. Below Lisioius Ax D; lisioius B and Lisioius Ax D; lisioius B ^e uniuersum populum Ax D
^f Supplied by Winterbottom

¹ On this very important outbreak of heresy see the fine article by Bautier, 'L'hérésie', who suggests that theological speculation born of the new intellectual development in the schools of northern France had led some leading scholars into dangerous areas of speculation, especially on notions of grace. The rivalries between Robert II of France and Odo II of Blois led to the growth of faction, and in particular the protracted struggle over the succession at Orléans between the royal nominee Thierry and Ulric,

viii. *Heresy discovered at Orléans*¹

26. In the third year from the twentieth after the millennium,² an all too vigorous and impudent heresy was discovered in the city of Orléans. Having long sprouted in secret, it burst forth with evil abundance into a damnable harvest and hurled many into the toils of its blindness. It is said that this crazed heresy was brought to Gaul by a woman from Italy, who, being possessed of the devil, seduced whom she could, not just layfolk and fools but even many who passed as the most learned amongst the clergy. Coming to the city of Orléans, she stayed there a while, infecting many with the poison of her wickedness. The receivers of this evil seed then sought energetically to diffuse it amongst others. Alas, there were certainly two leading proponents of this perverse doctrine, who were regarded in the city as well-born and learned members of the clergy; one was called Herbert, the other Lisioius. As long as their secret was kept they enjoyed the friendship of the king and the leading men of the palace, and this enabled them the more easily to corrupt the minds of those who were not sufficiently bound by love to the universal faith. They did not confine their activities to Orléans but tried to spread their evil doctrine in neighbouring cities. At Rouen there was a sound priest whom they desired to initiate into their madness, and to him they sent messengers to explain all the secrets of this perverse doctrine; these explained that the moment was at hand when all people would embrace their religion. When he heard this the priest anxiously approached Richard, the most Christian count of that city,³ and told him all that he knew of the affair. The count immediately informed the king that a secret malady was afflicting the flock of Christ within his realm. As soon as he heard this Robert, a very learned and

who was supported by Odo II. The need of the king for support in his proposed divorce of Queen Constance (on whom see especially ix. 32n.) and the political developments which brought him into alliance with Odo, on which see below, ix. 37n., may well have produced an accommodation in which Ulric was accepted as bishop of Orléans (1021-c. 1035) at the expense of Thierry, the Queen's protégé. Amongst those accused was Constance's chaplain Stephen, who seems to have been one of a group of leading thinkers vulnerable to such charges. This interaction between intellectual speculation and political faction had ramifications in Fleury, Chartres, and Sens. Bautier provides a very sound analysis of the sources for the heresy and is somewhat scornful of Glaber. It is likely that Glaber got his account from Bishop Ulric, whom he met at Bèze, as he tells us below, 4. vi. 19.

² On Glaber's dating see above, pp. lxvi-lxviii.

³ Richard II of Normandy, on whom see above, 1. v. 21n.; 2. ii. 3; 2. viii. 15.

rex, scilicet Robertus, ut erat doctissimus ac christianissimus, tristicus ac merens nimium effectus, quoniam et ruinam patrie reuera et animarum metuebat interitum. Iccirco quantotius Aurelianus properans, conuocatis plurimis episcopis et abbatibus ac religiosis quibusque laicis, acerrime cepit perscrutari qui essent auctores huius peruersi dogmatis, uel qui parti illorum iam decepti consentirent. Facta igitur perscrutatione inter clericos quomodo unusquisque sentiret et crederet ea que fides catholica per doctrinam apostolicam incommutabiliter seruat et predicat, illi duo, uidelicet Lisioius et Heribertus, statim se aliter sentire non negantes, quales diu latuerant manifestauerunt. Deinde uero plures post illos se parti istorum profitebantur herere, nec ulla ratione se posse affirmabant ab illorum segregare^a consortio.

27. Quibus compertis, tam rex quam pontifices tristiores effecti, interrogauerunt illos secretius, utpote uiros actenus in omni morum probitate perutilimos, quorum unus Lisioius in monasterio Sancte Crucis clericorum carissimus habebatur, alter idem Heribertus Sancti Petri ecclesie cognomento Puellaris capitale scole tenebat dominium.¹ Qui dum interrogati fuissent a quo uel unde eis ista presumptio accidisset, huiusmodi dederunt responsum: 'Nos enim diu est quod sectam quam uos uel iam tarde agnoscitis amplectimur, sed tam uos quam ceteros cuiuscumque legis uel ordinis in eam cadere expectauimus, quod etiam adhuc fore credimus.' His dictis, continuo palam exposuerunt omnium antiquarum stultissimam ac miserissimam, nempe sui deceptricem heresem.² Cuius

^a Perhaps segregari (*Winterbottom*)

¹ Lisioius was precentor of the Sainte-Croix cathedral at Orléans (on which see above, 2. v. 8n.) and a major figure amongst the heretics; Herbert, master of the school at Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier (*ibid.* n.), seems to have been less important. Glaber does not mention Stephen, who had been a chaplain to Queen Constance of France (on whom see above para. 26n.): Bautier, p. 69.

² The precise nature of the Orléans heresy has been much debated by modern historians, because the sources which record it point in many directions. Adhémar of Chabannes provides a very brief account, III. lix, but in calling them Manichees he probably followed the common practice of branding heretics with a well-known heresy described by the Fathers of the church. In other accounts there are traits which can all too easily be identified with the religion of the Manichees, and in fact the sources can be culled to produce 'un véritable catalogue des hérésies': Bautier, 'L'hérésie', p. 71. S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge, 1955), p. 117, regarded the Orléans heretics as Manichees and has found many followers, such as B. Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition* (London, 1981), p. 24. J. B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (New York, 1965), pp. 27-35, sees them as intellectuals with some eccentric views, but

Christian king, was struck with sorrow and sadness, fearing the ruin of his kingdom and the destruction of souls. Hastening to Orléans he called together a great many bishops and abbots, and all devout laity, and began actively to seek out the authors of this perverse doctrine and those already corrupted into joining them. When inquiry was made amongst the clergy of the city to see what each felt and believed about the truths which the catholic faith by apostolic precept unchangeably observes and preaches, Lisioius and Herbert did not deny their divergent beliefs but revealed all that they had formerly kept hidden. Then many others professed themselves adherents of this sect and declared that nothing could ever separate them from their fellows.

27. When they heard this both the king and the bishops were saddened, and they interrogated much more closely these two men who had previously been held in such great esteem for their irreproachable conduct; Lisioius was regarded as the most charitable of clerks in the cathedral of Sainte-Croix, while Herbert was principal of the school of the church of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier.¹ When they were asked from whom or whence this presumption arose they replied: 'We have long believed in this religion which you have only now discovered, but we have looked forward to the day when you and all others, from whatever obedience or order, would come to this belief too; we still believe the day will come.' Having said this they revealed to us their seductive heresy, one more stupid and miserable than any of the ancient heresies.² Their

essentially as puritan reformers. R. I. Moore, *Origins of European Dissent* (London, 1977), pp. 25-30, also sees them as intellectuals, but argues that they had come to conceive of themselves as having a *gnosis* which led them to disdain the sacraments of the church. Bautier, pp. 71-7, thinks that they were intellectuals whose speculations led them to the theological position that man is saved, not by grace, but by the merit of his works, and has characterized them as 'Neo-Pelagians'. Glaber's account of the heresy begins by explicitly stating that this was not some ancient heresy. He never uses the term 'Manichean', and this is compatible with his remark that they did not consider carnality to be a sin. He tells us that they rejected good works, denied the Trinity, and believed that the universe was not created by God, so attacking the authority of Holy Scripture. In his rebuttal of what he thought the heretics believed the whole emphasis is on proof that God was truly the creator of the universe and the biblical evidence to support this (paras. 28-30). This denial of God's creation of the universe is compatible with Manichean beliefs, but it is odd that Glaber explicitly rejects any identification with ancient heresy, and this must include the Manichees, who were well known through the writings of St Augustine. In the end it is the rejection of the Bible that offends Glaber, and the final para. of the rebuttal, 30, asserts its accessibility, contrasting its open revelation with what before had only been seen darkly. This at least suggests that Glaber believed that the heretics laid claim to some kind of *gnosis* and tends to support Moore.

(f. 31) uidelicet raticinatio tanto minus erat idoneis sermonibus obnixa, quanto constat esse illam^a ter ueritati contrariam. Dicebant ergo deliramenta esse quicquid in ueteri ac nouo canone certis signis ac prodigiis ueteribusque^b testatoribus^c de trina et una deitate beata confirmat auctoritas. Celum pariter ac terram, ut conspiciuntur, absque auctore inicii semper extitisse asserebant. Et cum uniuersarum heresum insanientes | canum more latrantes deterrima, in hoc tamen Epicureis erant hereticis similes, quoniam uoluptatum flagitiis credebant non recompensari ultionis uindictam. Omne Christianorum opus, pietatis dumtaxat et iusticie, quod estimatur precium remunerationis eterne, laborem superfluum iudicabant esse. Interea his aliisque quamplurimis insaniis impudenter ab eisdem prolatis, non defuere fideles atque idonei testes ueritatis qui illis sufficienter, si uellent tam ueritati quam proprie acquiescere saluti, respondere de suis cecis atque erroneis assertionibus ualarent.

28. Sed et nos quoque, secundum exiguitatem nostri intellectus, his quos prenotauimus illorum erroribus uel perpauca respondere decreuimus. Primitus tamen fideles hortamur uniuersos ut interim mentes illorum presagium serenent apostoli, qui preuidens in futurum^d huiusmodi cautelam intulit: 'Oportet' inquit 'hereses esse ut hii qui ex fide sunt probentur.'¹ In hoc igitur permaxime istorum insipientia deprehenditur, atque ipsi omni scientia ac sapientia uacui pernoscentur, cum negent creaturarum auctorem uniuersarum, scilicet Deum, quoniam manifestum est quod omne, quantecumque sit molis uel magnitudinis, si cuiusque superatur magnitudine, a maximo omnium cognoscitur processisse. Pari quoque ratione sciendum est tam de re corporea quam incorporea. Sciendum etiam quoniam quecumque res, siue corporalis seu incorporealis, per quodlibet accidens uel motione uel cuiuslibet alternitate fit diuersa, ab immobili rerum preceptore constat eam processisse, per ipsumque si forte quieuerit finem expetere. Cum enim totius Conditor creature propria essentia sit immobilis, propria essentia bonus simulque uerax, sua omnipotentia naturarum modos distribuens ordinansque ineffabiliter, non extat preter eum ubi quietem expetant, nisi unde processerunt redeant.² Manifestumque est nichil in uniuersis factori

^a illam *Winterbottom*; illi *BAXD* ^b ueteribusque *Ax*; ueterisque *BD*
^c testatoribus *BD*; patribus *Ax* ^d futurum *Winterbottom*; futuram *BAXD*

arguments were so little based upon reason that they were triply opposed to the truth. They said that all that blessed authority asserts in the Old and New Testaments, taught by manifest signs and portents and by the ancient witnesses, concerning the unity of the Trinity, should be regarded as an illusion. Both heaven and earth, as we see them, had always existed and were not made by any creator. And these lunatics, barking like dogs in this worst of all heresies, were very like the Epicureans in that they did not believe that carnality was a sin meriting avenging punishment. All Christian good works like piety and justice, which are commonly regarded as the price of salvation, were regarded by them as so much useless labour. These (amongst many others) were the follies put about shamelessly by them; yet there was no lack of faithful and trustworthy witnesses to the truth who could perfectly well have replied in the matter of their blind and erroneous statements, had they been willing to submit to the truth and their own salvation.

28. But we also have decided that, within the limits of our understanding, we should make some effort to refute these errors of theirs that we have just mentioned. First, we exhort all the faithful that in the mean time their spirits should take comfort from that prophetic saying of the Apostle, who, looking forward into the future, gave warning in this way: 'There must be heresies that they who are of the Faith may be proved.'¹ The thing that really shows their folly and their emptiness of all learning and knowledge is that they deny God to be the Author of all creatures; for all beings, no matter what their size and grandeur, acknowledge a superior, and this proves their descent from One greater than them all. This reasoning applies to spiritual as well as corporeal things. Further, when anything, whether corporeal or incorporeal, by some accident achieves diversity, whether by movement or by change, it is clear that it has proceeded from the unchanging Master of things and seeks its end through Him if by chance it dies. The Creator of all things is in His nature unmoving, good and true; by His omnipotence He assigns and disposes the modes of natures in a way that cannot be described. It is only through Him that they can find peace, unless they return whence they came.² It is obvious that

¹ 1 Cor. 11: 19. What follows seems clearly a charge of dualism.

² The idea has been expressed before; see above, i. i. 3.

(f. 31^v) deperisse, nisi illud quod procaciter ab illo constitute transcendit ordinem nature, et iccirco omnis res tanto | melius ueriusque est (quod illam constat esse), quanto solidius firmiusque in proprie nature consistit ordine. Sicque fit ut uniuersa que illius dispositioni incommutabiliter obediunt continue seruiendo Auctorem predicent. Si qua uero res procaciter ab eo deuiando in deterius cecidit, ceteris iure manentibus documentum prebuit. In predictis uidelicet creaturis quoddam medium continet genus hominum, potius scilicet cunctis animantibus atque inferius celestibus spiritibus. Quod utique genus, ut diximus, uelut medium superiorum inferiorumque, si cui parti plus adhererit, illi efficitur conformis.^a Ideoque tanto infimis potius atque melius efficitur, quanto supernorum spirituum naturam imitatur. Soli etiam homini datum est pre ceteris animantibus fore sese beatius, quoniam quidem et illud^b dumtaxat, si caruerit fieri, omnibus^c deuenire miserius. Quem uidelicet conditionis ordinem caute ab inicio prouidens omnipotentis bonitas Conditoris, cernensque sepius eundem, uidelicet hominem, deserendo supera inuolui nimium infimis, fecit proinde plura idemtidem | ^dpro tempore ad eruditionem illius gratia erectionis prodigia.

A, f. 32

29. Huius quoque rei testis uel documentum extat omnis diuinarum liber uel pagina litterarum; que scilicet litterę ipsius omnipotentis reperte magisterio, cum eius specialiter multimoda gerant testimonia, mentem etiam seu intellectum hominis in eisdem eruditi ad cognitionis respectum sui erigunt Conditoris. Denique dum eidem homini dispositę ostendunt super que sit constitutus aut sub quibus positus, inexplebile ingerunt ei desiderium, quoniam tantum ei incipiunt displicere uniuersa que adsunt, quantum incalescit ad amorem illorum que desunt, fitque tanto melior atque pulchrior quanto his per amorem heserit uicinior, atque in quantum melior, in tantum illi qui summę bonus extat Creatori similior. Et idcirco patenter datur intellegi quoniam quisquis hominum huius amoris uacuuus fuerit desiderio, omni procul dubio fiet pecude miserior ac deterior; quippe qui solus pre cunctis animantibus aeternitatis potuit consequi beatitudinem, nullum preter eum corporale animal proprii erroris uel flagitii aeternam^c sentiet uindictam. Sed et si cuius hominis animus sui Conditoris agnitionem desiderat, expedit

nothing in the universe has perished for the Maker unless it stepped insolently beyond the law of nature laid down by Him, and everything is therefore so much the better and truer (as it is agreed that that nature is) as it is steadfast in its own order and nature. So it is that all creatures unswervingly obedient to the divine disposition bear witness in their unceasing service to the glory of their Author. If anything insolently diverges from Him and goes to the bad, it serves as a warning to those who stick to the narrow path of righteousness. Amongst created things human beings occupy a middle position, being greater than all animals, but less than heavenly spirits. So mankind stands, as it were, between the higher and the lower; according as it adheres to one side or the other, so it becomes assimilated to that. For it becomes better and superior to lower orders the more it imitates the nature of the celestial spirits. Only to man is given, above all other animals, the power to be more than normally happy, since to him it is also given, namely if he fail so to become, to turn out more wretched than any creature. The bounty of the Almighty Creator foresaw all this from the beginning; He understood that more often than not men would turn from the high and become too entangled in the lowest, and so, at appropriate times, He has frequently provided prodigies for their instruction to raise them up.

29. To all this every book and page of Holy Scripture testifies; these writings, specially devised by the power of His omnipotence, since they bear much specific witness to Him, elevate the mind and understanding of the man trained in them to a knowledge of his Creator. By showing to man methodically how he is placed over some things and below others, they generate in him an insatiable passion, for just as he begins to dislike all that he has, so he grows hot with passion for what he lacks; he grows better and more beautiful as his love brings him nearer to these things, and the better he is the more he comes to love the Creator, who is supremely good. And so it may be clearly understood that whoever lacks the desire for this love will become without doubt lower and more wretched than any beast of the field. Man alone, of all created beings, was able to attain eternal joy, yet no created being but he will suffer eternal punishment for his mistakes and sins. If any man's mind seeks knowledge of his Creator it is proper that he should first understand himself, so far

^a Perhaps conformius (Holford-Strevens)
^c fieri omnibus B corr., D; omnibus fieri BAx
 this word ^c eterna B; aeterna A

^b illud Winterbottom; illud BAxD
^d The medieval part of A resumes with

ut primum studeat qualiter sese ut preualuerit intelligat; quoniam, sicut non contemnenda testatur auctoritas, quod in ea parte precipue gerit homo speciem Conditoris, qua ualet pre ceteris animantibus dono atque uirtute rationis.¹ Sed et sicut huius rationis bonum custodiunt sui moderamen et Auctoris dilectio, id est uera humilitas et perfecta caritas, ita illius adnullant utilitatem nequam concupiscentia et furor. Hisque non repugnando efficitur homo bestiis similis, illis inseruendo conformatur ad speciem uel imaginem Conditoris, ut uidelicet per humilitatem sese quid sit intelligat, per dilectionem uero in boni Conditoris similitudinem transeat. Ob id etiam constituuntur ei solummodo ab hominibus preces et donaria, ut uel illis donum rationis seruet integrum, seu quod minus est aut deprauatum Conditoris bonitas augeat et reformet. Simul etiam laus et benedictio exhibentur eidem Conditori, ut fiant hominibus sana mente ac ratione uigentibus illius testimonium cognitionis. Et quanto plus cuique contigerit in Conditoris cognitionem proficere, tanto magis reperiet isdem homo seipsum per eandem cognitionem et plus et melius effectum esse. Nec isdem poterit in aliquo Conditoris sui opere existere blasphemus, qui illius cognitione omnimodis melior quam extiterat fuerit effectus. Atque ideo manifestum est quoniam quicumque illius operationis blasphemus extitit, eius cognitionis alienus fuit. Vnde etiam certissime comprobatur quoniam, sicut ad summum bonum deducit omnem hominem Creatoris cognitio, sic demergit ad extremum malorum illius ignoratio. Nam plures illius beneficiis per insipientiam ingrati ac misericordiae operibus illudentes atque increduli pecudibus deteriores effecti, qui etiam in sua cecitatis caliginem perpetuo sunt demersi. Et quod plerisque contigit factum in sua salutis maximum remedium, exinde sibi alii adquisiere preeunte culpa aeternum detrimentum.

f. 32^v

30. Hoc perspicacissime et permaxime claret in omnipotentis Patris singulari gratia sponte de celo hominibus ab eo in mundo missa per suae maiestatis atque deitatis coaeternum filium, uidelicet Ihesum Christum, qui scilicet cum patre aequae origo omnis uitae et ueritatis atque bonitatis exhibuit plane sibi credentibus quibusque a seculis incognitum, occultis enigmatibus inuolutum, de se etiam testimonium^a perhibentium scripturarum, adimplebile documentum. In quo etiam ueracibus uerbis et prodigiis ostendit

^a testimonium *Duchesne*; testimoniorum *A*

as he can; truly no small authority testifies to the respect in which man particularly bears the image of his Creator and stands above the rest of the animals: he enjoys the precious gift of reason.¹ But just as the advantages of reason are safeguarded by self-control and love of the Creator, that is true humility and perfect charity, so conversely evil concupiscentia and madness destroy its usefulness. The man who does not fight against these vices is like a beast, but he who practises these virtues is made to resemble the image and likeness of his Creator; through humility he knows what he is, but through charity he comes to resemble his good Creator. That is why it is only men who offer Him prayers and sacrifices, so that the Creator's goodness may preserve in them the gift of reason, or, where that gift is defective or distorted, increase and refashion it. In the same way praise and blessing are offered to the Creator so that to men of sound mind and reason they should be testimony of the perception of Him. The more each man advances in knowledge of his Creator, the more he will find himself inspired and improved by this knowledge. Such a man cannot blaspheme against any work of the Creator, for the effect of knowing Him is to make a man in all ways better than he was. So it is clear that whoever blasphemes His works is a stranger to knowledge of Him. This proves conclusively that, just as knowledge of the Creator leads each man to supreme good, so ignorance of Him plunges men into the depths of evil. Many in their folly are ungrateful for His benefits and scorn the works of His mercy; this lack of belief makes them worse than animals, plunged for ever into the darkness of their own blindness. And from that which to many has been a great remedy bringing their salvation others through their own fault have brought upon themselves eternal loss.

30. This is most clearly and especially apparent in the free sending of the unique grace of the Omnipotent Father by Him from heaven to men on earth through His Son Jesus Christ, coeternal in His majesty and divinity. With His Father He was equally at the origin of all life, truth and goodness; He offered openly to all who believe in Him a sign that would be fulfilled, for centuries unknown and wrapped in secret allegories, that of the Scriptures offering testimony about Himself. In this book, in words full of

¹ Cf. Gen. 1: 26.

f. 33 seipsum et suum Patrem atque eorum Spiritum in tribus discrete certissimis personis unum idem esse, id est unius aeternitatis et potentiae uniusque uoluntatis atque operationis, et, quod id ipsum totum est, unius bonitatis, et per omnia coequalis essentiae. Ex quo scilicet, et per quem, et in quo sunt omnia quae uere esse habent, plenum semper et aequale subsistens ante omnia temporum curricula rerum principium; cuius etiam tota plenitudo per omnia et finis omnium. Sed cum ipse Omnipotens in quodam creaturarum medio, uidelicet in homine, suam expressisset imaginem illumque proprio dimisisset arbitrio, insuper et omnia mundi optima illius ditioni subdidisset, neglecto propriae constitutionis moderamine, ac plus quippiam uel aliud quam Auctoris uoluntas illum decreuerat sese existimans fore, continuo tanto deterior est effectus quanto presumptior. Ad cuius potiore etiam reformationem isdem Conditor personam filii suae deitatis misit in mundum sui preformatam sumere imaginem. Quae scilicet missio quanto utilior ac decentior, tanto subtilior ac mirabilior. Quam etiam plerique hominum non ualentes seu minus uolentes credere uel amare, ut sic tandem in illa suae salutis sufficientiam potuissent intellectam repperire; potiusque diuersis impliciti erroribus tanto extiterunt ueritatis rebelles, quanto probantur illius cognitionis expertes. De quorum procul dubio sorte sunt uniuersae hereses uel quorumcumque errorum sectae in toto terrarum orbe. Quibus scilicet omnibus, nisi conuersi sequantur Ihesum gesta penituntine, melius fuerat non fuisse. At quorum mens plena fide amando et credendo illi obediuit, tanto meliores ex eo effecti, quanto perfectius adhererunt illi qui est initium ac perfectio totius boni. Ex his nempe constat tota beatorum laudabilis summa, quorum uenerabilis memoria uniuersa seculorum ornat tempora. Quibus etiam datum est cum uniuersorum Creatore perhenne et feliciter esse et uiuere, illiusque semper agnitionis uisione beatiores fore. Nos igitur tandem credimus, ut sponderamus, his paucis illorum dampnatorum insaniae sufficienter respondisse.

31. Preterea cum a pluribus omni sagacitate elaboratum fuisset qualiter deposita mentis perfidia ueram et uniuersalem reciperent fidem, atque illi omnimodis se facere denegarent, dictum est eis quoniam, nisi celerius ad sanam fidei mentem redeant, regis iussu et uniuersae plebis consensu igne essent protinus crematuri. At illi

truth and in prodigies, He shows that He Himself, His Father, and their Spirit are, in three discrete and particular persons, one and the same Godhead, of one eternal power, of one will and one activity and—its very sum—of one goodness, their shared and equal essence. From this Godhead and by it and in it are all things that truly have being; it is an ever full and equal beginning of things, existing before all time; of it there is total plenitude throughout the whole universe and the end of all things. But when the Almighty had stamped his image on a median creature, namely man, and let him loose with free will and besides that put in his power all the good things of the earth, man immediately ignored all that governed his nature, and thinking that he would be something more or other than the will of his Author had decided, fell into a worse and worse position as his presumption mounted. It was to regenerate man that the Creator sent the person of the Son of His Godhead to take upon Himself in this world the image which He had formerly created. This mission was as useful and proper as it was subtle and admirable. But the greater part of men could not, or rather would not, believe in and love it, although they ought to have been able to perceive in it all that was needful to their salvation; rather they remained rooted in diverse errors and as hostile to the truth as they are shown to be lacking in knowledge of Him. Here, undoubtedly, is the origin of all the heresies and perverse sects which exist all over the globe. It would have been better for all these, unless they convert and follow Jesus after doing penance, if they had not been. But those who, their minds full of faith, obeyed Him loving and believing in Him, became the better the more completely they clung to Him who is the Beginning and Perfection of all goodness. These are the whole company of the blessed whose revered memory brings distinction to all ages. To these it is given to be and live for ever with the Creator of all things in eternal bliss, becoming ever more blessed as they come to see and know Him. We believe that in these few words we have made, as we promised, sufficient answer to the folly of those damnable heretics.

31. When many had employed all their ingenuity in seeking to make them abandon their dangerous ideas and accept the true and universal faith, and they had altogether refused, they were told that if they would not rapidly return to a proper notion of the faith, on the king's orders and with the consent of the whole people they should be delivered over to the flames without delay. But they were confident

in sua male confisi uesania nil pertimescere se iactantes seque euasuros ab igne inlesos promittentes, quin potius ad meliora sibi suadentibus spernendo illudebant. Cernens quoque rex et uniuersi qui aderant minus posse illos reuocari ab insania, iussit accendere non longe a ciuitate ignem permaximum, ut uel eo forte territi a sua malignitate desinerent;^a ad quem cum ducerentur, rabida adacti dementia, se omnimodis hoc uelle proclamabant ac sese ultro ad ignem trahentibus inferebant. Quibus ad ultimum numero XIII^{cim}¹ igni traditis, cum iam cepissent acrius aduri, ceperunt uoce qua poterant ex eodem igne clamare se pessime deceptos arte diabolica, nuper de uniuersorum Deo ac Domino male sensisse, et ob hanc ab eisdem inlatam ei blasphemiam illos temporali atque aeterna ultione torqueri. His uero plures e circumstantibus auditis, humanitatis pietate permoti, accedentes ut uel semiustos ab igne illos eriperent, minime ualuerunt, quoniam, uindice flamma consumente illos, continuo in puluerem^b sunt redacti. Si qui uero postmodum huius peruersitatis fuerunt sectatores reperti, simili ultionis uindicta ubique sunt perdit. Preterea uenerabilis catholice fidei cultus, extirpata insanientium pessimorum uesania, ubique terrarum clarior emicuit.

ix. *De filiis regis eiusdem*²

f. 33^v 32. Suscepit igitur prefatus rex de suprascripta coniuge sua filios quattuor;³ prouidusque de regni successu, elegit regnare post se illorum primogenitum Hugonem nomine, puerum | adhuc, clarissimę indolis illustrem. Cumque de ipsius sacrando sublimio primates regni sagaciores consulisset, tale ei dedere responsum: ‘Sine puerum, rex, si placet, crescendo procedere in uiriles annos, ne, ueluti de te gestum est, tanti regni pondus infirmae committas aetati.’ Erat autem isdem puer ferme decennis. Qui minime illorum

^a desinerent *Pithou*; desiderent *A*

^b puluerem *Pithou*; puluere *A*

¹ Other sources suggest as many as fourteen or as few as ten became victims of the flames, and one source suggests that a nun and a cleric recanted and escaped the fire: *Bautier*, pp. 76–7.

² Hugh of Flavigny, p. 403, indicates briefly the succession-problems dealt with in paras. 32–7. *GCA*, p. 111, uses most of this chapter, from *Suscepit to imponi* (p. 152).

³ On Constance see above ii. 7n. In view of her behaviour in what follows, *Helgaud*’s reference, p. 75, to the grim joke about her name should be recalled: ‘Constant and strong, Constance who jokes not.’ Only three of the sons of Robert the Pious are mentioned here; Hugh, Henry, and Robert. The fourth was Odo, who, in 1041, joined the

in their evil madness; they boasted that they feared nothing, promising that they would escape from the fire. As for those who gave them better advice they laughed them to scorn. The king and those with him saw that they could not be recalled from this folly; he ordered that a huge fire should be lit not far from the city, hoping that the sight of this would frighten them into giving up their malign belief. But when they were led there, driven on by their madness, they cried out that this was just what they wanted and gave themselves freely up to those dragging them to the flames. Thirteen¹ of them were in the end delivered over to the fire, but when the flames began to burn them savagely they cried out as loudly as they could from the middle of the fire that they had been terribly deceived by the trickery of the devil, that the views they had recently held of the God and Lord of all were bad, and that as punishment for their blasphemy against Him they would endure much torment in this world and more in that to come. Many of those standing nearby heard this, and, moved by pity and humanity, approached seeking to pluck them from the furnace even when half-roasted. But they could do nothing, for the avenging flame consumed them and reduced them straight away to dust. Later, wherever adherents of this perverse sect were discovered, they were everywhere destroyed by the same avenging punishment. The holy catholic faith has flourished more brilliantly everywhere on earth since the folly of these wicked madmen was rooted out.

ix. *The sons of this king*²

32. By the wife of whom we have spoken already, the king had four sons.³ He was anxious to settle the succession, so he chose the first-born, Hugh by name, to rule after him. He was still a child, but known for the nobility of his character. When the question of his highness’s sacring arose, the king consulted the wisest amongst the magnates of the realm, and they made this reply: ‘If it please you, Lord King, allow the boy to grow to maturer years so that the burden of such a great kingdom shall not fall upon his tender youth as it did upon yours.’ The boy was barely ten years old. But the

conspiracy of Theobald and Stephen, the sons of Odo II of Blois (on whom see below 5. i. 16, ii. 19) against Henry I. He was defeated and captured: *Bur, Comté de Champagne*, pp. 193, 196.

adquiescens dictis, matre precipue instigante, Regio in Compendio adscitis regni primoribus, coronam, ut decreuerat, ex more a pontificibus puero fecit inponi.¹ In processu quoque temporis, cum adoleuisset, cernens se nil domini rei peculiaris preter uictum et uestitum ex regno, unde coronatus fuerat, posse mandare, cepit corde tristari atque apud patrem ut ei quippiam domini largiretur conqueri. Quod eius mater comperiens, ut erat auarissima maritique magistra, fieri renitens insuper conuictis ac maledictis iuuenem laccessibat, et sicut quidam ait: 'Noui ingenium mulierum: cum uelis, ipsa nolit,^a at si nolis, cupiet ultro.'² Nam que prius ne fastu regni careret, aliquo ingruente mariti infortunio, contra omnium sola decretum sublimauit puerum, postea toto mentis nisu ac si hostem alienigenam turpabat illum uerbis et operibus.

33. Ille uero cernens se non posse diutius talia aequanimiter tolerare, iunctis secum aliquibus suae aetatis iuuenibus, cepit infestari ac diripere ad libitum res genitorum. Tamen paulo post Dei nutu in se reuersus, ad genitores rediens, humili eos satisfactione beniuolos erga se reddidit. Tunc demum ab eisdem largitur illi, ut optimum decebat filium, ius ubique ac potestas regni. Sed qualis et quantus postmodum extitit, presenti stilo non^b quit explicari: quam humilis ac dulcis eloquio, patri ac matri seruis oboedientior, pauperum largus dator, monachorum et clericorum consolator, necnon apud patrem cunctorum rogantium fidelissimus interuentor, quam affluenter in cunctis optimis melior, quis ualet exsequi relator? Huiusmodi enim fama ubique prouintiarum percitus preoptabatur a multis, precipue ab Italicis, ut sibi imperaret in imperium sublimari:^c nam et ex cognomento proaui Magnus Hugo dicebatur a cunctis.³ Dum igitur incomparabili mentis simul ac corporis decore floreret, exigentibus maiorum flagitiis, repente
f. 34 illum mors inuidamundo subripuit.⁴ Sed quale iustitiam contigit

^a Perhaps nolet (*Winterbottom*) ^b non B; num A, perhaps rightly ^c Sentence confused but not corrupt: sense is multi perciti praeoptabant, unskillfully turned into the passive

¹ Pentecost, 9 June 1017: Helgaud, p. 91 n. 1.

² '... noui ingenium mulierum: nolunt ubi uelis, ubi nolis cupiunt ultro'; '... I know women's ways; they won't when you would, and when you wouldn't they're actually dying for it': Terence, *Eunuch*, ll. 812–13 (ed. and tr. J. Sargeant, London, 1912, i. 321).

³ Cf. J. Fleckenstein, *Early Medieval Germany*, tr. B. S. Smith (Göttingen, 1976), p. 187. But the precise force of *imperium* and the meaning of the sentence are not clear. On Hugh the Great see above, i. ii. 6n. *GCA*, p. 111, gives the next two sentences, omitting 'In processu (l. 3 above) . . . a cunctis.'

king paid no attention to their words, for he was swayed by the pleading of the boy's mother; he gathered the magnates of the realm together in the vicinity of Compiègne and there, as he had always wanted, he had the boy crowned in the traditional manner by the bishops.¹ But in the course of time the boy grew to manhood, and realized that apart from the food and clothing given him from the kingdom over which he had been crowned, he controlled nothing of his own. He began to grieve and to beg his father to make haste to grant him some domain of his own. When his mother heard this, because she was an avaricious and domineering woman who ruled her husband, she tried to prevent the boy from getting anything, while at the same time provoking him with abuse and insult; as somebody says: 'I know the nature of women: if you want something, she doesn't, if you don't, she does!'² Previously, fearing that she would lose the royal office if any misfortune befell her husband, alone, and against all advice, she had achieved the coronation of her son; now she strove with all her might against him, disgracing him in word and deed as though he were a foreigner and an enemy.

33. The boy saw that he could no longer calmly tolerate this situation, so he joined together with some other youths of his own age and began at will to attack and despoil the property of his parents. After a while, by the will of God, he came to his senses, returned to his parents, and by humble excuses obtained their benevolence. As was only proper, since he was an excellent son, they gave him authority over the whole might of the realm. Of the character and greatness to which he afterwards attained, my pen cannot now write; he was humble and gentle in speech, more obedient than any serf to his mother and father, and generous to the poor; he was the consoler of monks and clergy, and he intervened faithfully with his father on behalf of all suppliants; he was easily better than the best in all things; who can truly depict him? For, moved by his fame throughout the provinces, many, especially the Italians, wished him to be raised to the Empire; everybody called him Hugh the Great after his ancestor of that name.³ But just as he was showing to all the incomparable grace of body and mind, envious death tore him suddenly from life because of the sins of his elders.⁴ The mourning which fell

⁴ On 17 Sept. 1025: Helgaud, p. 91. In the *Life*, c. xi, Glaber says that St William consoled the king and queen after Hugh's death.

uniuersis nullo sermone ualet exprimi. De cuius etiam funere subsequentes iambicos rogatus a fratribus cecini:

Plasmator, parce mestis mundialibus.
 Succurrat fletus intimis doloribus,
 Pascat merentes singultuum gemitus,
 Humanum decus dum rapit interitus.
 Annis florebat mundo iuuenilibus,
 Bis^a denis minus excreuerat duobus,
 Regnorum lumen Hugo, regum maximus;
 Quem nex funesta inuidit hominibus.
 Non alter nostro talis emicat aeuo,
 Regnis spectatus, adscitus imperio.
 Bellorum tanto decoretur triumpho,
 Vigore pari ualeat corporeo;
 Quo gens Francorum uigebat letabunda
 Fideique pace tota simul Gallia;
 Omnis quem prona poscebat Italia,
 Cæsar ut iura promeret regalia.
 Sed te non nostra, iuuenum pulcherrime,
 Heu! pro dolor! tempora meruere,
 Quibus inundant malorum miserie,
 Vires bonorum corruunt assidue.
 Tu dolor matris calamitasque patris,
 Crudele nimis monumentum germanis,
 Meror communis cunctis in palatiis,
 Iusticiumque populorum ultimis.
 Leone presso, Virgo solem coeperat,²
 Tua cum dirus membra pallor occupat.
 Denis diebus sorte fit lux septima:^{3b}
 Te patri fama perdidisse nuntiat.
 Iam seculorum cerne rector optime,
 Gentem Francorum qui regat tutissime
 Hostemque seuum ualeat repellere.
 Pactum quietis illi da perpetuae.

^a bis *Delisle*; ter *A*

^b *The reading and precise meaning of the line are quite uncertain*

¹ All the MSS make Hugh 28 ('three decades less two years') when he died; but Glaber has just told us, para. 32, that Hugh was anointed king at 10 years old in 1017, and we know from Helgaud that he died in 1025, hence presumably at 18. Had he been 28 in 1025, he would have been born in 997; but in para. 40 below Glaber reports that King Robert married Hugh's mother Constance 'about the year 1000'; F. Lot, *Études*

upon everybody defies description. At the request of our brothers I composed the following iambic verses on his death:

Creator, spare those suffering in this world.
 May weeping bring comfort to our deepest sorrows,
 Nurturing laments, groans, and sobs,
 For death has torn away the glory of mankind.
 He shone in the sight of the world in the years of his youth
 For two¹ decades less two years.
 Hugh was the light of his kingdoms and the greatest of kings,
 Begrudged by mournful death to the world of men.
 His like does not shine in our age,
 Admired by kingdoms, called to the Empire.
 May he be honoured for his great triumph in wars
 And equally for his bodily vigour.
 Through him the people of the Franks flourished joyfully
 And peace and faith were found all over Gaul.
 All Italy favoured him and asked him
 To dispense the royal law as Caesar.
 But, alas, most beautiful of youths,
 Our age did not deserve you,
 An age flooded over by the sorrows of evil
 While the strength of good men fails.
 You are your mother's grief, your father's woe,
 A cruel warning to your brothers,
 The common grief of every palace
 And the subject of mourning for distant peoples.
 The Virgin, supplanting the Lion, had received the sun²
 When a fearful pallor came over your limbs;
 Seven times the dawn came since the tenth day³
 When rumour told your father he had lost you.
 Now, Ruler of All Ages, find us another
 Who can rule the people of the Franks so securely,
 Who can repel the savage enemy.
 Grant him rest eternal.

sur le règne de Hugues Capet (Paris, 1903), p. 127n., cites evidence that they were married after late 1003, perhaps c. 1005. It seems clear that Hugh was 18 when he died in 1025, as in *Delisle's* correction.

² According to the Julian calendar, in the 11th c. the sun passed from the Lion to the Virgin on 17 or 18 Aug.; by 17 Sept. it would be just inside, or just outside, the Scales.

³ Presumably 17 Sept. (see p. 153 n. 4).

Qui¹ in eadem qua primitus coronatus fuerat ecclesia, beati martyris Cornelii uidelicet, Regio in Compendio est sepultus.

34. Post cuius obitum coepit iterum isdem rex tractare quis potissimum ex residuis filiis post se regnare deberet. Constituerat autem secundum Burgundię ducem, Heinricum nomine, post Hugonem natum ipsumque decreuit pro fratre in regnum sublimare.² Sed rursus mater, muliebri animositate agitata, tam a patre quam a ceteris qui parti illius fauebant dissentit,^a dicens tertium ad regni moderamen prestantiorem fore filium, qui et Rotberti patris nomine censebatur. Hoc quippe inter fratres seminarium discordiae fuit. Coadunatis denique rex metropoli Remis regni primatibus stabiliuit regni coronę Heinricum quem delegerat.

f. 34^v 35. Tunc demum post aliquod temporis spatium | illi duo fratres, firmato amicitiae foedere precipue ob insolentiam matris, cepere ui inuadere uicos et castella sui patris ac circumcirca diripere quae poterant bonorum eius. Nam ille, quem regem fecerat, Drogas illi castrum subripuit, alter uero in Burgundię partibus Aualonem atque Bellemsem. Pro quibus rex graui turbatus merore, colligens exercitum ascendit (in)^b Burgundiam; bellum plus quam ciuile³ patrat. Interea cum super his uenerabilem patrem Willelmum consulisset apud Diuionensi castro^c quid agere deberet, oransque, ut erat uir totius mansuetudinis et pietatis, qualiter tam pro se quam pro illis Dominum exoraret,⁴ tale responsum ab eodem suscepit: 'Meminisse te, o rex, conuenit iniuriarum obprobriorumque patri ac matri a te illatorum in tua iuuentute, quoniam talia tibi, iusto iudice Deo permittente, a filiis ingeruntur qualia tu ipse genitoribus ingessisti.' Haec audiens rex patientissime tulit seque ultro culpabilem clamans non negauit. Deinde post obsidionem ac depopulationem utriusque prouintię ad pacem redeuntes paulisper quieuerunt.

^a dissentit GCA ^b in supplied by Winterbottom, cf. 2. viii. 15 ^c So A; contrast the correct apud castrum Meledunense in para. 36

¹ GCA, pp. 111–12 gives *Qui in eadem . . . patrat* (para. 35 l. 8).

² In Jan. 1016 Bruno, bishop of Langres, a bitter enemy of the Capetians, died (on him see above, ii. 6n.); this removed the last obstacle to King Robert's acquisition of the duchy of Burgundy. In 1017 Hugh was crowned king and so recognized as successor, while the younger son, Henry, was established as duke of Burgundy (1017–31: cf. Bur,

He¹ was buried at Compiègne in the church of the holy martyr Cornelius, where he had originally been crowned.

34. After his death the king again had to consider which of his remaining sons was the most suitable to succeed him. He had made his second son, next born after Hugh, duke of Burgundy, and he now determined to raise him to the throne in place of his brother.² But once more the queen was driven on by the spirit of feminine contrariness and she opposed the king and those others who favoured this choice by putting forward the claims of her third son, Robert (so named after his father), who she said was a more suitable person to govern the realm. In this way she sowed discord between the brothers. But the king assembled the magnates of the realm in the metropolitan city of Rheims and established Henry, whom he had designated, in the crown of the kingdom.

35. Shortly after, these two brothers, mainly through a common dislike of their mother's arrogance, made a pact of friendship, and began to attack the towns and villages of their father, everywhere destroying what they could of his goods. The brother who had been made king seized Dreux from him, while the other took Avallon and Beaune in Burgundy. Blazing with resentment, the king gathered his army and went up into Burgundy; so it was that a conflict worse even than a civil war³ broke out. At Dijon the king asked the venerable father William what he ought to do, begging him as a gentle and loving man to intercede with the Lord for himself and his sons.⁴ This was the reply given by the holy father: 'Remember, O king, the injuries and insults that you inflicted upon your own parents in your youth; because of this it is the righteous judgement of God that you should suffer from your sons all that you inflicted upon your parents.' The king suffered this very patiently and did not deny, even acknowledged, his guilt. In the end, after sieges and devastation in both provinces, the adversaries made a peace and rested for a time.

Comté de Champagne, p. 155). Henry was crowned king in 1027. On his reign see J. Dhondt, 'Quelques aspects du règne d'Henri I^{er} roi de France', *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 199–208.

³ A well-known tag, ultimately deriving from Lucan i. 1.

⁴ St William of Dijon, who has already been introduced into the *Histories*, above, v. 16.

36.¹ Anno quoque sequenti, mense Iulio, Rotbertus rex apud castrium Meledunense diem clausit extremum; delatumque est corpus eius ad ecclesiam sancti Dionisii martyris ac in eadem sepultum.² Tunc rursus oritur inter matrem et filios rediuvia discordiae crudelitas, ac preteritarum irarum frena laxant inueterata odia. Diu multumque uastando res proprias debacatum est, donec Fulco Andegauorum comes, cognatus^a scilicet ipsorum, matrem redarguens cur bestialem uesaniam erga filios exerceret, utrumque parentem in pacem reduceret. Sequenti uero anno, eodem mense atque in eodem castro quo rex obierat, et ipsa obiit, indeque portata est ad sancti Dionisii basilicam, ac iuxta regem sepulta.³

37. Henricus nempe rex, paternis rebus potitus, germanum suum Rotbertum constituit Burgundię ducem. Preterea cum isdem rex rempublicam uiuaci mente et agili corpore regni sui discuteret, tunc contigit ut Leotericus Senonum archipresul obiret. Ilico uero unum de suę gentis nobilibus consecrari mandauit atque in eius loco subrogari. Sed Odo, rerum ditissimus, licet fide pauper, alterum e contra delegerat ne ius regium hac in parte foret integrum. Nam qui uiuenti patri Rotberto | multa tam ui quam calliditate subripuerat, arte simili filiis facere cupiebat. Cum enim primitus ciuitates, Trecorum uidelicet ac Meldorum, cum multiplicibus castris illi preripuisset,⁴ post mortem eius coniugi et filiis illius Senonicam subripuit urbem, quem etiam tunc aduersus illos infamis possessor uallauerat.⁵ Quod cernens Heinricus acra animi

^a auunculus is inserted above the line in A (see above, p. xci)

¹ GCA, pp. 112–16 cites *Anno quoque . . . supra diximus* (p. 164, at n. 3).

² 20 July 1031.

³ Constance died in July 1034: J. Dhondt, 'Une crise du pouvoir capétien, 1032–1034', in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia in memoriam J. F. Niermeyer* (Groningen, 1967), p. 147.

⁴ Glaber has already mentioned Odo II's seizure of Troyes and Meaux from King Robert (above, ii. 5, 8). However, Robert did in the end accept Odo's possession of Champagne. In 1025 Robert's eldest son and heir Hugh died, as noted above, para. 33, and Odo's support was needed for Henry's succession, because the throne was not as yet secure in the Capetian line. At the same time Odo was seeking to take advantage of the difficulties of the Empire on the death of Henry II in 1024; the result of this conjunction of circumstances was an alliance between Odo II, William V of Aquitaine, and Robert. William V had been appealed to by the Italian rebels (see below, 4. Preface. 1), Odo II had ambitions in Burgundy (ii. 5n.), and Robert may have hoped to make gains in Lorraine. The tripartite alliance came to nothing because Conrad II (1024–39), on whose accession see below, para. 38, made good his rule over all his empire: Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, pp. 169–70, and Behrends, *Fulbert*, pp. lxxxv–lxxxvii. 'Castris' is translated here as 'towns', a common use in the period. On its wide range of meanings see J. F. Verbruggen, 'Note sur le sens des mots *castrum*, *castellum* et quelques autres

36.¹ In July of the following year King Robert died at Melun. His body was taken to the church of the holy martyr St Denis, where it was buried.² Then once more the vindictiveness of former disputes reared its head between the mother and her sons; long-standing hatreds gave free rein to past animosities. For a long time each side ravaged the domains of the other until Fulk, count of Anjou, a relation, reproved the queen for her insane and bestial conduct towards her sons, and so brought the family to peace. In the following year the queen died in the same month and in the very same city where her husband had met his end; she was taken to the church of St Denis and buried next to him.³

37. Once Henry had certain possession of his inheritance, he created his brother duke of Burgundy. While the king was guiding the affairs of his realm with all the resources of a lively mind and an agile body, Lierri, archbishop of Sens, died. The king ordered that a noble member of his own family should be consecrated in his stead. But Odo, who was rich in material things but certainly not in loyalty, had chosen another, so that the royal power should not be fully exercised in this area. When King Robert was alive Odo had succeeded in stealing much from him by a mixture of force and cunning; he now hoped to do the same with the sons. He had already seized the cities of Troyes and Meaux and many towns from Robert,⁴ and after his death he stole from the widow and her sons the city of Sens which, being an infamous usurper, he fortified against them.⁵ When Henry heard of this he was so moved by expressions qui désignent des fortifications', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, xxviii (1950), 147–55.

⁵ In paras. 36–8 Glaber is giving a version of the profound crisis that struck the Capetian monarchy early in the reign of Henry I (1031–60). Odo II of Blois had already acquired the county of Champagne, the lands of Stephen, count of Troyes and Meaux (ii. 5), and on the death of Lierri, archbishop of Sens, on 26 June 1032, he seized that city and installed his candidate, Ménard, as archbishop, against the royal candidate, Gebuin. The *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi*, pp. 118–19, says that Ménard was much the more popular of the two candidates at Sens. An attack on Sens by King Henry and Fulk of Anjou was beaten off by Odo, but the crisis deepened: on 6 Sept. 1032 King Rudolf of imperial Burgundy died, and Odo faced the hostility of Conrad II, who was determined to hold Burgundy. In the winter of 1032–3 Odo fought off an attack by Conrad. In Apr. 1033 King Henry's mother, Constance, took up the claims of his younger brother Robert, whom she had already put forward in 1025 (as Glaber indicates above, para. 34) and whom Henry had made duke of (French) Burgundy in succession to himself on becoming king. Constance confirmed Odo's possession of half of the city of Sens and joined with him in revolt for Robert's claims. The result was a mass desertion of the king by his vassals, which revealed the fragility of the feudal structure. Henry was able

ferocitate tamdiu illum insecutus est debellando quousque genu flectens ei se subderet eiusque ditioni oboediens pareret. Erat enim isdem Odo natus ex filia Chuonradi regis Austrasiorum, Berta nomine, licet a patris sui proavis obscurę duxisset genus lineae. Et quoniam regi Rodulfo, auunculo scilicet eius, non erat proles ulla quę foret regni heres, presumpsit ipso uiuente ui potius quam amore regni abenas preripere, conferens insuper multa donaria, ut ei assensum preberent, primoribus patriae; sed nequicquam.¹ 'Domini enim est regnum' et 'cuicumque uoluerit dabit illud.'² Est etiam prouerbiū: 'Secundum fidem hominis erit amicus illius.'³ Gens enim precipue regni eiusdem assertionem fidei floccipendit et foedus pro nihilo ducit.

38.⁴ Extitit igitur, post mortem Heinrici imperatoris, qui fuit nepos regis Rodulfi, Chuonradus de quo in subsequentibus narrabimus;⁵ habens in coniugio neptam prefati Rodulfi, ob hoc maxime ualenter resistens contradicebat Odoni; quorum etiam lis acerrima regni utriusque maximam fecit depopulationem. Ad ultimum denique, cum iam in conspectu Dei excederet mensura tanti mali, collecto undecumque exercitu permaximo, conscendit Odo in Tullensem pagum, quem iam sepius depopulauerat, ibique oppugnans coepit Barrense castrum cum magna tamen diremptionis euersione totius prouintiae. Cumque in eodem castro locatis militibus ad custodiam ferme quingentis, ut tamen ipse quamtotius ad propria repedaret, utpote qui curis agitabatur innumeris. Prestolabantur itaque illum legati ex Italia directi, deferentes ei arram principatus, ut aiebant,^a totius Italię regionis. Contempserant enim suum principem predictum, uidelicet Chuonradum, Mediolanenses, coniuratione facta aduersus eum, iunctis sibi quos poterant ex ciuitatibus in circuitu. Existimabant quoque eundem Odonem posse percipere regnum Austrasiorum atque ad eos

^a aiebant *GCA*; agebant *A*

to reassert his position with the aid of Robert, duke of Normandy (on whom see i. v. 21). At some time between 18 May and 20 July 1033 King Henry met the emperor Conrad at Deville-sur-Meuse to join in alliance against Odo. As the alliance of Constance and Robert broke down Odo supported the rebellion of the last of the sons of Robert the Pious, Odo, but he soon made peace. Odo II was obliged to hand Sens back to the king in 1034: J. Dhondt, 'Une crise du pouvoir capétien', pp. 137–48. See also Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, pp. 170–3.

¹ Conrad 'the Peaceful', king of Burgundy (937–93), c. 964 took as his second wife Matilda, the daughter of the Carolingian Louis IV 'd'Outremer', king of the West

savage anger of the soul that he waged a war which lasted until the rebel submitted to his authority on bended knee in proof of his submission. Odo was born of a daughter of Conrad king of Austrasia called Bertha, although his paternal ancestors were of obscure lineage. Because his uncle, King Rudolf, had no children to inherit the kingdom, Odo sought by force rather than flattery to seize the government of his realm while he was yet living. He offered many gifts to the magnates of that kingdom if they would accept him as king.¹ But all this was in vain, for it is written: 'The kingdom is truly the Lord's' and 'He will give it to whomsoever He will.'² And there is also the proverb: 'According to the faith of a man He will measure His friendship.'³ The people of this kingdom particularly were little moved by his claim to be loyal and all his bargaining went for nothing.

38.⁴ After the death of the Emperor Henry, himself a nephew of Rudolf, Conrad, of whom we shall have much to say later, came to the fore;⁵ he was married to a niece of Rudolf, and for this reason he opposed Odo violently, and their savage strife despoiled both their states. When the measure of such evil had in the end gone too far in the sight of God, Odo gathered an immense army from all around and invaded the area of Toul, which he had already often ravaged. There he besieged and captured the city of Bar at the cost of great destruction and harm to the countryside. He left there some five hundred troops to guard the place while he returned in haste to his own lands, where he was exercised by many problems. Emissaries from Italy awaited him, offering him (or so they said) the government of their whole realm. For the Milanese hated their ruler Conrad and had joined with all those whom they could attract to their party from the cities round about in a plot against him. They believed that Odo could seize the kingdom of Austrasia

Franks (936–54): Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, p. 106. Bertha, the daughter of this marriage, became the wife of Odo I of Blois, creating the claim of that family to the Burgundian kingdom already noted above, ii. 5n., which Odo II pressed on the death without heir of Rudolf III (993–1032).

² Ps. 21: 29 (22: 28); Dan. 4: 14.

³ Ecclus. 6: 17.

⁴ Hugh of Flavigny, p. 401, used the substance of this para. and the story of the murder of William of Normandy in para. 39 as part of his narrative for 1037.

⁵ See below, 4. Preface. 1n. On the importance of this reference forward see above, p. xxxvi. Henry II (1002–24) was the child of the marriage of Conrad 'the Peaceful's' daughter by his first marriage, Gisela, to Henry, duke of Bavaria: Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, p. 110.

f. 35^v transire ut illis gereret principatum.¹ Sed, sicut ait | manu fortis insignis precentor bellorum Domini: 'Deiecisti eos' inquires 'dum alleuarentur',² ita contigit. Nam subito Gocilo, dux totius primae Retiae³ regionis cirrenum, cum exercitu nimio in eum inruens, omnem Odonis exercitum in fugam uertit, licet ex utraque parte plurima multitudo moriens corruerit^a. Tunc denique et ipse Odo miserrime^b interiit.⁴ Cuius lacerum cadauer Rogerus^c Catalanorum^d presul, habens secum uirum uenerabilem abbatem Richardum, a cede suscipiens uxori reddidit.⁵ Quae^e accipiens direxit illud Turonis ibique sepultum est iuxta patrem suum in atrio^f sancti Martini superioris cenobii.^{6g} Et quidem finis Odonis talis extitit; quem idcirco huic seriei intexere uoluimus qualiter in presentiarum cognosceretur rerum Creator iustissimus potenter explere quod olim tesmoforo suo Moysi promisit, 'Ego' inquires 'Dominus qui iudico peccata patrum in filiis in tertiam et quartam generationem.'⁷

39. Tertius namque hic Odo, de quo a nobis sermo superior est habitus, trinepos fuit illius Tetbaldi Carnoti comitis cui cognomen Tricator fuit.⁸ Hic nempe quondam, iunctus Arnulfo Flandrensi comiti, expetens per legatos Willelmum Rothomagorum ducem uelut ad familiare pacis colloquium, promittens se ex parte regis Francorum seu Vgonis Magni, qui fuerat filius Rotberti regis, quem Otto dux Saxonum, postea uero imperator

^a corruerit *BD*; curruerit *A* ^b capite plexus is placed above the line in *A* (see above, p. xci) ^c et excapitatum is placed above the line in *A* ^d catalanorum *BD*; catanolonorum *A* ^e Deleted in *A*. A star refers to a n. in the bottom margin: Narrat etiam plerique quod corpus eius diu multumque quesitum inueniri non potuit, donec uxor eius ueniens tali intersigno inuenit: habebat enim uerrucam inter genitalia et anum. Quod sic inuentum ('Many say that his corpse could not be found for a long time and despite much searching, until his wife arrived and found him by the following sign: he had a wart between his genitals and his anus. The body thus found') ^f capitulo is placed above the line in *A* ^g maioris monasterii is placed above the line in *A*

¹ Even after his defeat at the hands of King Henry in 1034, Odo II continued to press his claim to Burgundy, attacking Vienne in 1036. Early in 1037 a group of Lombard bishops, led by Aribert II, archbishop of Milan (1018–45), rebelled against Conrad II and offered the imperial crown to Odo II: H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Archbishop Aribert II of Milan', *History*, li (1966), 1–15. For a German view of these events see Wipo, pp. 47–56. For Aribert see also below, 4. ii. 5n.

² Ps. 72: 18 (73: 17).

³ For the division into *Raetia Prima* and *Secunda* see Pauly–Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Raetia* col. 58.

⁴ Gozelon, duke of Lower Lorraine from 1023 and Upper Lorraine from 1033, until his death in 1044, defeated and killed Odo II at the battle of Bar, 15 Nov. 1037: Bur,

and thence cross over to govern their realm.¹ But as that great warrior and noble celebrator of the wars of the Lord says: 'When they were lifted up, thou hast cast them down';² things turned out in just this way. Quite suddenly Gozelon, duke of the whole region of *Raetia Prima*³ this side the Rhine, with a large army, fell upon Odo and put the whole of his force to flight after heavy losses on both sides. In the battle Odo perished miserably.⁴ Roger, bishop of Châlons, together with the holy Abbot Richard recovered the mangled body from the carnage and restored it to Odo's wife.⁵ She took the corpse and sent it to Tours, where it was buried next to his father in the atrium of the abbey of Saint-Martin at Marmoutier.⁶ Such was the end of Odo, which we decided to include in this work in order to demonstrate how the most just Creator was now powerfully fulfilling the promise that He made in former times to Moses, His Lawgiver: 'I am the Lord, who visiteth the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation.'⁷

39. For this Odo of whom we have been speaking here was of the third generation, grandson of Theobald, count of Chartres, called 'the Deceiver'.⁸ This fellow, in complicity with Arnulf, count of Flanders, once sent messengers to William, duke of Rouen calling him as to a friendly peace-conference and pretending he had useful things to tell him on behalf of the king of the Franks or Hugh the Great, who was the son of that King Robert whom Otto duke of *Comté de Champagne*, pp. 126–8, 173.

⁵ Roger, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne (1008–42) was an associate of the great monastic reformer, Richard, abbot of Saint-Vanne-de-Verdun (1004–46) on whom see H. Dauphin, *Le bienheureux Richard, abbé de St-Vanne-de-Verdun* (Louvain, 1946). It was Odo II's second wife Ermengarde, daughter of Robert, count of the Auvergne—whom he had married in 1005 after the death of his first wife, Matilda of Normandy, sister of Duke Richard II—who took his body for burial (cf. Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, p. 154).

⁶ The author of *GCA* has inserted 'Maius monasterium', the normal Latin form for Marmoutier, and this is the force of the correction noted here from the *GCA*. This ancient monastery was founded by St Martin in 372, but by the 10th c. it had fallen into decay; under the patronage of Odo I of Blois (on whom see above, 2. vii. 14) it was handed over to Mayol of Cluny (on whom see above, 1. iv. 9n.): *Gallia Christiana*, xiv. 192–236. Odo I took the monastic habit at Marmoutier on his deathbed, and was buried there: F. Lot, *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet* (Paris, 1903; Geneva, 1975), p. 178. On Marmoutier and the textual tradition of *B* see above, p. lxxxvii, and below, 5. i. 13n.

⁷ Cf. Exod. 20: 5; Num. 14: 18; Deut. 5: 9.

⁸ On Theobald 'the Deceiver' see especially ii. 5n. His fellow conspirator was Arnulf I 'the Great', count of Flanders (918–65), who married Adela, a daughter of Herbert II of Vermandois (on whom see 1. i. 5n.; 1. iii. 7): Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, p. 489. 'Trinepos' probably means 'a relation in the third grade' i.e. (here) grandson—not, as in classical usage, great-great-great-great-grandson.

Romanorum, Suessionis interfecit, ei utilia esse dicturum.¹ At ille quoque, ut erat uir innocens licet potentissimus, ubi illi constituerat per fluuium Sequanę euectus nauigio uelociter illo affuit. Qui dum simul conuenientes irruunt in amplexus, unus simplicitate reuera, ceteri dolo illecti, simulatę pacis atque amicitię miscuere colloquia. Post finem uero insimulatorum uerborum, cepto recessu, iam longiuscule progrediente Willelmo, reuocauit eum Tetbaldus, quasi secretiora adhuc ei loquens crediturus seu carius ualedicturus; at ille remum dextra accipiens prohibuit ut nemo suorum exiens illum sequeretur, exiliuit ad ripam. Tetbaldus quoque, illum adpropinquans quasi aliquid locuturus, ilico exerta^a quam ad hoc tulerat sub pallio spata uno ictu caput a corpore decussit. Quod cernentes qui cum Willelmo uenerant remigando fugam arripiunt; nuntiauere Rotomagensibus ut contigerat. Erat enim Willelmo filius ex concubina, Richardus nomine, tamen adhuc adolescens. Quem accipientes sui statuerunt | pro patre principem regni. Tetbaldus nempe, patrato scelere, concitus perrexit ad Heribertum, Trechorum comitem, petens ab eo sororem ipsius dari sibi in coniugium, uxorem scilicet predicti Willelmi quem interfecerat. At ille statim promisit dari, uocans eam ad colloquium sui, quę nondum genuerat prolem, quasi consolaturus ex dampno mariti, tradidit illam Tetbaldo detestabile satis in coniugium.² Ex qua genuit Odonem, patrem uidelicet istius cuius finem teterrimum supra diximus.³ Illud etiam commemorari in calce tertii libelli placuit, qualiter uindex diuina potestas, totius boni moderatrix, insolentiae humani generis ultrix uel^b in presentiarum extiterit.

f. 36

40. Olim igitur circa millesimum incarnati Verbi annum, cum rex Rotbertus accepisset sibi reginam Constantiam a partibus

^a exerta B; exertam A (*above the line*)

^b ultrix uel *Winterbottom*; uel ultrix A

¹ This repeats an error already made above, i. ii. 6.

² Glaber's account of the murder of William Longsword (c. 928–42) and its consequences contains some notable inaccuracies. It was Arnulf of Flanders who murdered William, not Theobald the Deceiver. Further, William's widow was Lięgarde, but she was the daughter of Herbert II of Vermandois, who was still alive when William was killed on 17 Dec. 942. It is possible that Glaber is referring to Herbert of Vermandois and may have believed that he held Troyes, confusing him with his descendant, Herbert 'le Jeune', count of Troyes and Meaux, who is referred to above, ii. 5. After the death of Herbert of Vermandois in 942, Hugh the Great (on whom see above, i. ii. 6n.) took advantage of the youth of his successors to give William's widow Lięgarde in marriage to his vassal, Theobald the Deceiver: Bur, *Comté de Champagne*,

the Saxons and later emperor of the Romans had killed at the battle of Soissons.¹ Although he was powerful William was naïve; so it was that he went promptly by boat up the Seine to the appointed meeting-place. Meeting together, they embraced, the one in all innocence, the others in treachery, and proceeded to their false discussions. After these pretended exchanges William prepared to depart, and indeed had gone some little way, when Theobald called him back as though to impart some secret or bid him a fonder farewell; William, an oar in his right hand, forbade any of his people to leave the boat in order to follow him, and jumped up on the bank. Approaching him as though to speak, Theobald suddenly pulled out a sword hidden for just this purpose under his cloak, and with one blow severed his head from his body. Seeing this, William's companions rowed away in flight and told the people of Rouen what had happened. William had a young son, Richard, by a concubine. His supporters established him as ruler in his father's place. Theobald, once the deed was done, sped post haste to Herbert, count of Troyes, and begged of him the hand of his sister, who was none other than the widow of that William whom he had just killed. Herbert consented immediately, calling the woman, who had never borne a child, to their meeting, and giving her away in a detestable marriage to Theobald, as though in consolation for the loss of her husband.² By this union was born Odo, father to that Odo whose terrible end we have described here.³ It has been pleasing to recall, at the end of this third book, how the avenging power of God, Governor of All Good, was even in these present times the scourge of the guilty folly of mankind.

40. About the year 1000 of the Incarnation of the Word, when King Robert took as his wife Queen Constance, a woman of

pp. 114–15 n. 96. The murder of William Longsword inspired a Latin poem edited by J. A. Lair in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xxxi (1870), 389–406, and reprinted in his *Étude sur la vie et la mort de Guillaume Longue-Épée* (Paris, 1893). It was also published in P. Lauer, *Louis IV d'Outremer* (Paris, 1900), pp. 319–23, together with a study of the events, pp. 276–84. William's murder produced a severe crisis in the affairs of the Norman duchy; the child Richard I (942–96) survived only because his party was favoured by divisions amongst his enemies and because he was supported by Hugh the Great: Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 13–14. Hugh of Flavigny, p. 401, used this account of the murder under the year 1037.

³ On the descent of the house of Blois see above, ii. 5n.

Aquitanię in coniugium,¹ coeperunt confluere gratia eiusdem reginae in Franciam atque Burgundiam ab Aruernia et Aquitania homines omni leuitate uanissimi, moribus et ueste distorti, armis et equorum faleris incompositi, a medio capitis comis nudati, histrionum more barbii rasi, caligis et ocreis turpissimi, fidei et pacis foedere omni uacui. Quorum itaque nefanda exemplaria, heu pro dolor! tota gens Francorum, nuper omnium honestissima, ac Burgundionum sitibunda rapuit, donec omnis foret nequitie et turpitudinis illorum conformis. Si quislibet uero religiosus ac Deum timens talia gerentes compescere temptauisset, ab eisdem insania notabatur. Sed uir integerrime fidei ac constantiae, pater uidelicet Willelmus, quem iam supra commemorauimus, reiecto pudore sumptaque spiritali inuentione, regem pariter ac reginam cur talia in suo regno permetterent fieri acerrime increpans, quippe quod ceterorum honestissimum honore et religiositate diutius claruerat regnorum,² ceteros quoque inferioris gradus seu ordinis ita redarguens, comminabatur ut plerique monitionibus illius coerciti, relicta superstitiosa uanitate, in pristinum se reformarent usum. Asserebat igitur isdem abba hec omnia molimina calteria³ esse Sathanę, ac si quis hominum talibus insigniis calteriat ex hoc seculo migrasset, difficulter a diaboli uinculis posse eripi. In pluribus tamen | nequam usus conualuit; cuius etiam detestans elogium paucis heroicis pernotauit.

f. 36^v

Anno post Dominum terris de Virgine natum
 Milleno, grauibus homines erroribus acti.
 Dum cupimus rerum species intendere plures,
 Preteritis placet et studiis componere mores,
 Obiectat sese nouitas incauta periculis.
 Ecce priora sibi rident cum tempora nostri
 Ludicra queque probris sociant tumque usibus aptant,
 Turpia nec horrent animis et seria calcant,
 Que iustos rexere uiros et honesta refutant.
 Corpore peruerso creat haec nunc uita tyrannos,
 Trunca ueste uiros sine federe pacis ineptos;

¹ On Constance's origins see above, ii. 7n; also pp. 154–5n.

² In the *Life*, c. xii, Glaber describes the sermon delivered by St William on the occasion of the consecration of the new abbey of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon. Although there is no mention there of the presence of the king or queen, a strikingly similar

Aquitaine,¹ for her sake a great flood of strange men from the Auvergne and Aquitaine began to flow into France and Burgundy; they were flippant and vain fellows with strange manners and clothes; their weapons and the equipment of their horses were curious, and they were close-shaven from half-way down their heads; they were beardless like actors, wore indecent hose and shoes, and were totally devoid of good faith and respect for agreed peace. Alas! their evil example was seized upon avidly by the whole people of France, formerly the most honourable of nations, and of Burgundy, who soon became the equals of these fellows in infamy and sin. If any religious or God-fearing man ventured to restrain their behaviour, they treated him like a madman. But that man of true faith and constancy, Father William, of whom we have spoken, rejecting all human shame and taking upon himself spiritual invective, bitterly criticized the king and queen for allowing such things to happen in a realm which, amongst all others, had long shone forth by virtue of its honour and devotion.² He also took to task those of a lesser station, threatening them to such good purpose that many followed his advice, renounced their superstitious vanities, and reverted to their former ways. He added that these trappings were nothing more than the brand-marks³ of Satan, and that any man who died so branded would have the greatest difficulty in escaping from the chains of the devil. Amongst the greater part of them, however, the wicked behaviour flourished. Because of my hatred for it, I have stigmatized it with a few heroic verses:

A thousand years after the Lord was born on earth of a Virgin
 Men are become prey to the gravest errors.
 As we seek to discern the many forms of things
 And model our manners on ancient example,
 Novelty throws itself rashly into the teeth of danger.
 Behold, our people now mock past generations,
 Mix pleasure and debauchery and call them manners,
 Fear not scandal and scorn serious matters,
 Spurning honour, the guide of just men.
 This life now produces tyrants with strange bodies,
 Faithless and foolish men, with clothes too short for them.

diatribe against styles of dress and deportment was apparently delivered; on the possible importance of this see above, p. xxvii.

³ Niermeyer, p. 161, suggests *cauteria*, 'brands', for *calteria*, citing this passage.

Consilio muliebre gemit respublica laxa.
 Fraus, raptus, quodcumque nefas dominantur in orbe;
 Nullus honor sanctis, nulla est reuerentia sacris.
 Hinc gladius pestisque fames populantur ubique,
 Nec tamen impietas hominum correcta pepercit.
 Ac nisi magna Dei pietas protenderet iram,
 Infernus hos terricrepe consumeret ore.
 Hoc habet infelix peccandi consuetudo
 Quod plus quis peccat minus hic peccare pauescat,
 Quisque minus peccat magis hic peccare tremescat.

While the republic groans under soft petticoat rule,
 Fraud, theft, and all infamy reign supreme in the world,
 Saints are not honoured nor the sacred worshipped.
 The sword, plague, and famine rage all about,
 And the impiety of men uncorrected spares no one.
 If God's great pity did not delay his wrath
 Hell would engulf them in its frightful mouth.
 It is the sad quality of sin
 That the more one sins the less one fears to sin,
 And the less one sins the more terrifying sin appears.

INCIPIT LIBER QVARTVS

1. POST multiplicia prodigiorum signa quę tam ante quam post, circa tamen annum Christi Domini millesimum in orbe terrarum contigere, plures fuisse constat sagaci mente uiros industrios, qui non his minora propinquante eiusdem dominicę passionis anno millesimo fore predixere; quod utique euidentissime contigit.¹ Mortuo quoque, ut iam diximus, Heinrico piissimo imperatore, cui scilicet nulla proles extitit qui in regnum post illum succederet, nonnulli sese inferre temptantes de primatibus, qui tamen potius ut regni corona fulgerent quam profectum rei publicę moderamenque iustitię exercerent. Præ cunctis ergo quidam Chounradus, quem superius taxauimus, audax animo et uiribus ingens sed fide non multum firmus.² Cum enim diu multumque de constituendo regni principe, ac precipue inter presules, retractatum fuisset, uisum est eis ipsum Chuonradum debere eligere, nisi quod unum intererat, propter quod Heinricus etiam illum ualde exosum habuerat. Habebat enim coniugem quę illi erat affinis, quam etiam primitus quidam cognatus ipsius duxerat.³ Preterea innotuerunt ei pontifices quid potissimum uellet, aut tale coniugium, | quod manifestissime sacrae auctoritati nimium repugnabat, tenere, seu eo dimisso coronam imperii sumere. Qui protinus dimittendum promisit talis incesti coniugium, seque parere diligentissime illorum dictis et obedire consiliis. Deinde uero mittunt ad papam Romanum ut eis in hoc quod decreuerant consentiret.⁴ Qui statim libentissime annuit, mandans insuper ut quantotius suscepto Germanię sceptro Romam pergeret suscepturus totius Italiae coronam. Interea indeptus regni infula^a Chounradus Italiam ire perrexit secumque ducens uxorem quam, ut diximus, inlicito^b ceperat matrimonio; cui protinus in descensu Alpium, quem Curiam Gallorum licet corrupte uocant,⁵ in oppido Cumis occurrit

^a Perhaps infulam (Waitz)

^b inlicito B; inlito A

¹ The millennium of the Passion was reckoned to be 1033; it is often used as a date in Book 4, on which see above, p. xxxvii.

² Conrad of Franconia (1024–39) was crowned emperor in 1027 in the presence of Rudolf III of Burgundy (on whom see above, 3. ii. 8) and Cnut (on whom see above, 2. ii. 3): Hampe, pp. 41–2. Glaber has already mentioned him, above, 3. ix. 38.

³ Conrad's wife was Gisela, the niece of Rudolf III of Burgundy, who was born of the marriage of Rudolf's sister Gerberga to Hermann, duke of Swabia. Her grandmother

THE FOURTH BOOK BEGINS

1. AFTER the many prodigies which had broken upon the world before, after, and around the millennium of the Lord Christ, there were plenty of able men of penetrating intellect who foretold others, just as great, at the approach of the millennium of the Lord's Passion, and such wonders were soon manifest.¹ The most devout Emperor Henry died, as we have already said, but he left no heir to succeed him on the throne. Many of the magnates sought to interpose themselves, seduced by the brilliance of a royal crown rather than moved by a desire to foster the public weal and rule with justice. Foremost amongst these was that Conrad, whom we have already mentioned, a bold and strong fellow, but somewhat lacking in faith.² After there had been a long debate, especially amongst the bishops, about the choice of king, they decided upon Conrad, but one matter stood against him, something that had led Henry too to hate him. This was that he had taken a wife close to him in blood, one previously, moreover, married to a cousin of his.³ Therefore the bishops offered him a choice: either he could cling to this marriage, which was manifestly repugnant to holy law, or he could renounce it and assume the imperial crown. He immediately promised to renounce his incestuous wife, and to be carefully obedient to the words and counsel of the bishops. They promptly sent to the Roman pontiff asking him to confirm their decision.⁴ He immediately and gladly consented, adding that he should be crowned in Germany as soon as possible, then hasten to Rome to receive the crown of all Italy. After this Conrad went to Italy, clad in the symbols of monarchy, but bringing with him that woman whom he had, as we have said, unlawfully married; right at the foot of the Alps (incorrectly called the 'Court of the Gauls'),⁵ in

was Matilda, daughter of Louis IV of France and wife of Conrad the Peaceful (see above, pp. 160–1 n. 1), hence Wipo's insistence (pp. 24–5) that Gisela was a descendant of Charlemagne. She was certainly within the prohibited degrees and Aribo, archbishop of Mainz, refused to crown her. She was crowned by Pilgrim, archbishop of Cologne. The issue of the marriage was never as important as Glaber suggests; see Vogelsang 2, p. 158. On Glaber's hostility to Conrad see below, ii. 5.

⁴ The pope at this time was John XIX (1024–32), brother of his predecessor Benedict VIII, on whom see above 3. Preface. 1 n. Glaber has already stated his views on the role of the pope in the creation of an emperor, above, 1. v. 23.

⁵ Unidentified: but Conrad evidently came by the Brenner, and not by a central pass to Como (H. Bresslau, *Jahrbücher des d. Reiches unter Konrad II*, i (Leipzig, 1879), p. 455).

cum summo apparatu papa Romanus, ut ante sponderat. Fuere tunc quidam de marchionibus Italiae qui minus ei assensum prebuerunt. Sic enim illis facere mos est, ut iam supra taxauimus, in mortibus imperatorum. Nam et Papienses, ceterorum superbissimi, palatium regis in sua ciuitate operoso sumptu constructum destruxerant usque ad solum.¹ Ille uero, ut comperit, ferociter irruit Yporeiam, primitus ciuitatem capiens, deinde ceteras cum castris uniuersis proprię subiciens ditioni. Sicque Romam deueniens coronam ex more sumpsit imperii. Cui dum episcopi suggererent ut auctoritate Romani pontificis, qualiter illis promiserat, repudium illiciti faceret^a coniugii, grauiter accipiens dixit se imperatorem creatum nullo modo debere uxore uiduari, ac sicut inepte ceperat tenuit.

i. *De uniuersalitate aecclesiae a Constantinopolitanis iniuste requisita*²

2. Circa annum igitur Domini millesimum uicesimum quartum, Constantinopolitanus presul cum suo principe Basilio aliique nonnulli Grecorum consilium iniere quatinus, cum consensu Romani pontificis, liceret ecclesiam Constantinopolitanam in suo orbe, sicuti Roma in uniuerso, uniuersalem dici et haberi. Qui statim miserunt qui deferrent multa ac diuersa donorum exenia Romam, tam pontifici quam ceteris quos suae parti fauere conspicerent. Vbi conuenientes exposuerunt apud pontificem suę professionis querellam.³ Sed quid non pertentat cecus amor habendi?⁴ Estque prouerbium: 'Aureo pugillo | murum frangere ferreum.'⁵ Ac licet pro tempore filargiria mundi regina queat appellari, in Romanis tamen inexplebilis cubile locauit. Mox namque, ut uidere Grecorum sibi deferri^b fulgidas opes, uersum est cor illorum ad fraudulentę diuerticula, pertemptantes an forte clanculo concedere quierant quod petebatur, sed nequaquam. Non enim potest falli summa ueritas quę spondit: 'Portae inferi

^a faceret *Duchesne*; facere *A*

^b deferri *Delisle*; deferre *A*

¹ This was the royal palace which Henry II had forced the Pavians to build after their rebellion against his accession (3. Preface. 1). Wipo, pp. 29–30, 33, mentions the burning of the palace and Conrad's savage devastation of the land round Pavia: 'grande malum factum est in Italia propter contentiones Papiensium'.

² Hugh of Flavigny's account of the Greek demands is based on that given here; he also copied the text of St William's letter given in para. 3, together with the charge, made in para. 4, that John XIX was a neophyte at his accession.

³ This proposal to regulate the formal relations between the patriarch of Constanti-

the town of Como, he was met, as promised, by the Pope of Rome in all his glory. Some of the marquesses of Italy refused to recognize him. As we have already said, they often behave like this on the death of emperors. The people of Pavia, who are the most arrogant of all, had razed to the ground the royal palace built so sumptuously in their city.¹ When he heard this Conrad attacked Ivrea savagely, capturing first it, then the other cities and towns around, and subduing them all to his command. Thus he came to Rome, where according to custom he assumed the imperial crown. But when the bishops suggested to him that he should, as he had promised them, by the pope's authority cast off his unlawful marriage, he took it ill and said that now he was emperor he ought not to be deprived of his wife, and so he continued in sin.

i. *The Greeks improperly demand universality for their church*²

2. About the year 1024 the bishop of Constantinople, the Emperor Basil, and many other Greeks discussed how the church of Constantinople might be called and regarded as universal in its own sphere, just as Rome is throughout the whole world, with the consent of the Roman Pontiff. They at once sent ambassadors to Rome bearing rich and varied gifts for the pope and all others whom they saw to favour their cause. These explained to the pope the reason for their journey.³ What is not assailed by the blinding love of riches?⁴ There is a proverb: 'Break an iron wall with a handful of gold.'⁵ If it is true to say that in our time greed for riches is the queen of the world, it must be admitted that this insatiable vice has found its home amongst the Romans. Soon, seeing the glittering wealth brought by the Greeks, their heart turned to the twisted paths of treachery, considering whether they could perhaps secretly concede what was asked. But all this was to no purpose, for He that is ultimate truth cannot be deceived, who promised: 'The gates of hell

nople and the pope arose out of Basil II's efforts to reassert imperial power in Southern Italy which Glaber has already referred to above (3. i. 2–4). The Greeks' proposals were acceptable to Pope John XIX, but were totally rejected by the reformers of northern Europe: S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 35–7.

⁴ For this theme cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 349 'auri caecus amore', iii. 56–7 'quid non mortalia pectora cogis, | auri sacra fames?'; Ovid, *Met.* i. 131 'insidiaeque et opes et amor sceleratus habendi'; Maximianus, *Eleg.* iii. 73 'auri caecus amor natuum uincit anorem'; Rutilius Namatianus, *De red.* i. 358 'auri caecus amor ducit in omne nefas'.

⁵ The exact source has not been found, but cf. A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890), s.v. *aurum* 6.

non preualebunt aduersus eam.¹ Dum ergo adhuc leni sub murmure huiusce machinatores in conclauī sese putarent talia tractauisse, uelox fama de ipsis per uniuersam Italiam decucurrit. Sed qualis tunc tumultus, quam uehemens commotio per cunctos extitit qui audiuerē, dici non ualet.

3. Precipue tamen uir prudentissimus, pater uidelicet Willelmus, de quo iam diximus, ad Romanum pontificem de hac re misit epistolam corpore breuem, sed materia ingentem ac sermone pongentem, talia continentem:²

f. 38 Gratia Dei et reuerentia beati apostolorum principis Petri sedium in orbe terrarum excellentissimam^a indepto papę Iohanni,^b Willelmus crucis Christi seruus, sedem iudicii cum apostolis et regni coronam. Magistri gentium dictis instruimur seniore non increpandum; isdem tamen alias dicit: 'Factus sum insipiens, uos me coegistis.'³ Idcirco igitur filiationis diligentia hortamur communem uestram paternitatem qualiter in uno imitemini cogitationes^c hominum perudentem Dominum Saluatorem, ut dicatis ad aliquem uobis unanimum, quemadmodum ipse Petro: 'Quid dicunt homines de me?'⁴ Si uero responsum illius ex fide fuerit, animaduertite qualiter sonuerit; si autem clare, custodite ne offuscetur: si uero obscure, lux mundi oranda est qualiter ita fulgeatis ut uniuersis in gremio ecclesię constitutis ad uiam mandatorum Dei gradiendam lumen prebeatis.⁵ Sed est fama rei que^d nuper erga uos accidit, de qua quis audiens non scandalizatur, nouerit se longe ab amore superno disparari. Quoniam, licet potestas Romani imperii, que olim in orbe terrarum monarches uiguit, nunc per diuersa terrarum innumeris regatur sceptris, ligandi soluendique in terra | et in celo potestas dono inuolabili incombis magisterio Petri. Atque ista idcirco diximus, ut animaduertatis †non aliter Grecis quam cenodoxia huiusce quam audiuius apud uos requirere imperauisse†.⁶ De cetero quoque optamus, uti uniuersalem decet antistitem, uos acris in correctione ac disciplina sanctę et apostolicę ecclesię uigere aeternoque et feliciter in Christo ualere.

^a excellentissimam *Winterbottom*; excellentissimo *A* ^b *Written above an expunged* gregorio in *A*; similarly below, in para. 4, Iohannes for Gregorius and Benedicti for Iohannis (see above, pp. lxxxix–xc) ^c cogitationes *BD*; cogitiones *A*
^d que *Pithou*; qui *A* ^e imperauisse *AD*; impetrauisse *B*; e.g. non aliter Grecos quam cenodoxia huiusce (cf. p. 216 n. b) apud uos requirere, que audiuius impetrauisse (*Holford-Strevens*)

¹ Glaber here expresses his deep hostility to the Greek proposals, which he regarded as derogatory to the papacy. In doing so he employs a quotation from the most important of the 'Petrine texts', Matt. 16: 18. In St William's letter, which Glaber reports in para. 3, Matt. 16: 13 is cited. The solemn invocation of this vital biblical passage reflects the importance which was attached to the special position of the pope.

shall not prevail against it'.¹ Though the intriguers believed they had settled the matter with hushed whispers in secret conclaves, rumour of it spread throughout all Italy. It is impossible to describe the upset and violent rage which afflicted all who heard it.

3. But above all, that very wise father William, of whom we have already spoken, sent a letter about this matter to the Roman pontiff; it was brief in bulk but profound in content and acid in language, and this is how it went:²

To Pope John, by the Grace of God and the reverence due to St Peter Prince of the Apostles occupying the most eminent of bishoprics, William, servant of the cross of Christ, sends greetings and the wish that he may aspire to a place with the Apostles alongside the heavenly Judge and seek to don a heavenly crown. The teacher of the nations commands us not to reproach our seniors, but elsewhere he says: 'I am become a fool: ye have constrained me.'³ Therefore, with filial care, we admonish you, O universal father, that in one respect you imitate the Lord our Saviour, who sees through the thoughts of men, and say to one of your followers, as He said to Peter: 'What do men say of me?'⁴ If the response is truthful, meditate upon its purport; if it is clear take care lest it be obscured; if it is obscure pray to the Light of the World that your example should so shine out as to afford a light to all within the bosom of the church, to help them walk in the way of the Lord's commandments.⁵ But a rumour has recently arisen concerning you, and the man who is not scandalized by it must know he is far removed from the divine love. For although the power of the Roman Empire, which once ruled alone over the whole earth, is now divided in various areas under numerous sceptres, the power of binding and loosing in heaven and earth is attached by inviolable gift to the office of St Peter. And we have said this so that you may perceive that it is from nothing but vain glory that the Greeks have made these demands on you of which we have heard.⁶ For the future, we pray that you should behave as behoves a universal bishop, practising with more ardour the correction and discipline of the holy and apostolic church so that you may be worthy of eternal happiness in Christ.

² The letter from St William of Dijon, on whom see above, 3. v. 16, to John XIX reflects the considerable anger felt in northern European reform circles about the Greek proposals (*Runciman*, loc. cit.). Its sharply critical tone is very similar to that adopted in another letter from St William to John XIX, deploring his failure to check simony, reported in the *Life*, c. x.

³ 1 Tim. 5: 1; 2 Cor. 12: 11.

⁴ Matt. 16: 13; and see para. 2 n.
⁵ Cf. John 8: 12; Matt. 5: 16; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 6: 12; Ps. 118 (119): 35; Baruch 4: 13; Wisd. 17: 5.

⁶ The sentence is hopelessly corrupt, but something like this sense must have been intended; or, perhaps 'that the Greeks demanded of you the things we hear they have obtained'.

4. Erat quippe Iohannes iste, cognomento Romanus, frater illius Benedicti cui in episcopatum successerat largitione pecunię, repente ex laicali ordine neoffitus constitutus est presul.¹ Sed insolentia Romanorum huiusmodi adinuenit palliatę subdolositate ridiculum, scilicet ut quemcumque pro suo libitu in presentiarum ad pontificatus officium delegerint, mutato nomine quod illi prius fuerat, aliquo magnorum pontificum nomine illum appellari decernunt: reuera quem, si non meritum rei, saltem nomen extollat.² Preterea Constantinopolitani ad propria remeantes, confutata illorum undique tumida presumptio conquieuit.

ii. *De heresi in Italia inuenta*³

5. Castrum igitur erat per iddem tempus in gente Longobardorum, quod, ut erat, uocabatur Mons uidelicet Fortis, plenum etiam ex nobilioribus eiusdem gentis. Hos nempe cunctos ita maculauerat heretica prauitas ut ante erat illis crudeli morte finiri quam ab illa quoquo modo possent ad saluberrimam Christi Domini fidem reuocari. Colebant enim idola more paganorum ac cum Iudeis inepta sacrificia litare nitebantur. Sepissime denique tam Manfredus,^a marchionum prudentissimus, quam frater eius Alricus, Astensis urbis presul, in cuius scilicet diocesi locatum habebatur predictum castrum, ceterique marchiones ac

^a Manfredus D

¹ By the year 1012 the sons of Gregory of Tusculum, the naval prefect, were the dominant force in Roman politics. Theophylact was elected as Benedict VIII (see above 3. Preface. 1n.), and succeeded by his brother Romanus, 'Senator of the Romans', as John XIX. A third brother, Alberic III, was *consul, dux, and patricius* of Rome. The Tusculan family were allies of the western emperors; their domination of Rome was continued for 33 years with Benedict IX (on whom see below, 4. v. 17n.) succeeding his uncle John XIX: Poole, *Studies*, pp. 201–6, 216–17; Herrmann, *Tuskulanerpapsttum*, pp. 1–24. Glaber's allegation that Romanus was a neophyte at the time of his election to the papacy is supported by other sources, notably Romuald of Salerno, who reports that he was a layman and a pope on the same day: 'uno eodem die et laicus fuit et Pontifex': *MGHSS* xix. 403.

² Despite the isolated case of John II in 533, the practice had only recently become accepted. John XII (955–63) had been called Octavian by his father Alberic, since he intended him to be prince of Rome; when he became pope Octavian took a religious rather than an imperial name, choosing John after his uncle Pope John XI (931–6). In 983 Otto II established his arch-chancellor, Peter of Pavia, as pope; it was presumably a desire to avoid calling himself Peter II that led him to adopt the name John XIV (983–4). Gregory V and Sylvester II were both north Europeans who may have hesitated to include their 'barbarian' names, Bruno (of Carinthia) and Gerbert (of Aurillac), in the list of popes: R. Poole, 'Names and Numbers of Medieval Popes', in Poole, *Studies*, pp. 156–71.

4. This John, whose real name was Romanus, succeeded his brother Benedict on the papal throne by bribery; he had hardly ceased to be a layman when, as a neophyte, he was elected Pope.¹ But the impudence of the Romans devised a singular jest to cloak their evil deed, for they resolved that whoever it pleased them to elevate for the time to the office of pope should change his name from that which first he bore and be called instead after some great pontiff of the past; in this way, if the fellow distinguished himself little by his merits, at least he did so by his name.² The ambassadors from Constantinople returned home, their pride checked and their presumption deflated.

ii. *Heresy found in Italy*³

5. At that time there was, amongst the Lombards, a town appropriately called Monteforte, where many of that people's nobles lived. All who lived there were so tainted by an evil heresy that they would rather have suffered a cruel death than allow themselves any return to the saving faith of Christ the Lord. Like the pagans, they worshipped idols, and like the Jews they made vain sacrifices. Many times Manfred, wisest of marquesses, his brother Alric, bishop of Asti, in whose diocese the stronghold stood, together

³ This account of the heresy at Monteforte presents a fabulous picture of devil-worshippers. Historians have tended to believe that Glaber is referring to the same group of heretics as that described by a writer of the second half of the 11th c., Landulf of Milan, in his *Mediolanensis historiae libri quatuor*, ed. A. Cutolo in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* (new edn., Bologna, 1900), iv. 67–9. According to Landulf the heresy was suppressed by Archbishop Aribert of Milan (on whom see above, 3. ix. 38n.) and the place referred to by him is usually identified as Monteforte d'Alba in the diocese of Alba near Turin, as noted by Previtę-Orton, pp. 186–7. Glaber says nothing about the role of Aribert, and states that Monteforte was in the diocese of Asti, where there is another place of the same name. But he knew something of it, for he correctly dates its outbreak to the time of Ulric-Manfred, marquess of Turin (c. 1000–35), and his brother Alric, bishop of Asti (c. 1008–35: Previtę-Orton, pp. 149, 187; 169, 212). It probably started c. 1028, and Glaber himself was in Italy c. 1028 (above, pp. xl–xli). The nature of the heresy has proved very difficult to elucidate. Landulf portrays its leader, Gerard, as a subtle and slippery theologian whom Aribert had great difficulty in pinning down. Ilarino da Milano (see above, 2. xi. 22n.), pp. 68–74, suggests that they were agnostics; but R. I. Moore, *Origins of European Dissent* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1985), pp. 31–5, sees Gerard as an intellectual, and perhaps one who sought to set up an ascetic community in the tradition exemplified by St Romuald (c. 950–1027: *ODS*, p. 375), who founded Camaldoli (see also H. Taviani, 'Naissance d'une hérésie en Italie du nord du XI^e siècle', *Annales*, xxix (1974), 1228–42). St Peter Damian's *Vita Beati Romualdi*, ed. G. Tabacco (Rome, 1957), has been translated into French by L. A. Lassius, *La Vie du bienheureux Romuald* (Namur, 1962).

presules circumcirca creberrimos illis assultus intulerunt, capientes ex eis nonnullos, quos, dum non quiuissent reuocare ab insania, igne cremauere. Contigit ergo in uicino haberi aliud castrum nostrę religionis et fidei, in quo quidam miles aliquando egrotans ad extremum pene deuenerat. Ad quem utique uisitandum ex hereticorum castello illorum precipua iuxta morem ueniens mulier, reuera potius ut euidentior fieret secta eiusdem f. 38^v nequitie. Nam | protinus ut egrediens^a domum, in qua eger decubabat, intraret, repente prospiciens is qui languebat uidit intrare cum eadem muliere ad se innumerabilem exercitum in nigerrimis uestibus faciebusque teterrimis. Qua uero ingressa, postquam languentis frontem ac pulsum pectoris et cetera, ut usus habet, manu perlustrauisset pronuntiaretque illum conualiturum in proximum, domo egressa est, totaque simul familia cum illa solum reliquere^b infirmum. Statim quoque adfuit illi nigrorum, quem uiderat, globus, cui ita qui uidebatur illorum princeps inquit, 'Agnoscis me,' inquit, 'Hugo?' Hoc enim erat illius aegri uocabulum. Cumque ille respondens diceret: 'Tu quis es?', dixit ei: 'Potentissimus potentum ac ditissimus diuitum ego qui occurro tibi. Si me tantum credideris facere posse ut te a morte, que presens inminet, eripiam longoque uiuas tempore, et ut certissime credas quod spondeo, noueris meo auxilio meaque industria Chounradum hoc tempore imperatorem esse creatum.¹ Tu quippe bene nosti quod nullus imperatorum ita uelociter omnem Germaniam atque Italiam sicuti iste sup̄ subiugauit ditioni.' 'Noui,' inquit aeger, 'et mirum diu mihi cum ceteris fuit.' Deinde uero primę fraudis auctor adiecit: 'Nonne etiam in transmarinis partibus regnum Grecorum post Basilium Michaheli mihi oboedienti tradidi? Idcirco' inquit 'crede mihi et faciam tibi multo maiora quam sperare queas, teque ipsum sanitati restituam.' Erat quippe fama tunc temporis quod isdem Mihahel cubicularius fuisset Basili clamque illi uenenum in potu ad necem dedisset, cuius procul dubio imperii post mortem eius sumpsit coronam; cuius etiam, ut par erat, imperii regimen non satis utile fuit.² Interea memoratus Hugo in sese reuersus dextera signum uenerabilis crucis exprimere temptans dixit: 'Ego uero Ihesum Dei filium

^a See above, p. 130 n. a

^b reliquere B corr.; relinquere A

¹ This is yet another manifestation of Glaber's hostility to Conrad. See Preface. 1.

² Michael IV 'the Paphlagonian' (1034-41) actually succeeded Romanus III, whom he had killed in complicity with the Empress Zoë. Basil II died in 1025 and was suc-

with many other bishops and marquesses from round about attacked them; they captured many, but finding they could not recall them from this madness, they burnt them to death. One day it so happened that in a neighbouring place, which was of our religion and faith, a knight had fallen ill and lay dying. Then according to custom, a noblewoman from the heretic stronghold came to visit him; really she wished to give publicity to this wicked sect. As soon as she came into the house where the sick man lay, he saw following her a great crowd of beings with black clothes and very sinister faces. When she had entered she felt his forehead and heart-beat and other places which it is customary to examine, pronounced him on the way to recovery, and departed with all her familiars, leaving the sick man alone. Immediately the black horde which he had already seen stood before him, and one who seemed to be its chieftain said: 'Do you recognize me, Hugh?' (for that was the sick man's name). In reply he asked: 'Who are you?' The creature said: 'I am the mightiest of the mighty and the richest of the rich, and I have come to your aid. If you believe that I have power enough to save you from that death which is so imminent, and grant you a long life, so that you may entirely believe my promises, know that it was by my aid and help that Conrad was recently created emperor.¹ You know very well that no emperor has been able so quickly to subjugate to his rule the whole of Germany and Italy.' 'I know this,' said the sick man, 'and it has long seemed strange to me and to others.' Then the author of the first of all betrayals added: 'Even across the seas, did I not confer the kingdom of the Greeks upon my obedient servant Michael after the death of Basil? Therefore believe in me, and I will do for you far greater things than you can dare to hope, and I will restore your health.' There was a rumour at this time that Michael had been the *valet de chambre* of Basil and had put poison in his drink to murder him. This much is certain: he seized the crown after Basil's death and, as one might expect, his government of the empire was not beneficial.² In the meantime Hugh had returned to himself, and he sought to make the sign of the revered cross with his right hand, saying: 'I proclaim

ceeded peacefully by his brother Constantine VIII (1025-8). Glaber is probably confusing the name of the famous emperor Basil and the Byzantine title *basileus*. According to the Byzantine historian Michael Psellus, Zoë and her lover Michael first poisoned Romanus (1028-34), then had him drowned in the bath: *Chronographia* iii. 26, ed. E. Renauld (2 vols., Paris, 1926-8), i. 50-2; tr. E. R. A. Sewter (London, 1952), pp. 52-4.

f. 39 testor, quem adoro, credo et confiteor; non alium te omnino credidero nisi, ut fuisti et es, fallacem diabolum.' Tunc demon continuo hanc uocem edidit: 'Quęso ne brachium contra me erigas.' Sicque continuo omnis ille globus ut fumus euanuit. At ille exclamans uoce qua potuit | occurrunt quippe domestici; narrat illis ex ordine quę uidit et audiuit. Quibus dictis ipso die ante solis occasum obiit. Nulli denique dubium quoniam ista et sibi et nobis uidit.

iii. *Quod peccatis hominum exigentibus, Deo permittente, a nequam spiritibus aliquando fiant miracula*¹

6. Diuina igitur auctoritas per Moysen Iudeis prolata taliter illos monuit, dicens: 'Si fuerit' inquit 'propheta inter uos loquens in nomine alicuius deorum gentium et predixerit quippiam futurum, et fortuito euenerit, non credatis ei, quoniam temptat uos Dominus Deus uester, ut sciat si diligatis eum annon.'² Habemus ergo in presentiarum in re dissimili non dispar exemplum. Fuit enim prescripto tempore homo plebeius mangonum callidissimus, innoti tamen nominis et patriae, quoniam pro diuersitatibus locorum querens latebram ne agnosceretur fraudulenter imponebat sibi uocabula, uel de qua foret prouintia. Effodiebat quoque e tumulis clancule ossa euellens a cineribus nuperrime defunctorum hominum, sicque imposita in diuersis apoforetis uenditabat apud plurimos pro sanctorum martyrum seu confessorum reliquiis. Hic uero, post innumeras huiusce inlusiones in Galliis patratas, perfuga uenit ad loca Alpium, ubi persepe brutę gentes inhabitant, habentes in arduis plurima domicilia. Ibi nempe se Stephanum nuncupauit, qui alias Petrus, alias Iohannes dictus fuerat.³ Illic ergo more solito noctu colligens a loco abiectissimo innoti ossa hominis, quę posuit in cassella et feretro, dicebat sibi angelica ostensione reuelatum fuisse quem fingebat esse sanctum martyrem nomine Iustum.⁴ Mox quoque uulgus, ut se in talibus habere solet, ignauum quicquid rusticanę plebis fuit totum ad hanc famam

¹ Hugh of Flavigny, p. 392, tells the tale of the seller of false relics, under 1027.

² Cf. Deut. 13: 1-3 (very freely quoted).

³ Public enthusiasm for the cult of relics, to which Glaber is such a powerful witness in this passage and elsewhere (see above, pp. lxix-lxx), inevitably generated fraud and theft. In the early 9th c. Deusdona, a deacon of the Roman church, was the chief figure in a syndicate which ransacked the catacombs of Rome and sold their contents to the churches of Europe; Einhard was a customer: J. Guiraud, 'Le commerce des reliques au

Jesus the Son of God, whom I adore and confess, and in whom I believe; I regard you as what you have always been and still are, the deceiving devil.' Then said the demon: 'I pray you not to raise your arm against me.' Directly all that crew vanished like a puff of smoke. The sick man cried out as loudly as he could, and when his servants came to him he told them all that he had seen and heard just as it happened. Having said this, he died that very day before sunset. There can be no doubt that what he saw was for our benefit as well as his.

iii. *To punish the sins of men, God sometimes permits evil spirits to perform miracles*¹

6. Through Moses, divine authority gave to the Jews this warning: 'If there arise amongst you a prophet speaking in the name of one of the gods of the Gentiles, and foretells something to come, and by chance it takes place, do not believe him, for the Lord your God is testing you, to know whether you love Him or not.'² In our own times we have seen a similar kind of thing, though relating to a different matter. In those days there was a common fellow, a cunning pedlar whose name and country of origin were unknown because in the many lands where he sought refuge he took false names and lied about his origins lest he be recognized. Furthermore, in secret he dug bones out of graves, taking them from the remains of the recently dead, then put them into coffers and sold them widely as the relics of holy confessors and martyrs. After he had perpetrated many frauds of this kind in Gaul, he fled to the Alpine regions where ignorant people very often live scattered amongst the high mountains. Once there he called himself Stephen, though he had been known in other places as Peter or John.³ At dead of night, in his usual way, he dug out the bones of some obscure man from their humble grave, put them in a box on a bier, and said that by an angelic vision a holy martyr, Justus by name, had (as he pretended) been revealed to him.⁴ Soon the vulgar crowd and the idle amongst the rustic population came flocking together at the news, as they

commencement du ix^e siècle', *Mélanges G. B. de Rossi* (Paris, 1892), pp. 79-95; P. J. Geary, *Furta sacra* (Princeton, 1978), pp. 52-9. For a survey of the commerce in relics see N. Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques des saints: Formation coutumière d'un droit* (Paris, 1975), pp. 339-63.

⁴ St Justus of Beauvais, as Glaber makes clear in para. 8 below. He was allegedly a child martyred under Diocletian. His cult was strong in Belgium, France, and Switzerland; the feast-day is 18 Oct.: *ODS*, p. 247.

f. 39^v confluit; penitet insuper si non est sibi morbus quo curari deponat. Tunc ducit debiles, confert munuscula, peruigil tenet excubias, prestolans repentina fore miracula, quæ, ut diximus, aliquotiens permittuntur fieri a malignis spiritibus temptatorie, peccatis hominum precedentibus; quod tunc procul dubio euentissime claruit. Multimodè quippe membrorum reformationes ibidem uisæ sunt extitisse ac insignia pendere oscillatorum¹ | multiformia. Nec tamen Morianne uel Utzeticæ seu Gratinonæ urbium presules, in quorum diocesibus talia profanabantur, diligentiam huius inquirendæ rei adhibuere;² quin potius conciliabula statuantes, in quibus nil aliud nisi inepti lucri questum a plebe, simul et fauorem fallaciæ exigebant.

7. Interea Mainfredus, marchionum ditissimus, huiusmodi famam comperiens, misit e suis qui ui rapientes illud quod colebatur simulachrum sibi deferrent, quem aestimabant martyrem uenerandum. Ceperat enim isdem marchio construere monasterium in Seutiæ castro, quod est inter Alpes antiquissimum, in honore Dei omnipotentis eiusdemque genitricis Mariæ semper uirginis, in quo etiam post expletionem operis illum cum aliis quamplurimis sanctorum pignoribus locare decreuerat.³ Post paululum quoque, completo ecclesiæ opere statutoque dedicationis die, acersitis episcopis in gyro degentibus, cum quibus etiam sepe nominatus abba Willelmus nonnullique abbates adfuerunt. Erat autem tunc ibidem predictus mango, iam dicto marchioni^a percarissimus effectus, quippe quoniam spondebat se multo preciosa sanctorum pignora in proximo reuelaturum, quorum scilicet gesta et nomina atque passionum certamina ut cetera fallaciter confingebat. Qui cum a doctoribus quibusque interrogaretur qualiter talia pernosceret, minus ueri similia blatterans

^a marchioni *Duchesne*; marchionum *A*

¹ Niermeyer, p. 748: 'oscillum—*ex-voto* of [*sic*] the shape of a sick part of the body' cites this passage, but also gives *oscillum*, *ossellum*, meaning a small bone. The two senses merge: these *oscilla* were *ex-votos* in the shape of bones.

² Humbert of Vienne, bishop of Grenoble (c. 990–c. 1030), was probably present, but the succession at Maurienne is totally obscure: P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum* (Regensburg, 1873), pp. 556, 830, cf. *Gallia Christiana*, xvi. 228–9. It is not certain who the bishop of Uzès, in the archdiocese of Narbonne, was at this time. Either Aribaldus (c. 994, last mentioned in 1026) or Hugh (by c. 1032 to 1080 or later) is possible: Gams, p. 645; *Gallia Christiana*, vi. 618. The presence of the bishops of Grenoble and Maurienne at an Alpine consecration is natural; the bishop of Uzès, whose diocese lay to the west of the Rhône valley, may have been on his way to Rome.

are wont to do in such cases, even regretting if they had no illness from which they could ask to be cured. They brought the sick, gave miserable little presents, and kept watch all night expecting sudden miracles, which, as we have said, evil spirits are sometimes allowed to perform, tempting men because of their sins. In the present case we find a clear example. Frequent indeed was the healing of limbs witnessed at that place, and many and various the votive effigies of bones hanging there.¹ The bishops of Maurienne, Uzès, and Grenoble, in whose dioceses such profanities were occurring, failed to enquire with any diligence into the affair.² They preferred to hold public meetings where they wrongfully took money from the people, at the same time demanding patronage for the trickery.

7. Meanwhile Manfred, wealthiest of the marquesses, hearing news of this business, sent some of his men to seize and bring back to him the pretended relic which people were worshipping, believing it to be that of the venerable martyr. The marquess had begun the construction of a monastery at Susa, the oldest of Alpine towns, which was to be dedicated to God Almighty and His Mother, the ever-Virgin Mary; he wanted the supposed martyr to be placed there along with the relics of many other saints after the completion of the work.³ After a while, when the work on the church was finished and the day of consecration fixed, he invited the neighbouring bishops; with them came Abbot William (of whom we have so often spoken) and some other abbots. The pedlar was also present; he was held in high esteem by the marquess because he had promised that soon he would reveal far more precious relics of saints, whose acts, names, and passions he used to invent just as he invented all the rest. When some learned elders asked him how he had come by such knowledge, he made loud protestations of an

³ Ulric-Manfred, marquess of Turin (on whom see above, ii. 5 n.), founded the abbey of S. Giusto di Susa in 1029 (see p. 185 n. 3) as part of a policy of resettling the Val di Susa, desolated by Saracen attack and settlement during the 10th c. In medieval times the Val di Susa was a vital route, giving access to two passes, the Montcenis and the Montgenèvre. His family had already helped to found the abbey of S. Michele della Chiusa on the Monte Pirciriano (which St William visited as a young monk: *Life*, c. iv) and Ulric-Manfred established Caramagna in 1028, as well as making grants to other abbeys including Fruttuaria (on which see *Life*, c. ix). But S. Giusto di Susa was given an enormous landed endowment, perhaps a third of the Val di Susa. This generosity probably reflects the success of earlier foundations in restoring civilization to this important Alpine valley and Ulric-Manfred's lack of a male heir. The supposed relics of St Justus of Beauvais seem to have remained under suspicion, and by the end of the eleventh century he had been transformed into a mythical St Justus of Oulx: Previté-Orton, pp. 131, 178–80, 181–4.

personabat; nam et egomet cum sepius nominato abbate illuc deueniens intereram.¹ Aiebat namque: 'Apparet' inquit 'mihi noctu angelus, narratque ac docet quęcumque me uelle scire nouerit, et tamdiu apud me manet usque dum ego recedere compello.' Cum uero ad hęc respondentem sciscitaremus an uigil seu in somnis hoc cerneret, subiunxit: 'Per singulas pene noctes eripit me angelus a lectulo, uxore mea ignorante, qui post multa colloquia salutans me atque deosculans recedit.' Nos quoque expoliatum calliditatibus intelligentes mendacium, cognouimus uirum non angelicum, quin potius fraudis ac malignitatis ministrum. |

(f. 40) **8.^a** Preterea pontifices rite peragentes ob quam uenerant ecclesie consecrationem, intromiserunt cum ceteris reliquiarum pignori- bus ossa illius profani astu adinuenta, non tamen sine magna utri- usque plebis² exultatione, que innumerabilis illuc^b conuenerat. Contigit ergo ista fieri die xvi kalendarum Nouembrium,³ iccirco nempe quoniam fautores huius erroris asserebant esse eadem Iusti martyris ossa, qui eo die Beluaco Galliarum passus urbe, cuius etiam caput Autisiodoro, ubi natus et nutritus fuerat, relatum est et habetur. Sed ego, qui rei ueritatem noueram, friuolum quod dice- batur asserebam.⁴ Elegantiore tamen uirorum persone, cognos- centes figmenta fallacie, fidem dabant assertioni quam protuleram. Nocte denique insecuta uisa sunt^c a quibusdam monachorum seu aliorum religiosorum monstruosa in eadem ecclesia fantasmata, atque a locello, quo inclusa habebantur ossa, formas nigrorum Ethiopum exisse necnon ab ecclesia recessisse. Et licet plures sane mentis detestabile figmentum abhominandum clamarent, uul- gus tamen rusticane plebis mangone^d corruptum, iniusti nomen pro Iusto uenerans, olim in suo permansit errore. Nos autem iccirco ista retulimus, ut a multiformis demonum seu humanorum erroribus,^e qui in orbe passim habundant, precipue in fontibus seu arboribus ab egris incaute ueneratis caueatur. |

(f. 40^v) **iv. De fame ualidissima que contigit in orbe terrarum**

9. Imminente igitur anno incarnati Christi millesimo tricesimo tercio, qui est a passione eiusdem Saluatoris millesimus, obiere

^a ff. 40-6 of *A* are in the hand of *Ax*. Our text is based on *B*

Ax ^c uisa sunt *Duchesne*; uisas *BD*; uisa *Ax*

BAx ^e erroribus *France*; errorum *BAxD*

^b illuc *D*; illuo *B*; illico

^d mangone *D*; mangonem

¹ See above, pp. xxviii-xxix.

unconvincing kind. Now I was there, having travelled in the company of the abbot.¹ The pedlar said: 'An angel appears to me at night and he teaches and tells me all that he knows I wish to learn. He stays with me until I force him to go.' When we replied by asking whether he saw all this while he was awake or asleep, he added: 'Almost every night the angel snatches me from my bed without my wife's knowing; after a long conversation he leaves, saluting and embracing me.' We knew this for a polished and cunning lie, for this creature was no frequenter of angels, but rather a minister of treachery and evil.

8. The bishops, while celebrating duly the rite of consecration for which they had come, put the bones discovered by that cunning impostor in with the other relics of saints, to the great joy of both kinds of people² who had gathered there in large numbers. All this happened on 17 October.³ This date was chosen because the partisans of this pretended relic asserted that these were the bones of St Justus, who suffered martyrdom on that day in the city of Beauvais in Gaul. His head was taken to Auxerre, where he was born and bred, and is kept there. I, who knew the truth of the matter, treated what they said as rubbish.⁴ The more discerning recognized this as a trick and supported what I said. The following night some of the monks and other religious saw monstrous visions in the church, black Ethiopians coming out of the box in which the bones were kept and leaving the church. Although many men of sound judgment denounced the detestable invention as an abomination, the mass of the rustic population, corrupted by the pedlar, venerating the name of the unjust for Justus persisted for a long time in their error. We have recounted all this to give a warning against the many deceits of demons and men which abound all over the world, especially in springs and trees that are rashly venerated by the sick.

iv. Raging famine throughout the world

9. As 1033, the year of the millennium of the Passion of Christ approached, many men famous in the Roman world, veritable

² 'utriusque plebis' means, literally, 'of both peoples', but the sense is 'clergy and laity' (see p. 193), the two kinds of people.

³ The foundation-charter of S. Giusto di Susa is dated 9 July 1029 (Previté-Orton, p. 184), but the abbey was probably consecrated in the previous year: Bulst, p. 128.

⁴ Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre was certainly Glaber's mother-house: see above, pp. xxiv-xxv, xxix-xxx.

uiri in orbe Romano famosissimi sacreque religionis signiferi: Benedictus¹ uidelicet papa uniuersalis, ac rex Francorum, ut iam diximus,² Robertus; Fulbertus quoque Carnoti presulum incomparabilis, uir sapientissimus;³ necnon prenominatus pater monachorum fundatorque cenobiorum eximius Willelmus, de quo etiam perplura forent dicenda utilia, nisi quod in libello quem de uita et uirtutibus illius edidimus prolata dudum fuisse noscuntur.⁴ Vnum restat tamen quod noui ibidem minime contineri. Migravit enim predictus pater a seculo ad beatorum requiem in Neustrie partibus, in Fiscammense uidelicet monasterio, supra mare Oceanum constituto, quod a Rotomagense urbe quadraginta fere milibus distat; sepultusque est, uti tantum condecebat uirum, in loco optimo eiusdem ecclesie. Post aliquot uero dies contigit ut puerulus ferme decennis ualida confectus egritudine ad sepulchrum illius gratia recuperande sanitatis duceretur, ibique a parentibus dimissus decubabat solus. Qui subito respiciens uidit super eundem sepulchrum insidentem auiculam formam columbe preferentem; quam diu intuens obdormiuit. Dehinc leni expletus somno, euigilans ita se repperit incolumem ac si nichil egritudinis persensisset. Suscipiunt itaque leti parentes suum; fit omnibus commune gaudium.

10.⁵ Sequenti itaque tempore, cepit in uniuerso orbe terrarum famas conualescere ac interitus pene uniuersi humani generis imminere. Nam temperies aeris sic intempestiua effecta est ut nullius sationis proueniret tempus congruum, nec messioni precipue ob inundantiam aquarum foret oportunum. Videbantur enim inter se ipsa elementa pugnam discordie agere, cum procul dubio uindictam exercebant humane insolentie; assiduis enim imbribus ita compluta erat uniuersa tellus ut in spacio trium annorum nulli repperirentur sulci utiles seminibus. Tempore quoque messis herbe agrestes atque infelix lolium⁶ totam operuerant superficiem agrorum. Modius quoque sementis, ubi maius proficiebat, reddebat in messe sextarium, ipseque sextarius uix referebat pugillum.⁷

¹ Benedict VIII, on whom see above, 3. Preface. 1 n. He died in 1024.

² Robert's death at Melun in 1031 has already been reported: 3. ix. 36.

³ Fulbert, bishop of Chartres (1006–28), one of the most learned men of the age, on whom see Behrends, *Fulbert*, especially the Introduction, pp. xiii–xlii (for dates see pp. xvii–xviii, xxi).

⁴ *The Life of St William*, printed below.

⁵ Hugh of Flavigny, p. 399, adopts this account of the famine, using the same opening

standard-bearers of the holy faith, ended their lives. Amongst them were Benedict,¹ the universal pope, Robert king of the Franks (to whose death we have already referred)² and that incomparable bishop and wisest of men, Fulbert of Chartres.³ The distinguished William, whom I have so often mentioned, father of monks and founder of monasteries, also died: a great deal could be told of him which would be very edifying, but this, as is well known, has already been done in the little book on his life and virtues that I issued.⁴ There is one story which I know is not told there. The holy father left this material world for the realms of the blessed in Neustria, at the monastery of Fécamp, which is set close to the ocean some forty miles from Rouen. As was only appropriate for so great a man, he was buried in the foremost place in that church. A few days later a little boy, about ten years of age, fell gravely ill and was brought to his tomb in the hope that he might thereby recover his health; he was left by his parents to sleep there alone. Looking around, he suddenly saw sitting upon the tomb a small bird which looked like a dove, and while watching it for some time he fell asleep. Awakening from that gentle slumber, he found himself in perfect health, feeling as though he had never been ill. His parents welcomed him back with joy, and all rejoiced.

10.⁵ Some time later a famine began to ravage the whole earth, and death threatened almost all the human race. The weather was so unseasonable that no season was suitable for the sowing of any crop, and floods prevented the gathering in of the harvest. It seemed as though the elements were warring amongst themselves, but for certain they were wreaking vengeance upon human presumption. Rain fell so continuously everywhere that for three years furrows for seed could not be properly driven. At harvest time weeds and 'infertile tares'⁶ had covered the surface of the ground. A muid of seed rendered at best only a setier, and a setier only a handful.⁷

words, mentioning grain sold at 60 sous a muid and 15 sous a setier, cannibalism, the selling of human flesh at Tournus, the monster near Mâcon with his 48 human heads, and the eating of white earth.

⁶ A phrase from Vergil, *Georgics*, i. 154.

⁷ Professor Philip Grierson has kindly furnished this note: 'The *modius* (Fr. *muid*) was a Roman measure of capacity (dry and liquid) reckoned as 16 sextarii and as a dry measure supposed to have been about 8.75 l. Charlemagne had tried to standardize it, for a clause in the acts of the council of Frankfurt am Main of 794 refers to the *modius publicus et noviter statutus*, but in medieval France the word was applied to such a variety of measures (Ronald E. Zupko, *French Weights and Measures before the Revolution. A Dictionary*

Ceperat enim primitus hec sterilitas ultionis in partibus Orientis; depopulando Greciam deuenit in Italiam, dehinc infusa per Gallias transiit ad uniuersos Anglorum populos.¹ Tunc uero constricta tota gens indigentia uictus, maiores ac mediocres fame pallebant cum pauperibus; cessit enim raptus potentum uniuersali inopie. Si quis^a ergo uictus uenundatus | repperiebatur, arbitrio uendentis pro libitu erat excedere seu accipere precium. Nam in plerisque locis fuit modii precium sexaginta solidorum, alias quoque sextarius solidorum quindecim. Interea post esum bestiarum et uolucrum, urgente fame acerrima, ceperunt homines preripere in cibum morticina queque ac dictu horrenda. Quidam uero fecere confugium euadende mortis ad radices siluarum herbasque fluuiorum; sed nequicquam; non ergo^b aufugium ire ultionis Dei, nisi ad semetipsum. Horret denique referre que tunc generi humano corruptiones acciderint. Heu! proh dolor! quod olim raro audiri contigerit, tunc rabida inedia compulsi uorari ab hominibus humanas carnes. Arripiantur autem uiantes a se preualentibus, membratimque diuidantur igneque decocti^c uorabantur. Multi quoque de loco ad locum famem fugiendo pergentes hospiciis recepti noctuque iugulati quibus suscepti sunt in cibum fuerunt. Plerique uero pomo ostenso uel ouo pueris, ad remota circumuentos trucidatosque deuorauerunt. Corpora defunctorum in locis plurimis ab humo euulsa nichilominus fami subuenerunt. Que denique rabiei insanies in tantum excreuit ut tutius moraretur solitarium absque raptore genus pecudum quam hominum. Nam ueluti iam in usum deuenire deberet carnes humanas comedi, quidam decoctas detulit uenundandas in forum Trenorchii, ac si fuissent alicuius pecudis. Qui deprehensus crimen flagitii non negauit, deinde, artatus loris, igne crematus est. Carnem autem illam² humo absconsam alter effodiens noctu comedit; pari modo et ille igne combustus est.

II. Est nempe ecclesia a ciuitate Matisconense tribus fere milibus distans, in silua Castanedi sita, sine plebe solitaria, sancto Iohanni dicata, iuxta quam locauerat quidam feralis homo tugurium, qui ibidem multitudinem transeuntium uel ad se diuertentium trucidans

^a quis *Ax*; quid *BD* ^b ergo *BAX*; est ergo *D*; *perhaps* est (or est enim) (*Winter-bottom*) ^c decocti *D*; deoti *B*; deorum *Ax*

of *Provincial and Local Units* (Bloomington, Ind., and London, 1978), pp. 116–20) that only where cross-checking is possible can we infer what it was. The sextarius (Fr. *setier*) was a Roman measure of capacity defined as a sixth of a bucketful (congius) and treated as the equivalent of 1½ Roman pounds (0.55 kg) of water or wine. As a liquid measure it

This avenging famine began in the Orient, and after devastating Greece passed to Italy and thence to Gaul and the whole English people.¹ This dearth pressed hard upon all the people; rich men and those of middling estate grew pallid with hunger like the poor, and the brigandage of the mighty ceased in the face of universal want. If food for sale could be found, the seller was free to raise his price at will. In many places a muid (of grain) cost sixty sous, and in others a setier sold for fifteen. After men had eaten beasts and birds, under the pressure of rampant famine they began to eat carrion and things too horrible to mention. Some tried to escape death by eating the roots of the forest and the herbs of the stream, but in vain, for there is no escape from the wrath of the vengeance of God except to God himself. It is terrible to relate the evils which then befell mankind. Alas, a thing formerly little heard of happened: ravening hunger drove men to devour human flesh! Travellers were set upon by men stronger than themselves, and their dismembered flesh was cooked over fires and eaten. Many who had fled from place to place from the famine, when they found shelter at last, were slaughtered in the night as food for those who had welcomed them. Many showed an apple or an egg to children, then dragged them to out-of-the-way places and killed and ate them. In many places the bodies of the dead were dragged from the earth, also to appease hunger. This raging madness rose to such proportions that solitary beasts were less likely to be attacked by brigands than men. The custom of eating human flesh had grown so common that one fellow sold it ready cooked in the market-place of Tournus like that of some beast. When he was arrested he did not deny the shameful charge. He was bound and burned to death. The meat was buried in the ground; but another fellow dug it up and ate it,² and he too was put to death by fire.

II. Some three miles from the city of Mâcon there is a church dedicated to St John; a lonely place, it is set in the forest of Châtenet. Nearby a wild man had built his hut, who preyed upon those passing by or calling at his hut, killing them to serve for his

remained at about this figure, a little less than one imperial pint, but in medieval France the word mainly represented a dry measure of one-twelfth of a muid, consequently varying with the size of the latter.[?]

¹ Cf. the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E text s.a. 1032 (trans. D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas, and S. I. Tucker (London, 1961), p. 102): 'In this year appeared the wild fire, such as no man remembered before, and also it did damage all over in many places.'

² The meat that had been cooked.

in nefandissimum sumsit edulium. Contigit siquidem una dierum ut uir quidam cum muliere illuc diuertens ad hospicium paululum conquieuit. Dehinc, cum duceret oculos per angulos tugurii, prospexit detruncata capita uirorum ac mulierum atque infantium. Qui protinus palluit, egredi cupiens; sed pestifer ille possessor tugurii renitens ui manere compellebat. Sed ille, pertimescens mortis decipulam, preualuit concitusque ad ciuitatem cum uxore (f. 41^r) perrexit. | Ad quam ueniens quod compererat Ottoni comiti ceterisque ciuibus indicauit.¹ Qui protinus mittentes uiros quamplurimos qui rei ueritatem inquirent, pergentesque uelocius reppererunt illum crudelissimum in suo tugurio cum quadraginta octo capitibus trucidatorum, quorum carnes ore beluino uorauerat. Quem deducentes ad ciuitatem in quodam horreo religatum ad stipitem, ut ipsi postmodum conspeximus, igne combusserunt.

12. Tunc etiam pertemptatum est in eisdem partibus quod nusquam comperimus quempiam fecisse. Effodiebant enim plerique albam humum argille similem, permiscentes quantum erat farine uel cantabri,^a exinde panes conficiebant, ut uel sic inedia mortis succurrerent; in hoc conficiendo spes tantum erat euadendi, sed profectus inanis. Tenebat igitur pallor et macilentia ora cunctorum, cutisque distensa inflatione in plurioribus apparebat; ipseque uoces humane, perexiles effecte, garritus morientium auium imitabantur. Tunc nichilominus e cadaueribus mortuorum, passim pre multitudine sepultura carentibus, lupi adescati post longum tempus predam cepere ex hominibus. Et quoniam, ut diximus, sepeliri singulatim ob multitudinem non quibant, constructa in quibusdam locis a Deum timentibus que uulgo dicuntur carnaria,² in quibus quingenti et eo amplius, seu quantum capere poterant, permixtim absque ordine proiecta sunt seminuda uel absque tegminibus defunctorum corpora; triuia quoque et agrorum suscicia pro cimiteriis habebantur. Si qui uero auditu compererant quod melius haberent si ad alia transirent arua perplures in itinere deficientes moriebantur.

13. Deseuit enim in orbe terrarum, peccatis hominum exigentibus, predictae pestilentie clades in spacium trium annorum. Tunc in expensis egenorum distracta sunt ecclesiarum ornamenta

^a cantabri *France*; cantabro *BAxD*

unspeakable meals. One day a man and his wife called there and took a short rest. Looking around the corners of the hut the man observed the severed heads of men, women, and children. Instantly he paled and tried to leave, but the evil owner of the hut tried to make him stay. However, fearful of this fatal trap, he prevailed and fled with his wife to the city. Arriving there he told what he had seen to Count Otto¹ and other citizens. They sent a band of men to ascertain the truth; hastening thither, they found the cruel fellow in his hut, together with forty-eight severed heads whose bodies he had devoured with his beastly mouth. They took him to the city, tied him to a post in a barn, and, as we ourselves later saw, burnt him to death.

12. Then something was attempted in these parts which, as far as we know, had never been done before. Men dug out a kind of white earth, rather like potter's clay, and they mixed it with whatever they had of flour or bran in order to make bread and avoid death by starvation; it was their hope of salvation, but it was a vain one. Faces were pale and emaciated, and the skin of many appeared inflated with air; men's very voices, reduced to extreme thinness, piped like those of dying birds. None the less, wolves gorged themselves at that time on the corpses of the dead—which lay all around, too many to be buried—after a long interval once more preying on men. Because, as we have said, corpses could not be buried individually, owing to their numbers, in certain places God-fearing men built what are vulgarly called charnel-houses,² and into these were thrown corpses, five hundred, and indeed more if possible, at a time, all jumbled together without any order, half-naked and without even winding-sheets; crossroads and the edges of fields served as cemeteries. Of those who heard they could do better in another district, the majority died on the journey.

13. In order to punish the sins of men this terrible pestilence raged throughout the whole world for three years. For the benefit of the destitute, churches were stripped of their ornaments, and their treasures dispersed; indeed it was for this purpose, as can be

¹ On Otto-William, count of Mâcon, see 3. ii. 6n.

² A 12th-c. memorial in the form of a lantern-tower raised over a charnel-house survives at Fenioux near Saint-Jean-d'Angély (Charente-Maritime). Nearby is a beautiful 12th-c. church with fine Romanesque sculptures. Aspects of it are discussed by Conant, p. 162.

dispertitique thesauri, qui^a ob hoc in decretis patrum inuenitur ibidem primitus fuisse repositos,¹ sed quantum supererat uindictae iuste ultionis, excessit nimietas egenorum in plerisque locis thesauros ecclesiarum. Nam et ipsi famelici, nimia affecti inedia, si contigisset eos repleti cibo, distenti inflatione protinus moriebantur. Alii autem cibos manibus contrectantes, ori temptantes imponere sed conquiniscendo deficiebant, non ualentes explere quod cupiebant. Quantus | enim dolor, tunc quanta mesticia, qui singultus, qui planctus, que lacrimae a talia cernentibus date sunt,^b precipue a uiris ecclesiasticae religionis, episcopis uidelicet atque abbatibus, monachis et sanctimonialibus, simulque omnibus in commune utriusque sexus et ordinis Deum metuentibus, non ualet stilus quispiam explicare caracteribus. Estimabatur enim ordo temporum et elementorum, preterita ab initio moderans secula, in chaos decidisse perpetuum atque humani generis interitum. Illud preterea stupore nimio permirabilissimum, quoniam in tam clamdestina diuine ultionis calamitate rarissime repperiebantur qui pro talibus contrito corde et humiliato corpore, ut expediebat, leuarent corda cum manibus ad Dominum sibi que subueniendum interpellarent. Tunc nempe Esaianum illud elogium nostro impletum est tempore quod dixit: 'Populus non est conuersus ad percutientem se.'² Erat enim in hominibus quedam duricia cordis cum ebetudine mentis. Et quoniam ille summus iudex et auctor totius bonitatis dat uelle rogare se, qui nouit quando debeat misereri.

^a So B^{AxD} agebantur (p. 292)

^b sint B; but cf. *Vita*, c. x habuere (p. 280), c. xii dabant (p. 288),

¹ In general the medieval church believed that Christians should use their wealth to satisfy their needs, and to provide for the poor. The wealth of the church was seen as the 'patrimony of the poor', and the Fathers required that it be used for their relief. In the words of Ambrose, which were embodied in Canon Law, 'The church has gold, not to hoard away but to share out to help those in need': *Decretum Gratiani*, C. 12, q. 2, c. 70. This duty was especially laid upon the monk, who took an oath of poverty because his life was to be an imitation of Christ, who came into the world a poor man ('communis apparuit et pauper'): J. Leclercq, 'The Example of Christ' in id., *Aspects of Monasticism* (Kalamazoo, 1978), pp. 55–70. The Rule of St Benedict required the monastic community to support the poor as an aspect of its general duty of hospitality: *Regula Benedicti*, ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL lxxv (Vienna, 1960), cc. 4–13, 14; 53–1; 66–3, 4. Monastic legislation reaffirmed these injunctions, notably that of St Benedict of Aniane: *CCM*

discovered in the decrees of the Fathers, that such wealth had been accumulated.¹ But too much just vengeance had to be taken, and the numbers of the destitute far outstripped the resources of church treasuries in many places. Some of the destitute were so greatly affected by the famine that even when they received food, they became distended and died immediately. Others took the food in their hands, but in the effort of raising it to their mouths, collapsed and died, for they lacked the strength to do what they wanted. How much misery and dejection there was, what sobbing, what complaint, what tears for those witnessing such things, especially amongst the clergy—bishops and abbots, monks and nuns—and more generally amongst the God-fearing of both sexes and orders! Mere written words cannot express it. It was believed that the order of the seasons and the elements, which had ruled all past ages from the beginning, had fallen into perpetual chaos, and with it had come the end of mankind. But what was more astounding than anything else was that it was very rare indeed for anyone, under the impact of this secret and divine vengeance, to raise his heart and hands unto the Lord as he should have done, with a contrite heart and humble body begging for His aid. One saw then realized in our time that prophecy of Isaiah: 'The people turneth not unto Him that smiteth them.'² For there was amongst men a certain hardness of heart and stupidity of mind. For the supreme Judge and Author of all goodness gives the desire to pray, and He knows when He ought to have mercy.

i, ed. K. Hallinger (Siegburg, 1963), p. 475. The foundation-charter of Cluny expressly enjoined charity to the poor upon its monks: Bernard and Bruel, i. 112. That this was taken seriously is evident from the emphasis placed upon Mayol's charitable actions by his biographer, Syrus (*PL* cxxxvii.745–80). In his shorter *Vita Maioli*, written at Romain-moutier some time after 1033, and so not long after the events which Glaber reports here, Odilo described how the miseries of the poor had kept him awake at night. Inspired by St Mayol, he wrote the short *Vita* in an effort to raise money for the poor (*De Vita Beati Maioli abbatis*, *PL* cxlii. 943–5); J. Leclercq, 'St. Majolus and Cluny', *Aspects of Monasticism*, pp. 206–26. In the Cluniac Customaries the duty of dispensing alms to the poor is placed upon a special officer, the *Eleemosynarius*, whose function is quite separate from general hospitality, the task of the *Custos Hospitum*: W. Witters, 'Pauvres et pauvreté dans les coutumes monastiques du Moyen Âge', in M. Mollat (ed.), *Études sur l'histoire de la pauvreté* (Paris, 1974), pp. 194–5, 205–9.

² Isa. 9: 13.

v. *De pace et habundantia anni millesimi a Passione Domini*¹

14. Anno a passione Domini millesimo, memorate cladis penurias subsequente, sedatis nimborum imbris, respectu diuine bonitatis et misericordie, cepit leta facies celi clarescere congruisque ethereis^a flare placidaque serenitate magnanimitatem Conditoris ostendere, telluris quoque tota superficies amicabiliter uirens frugum habundantiam funditus inopiam expellendo portendere. Tunc ergo primitus cepere in Aquitanie partibus ab episcopis et abbatibus ceterisque uiris sacre religionis deuotis ex uniuersa plebe coadunari conciliorum conuentus, ad quos etiam multa delata sunt corpora sanctorum atque innumerabiles sanctarum apoforete reliquiarum. Dehinc per Arelatensem prouintiam ac Lugdunensem, sicque per uniuersam Burgundiam usque in ultimas Francie partes per uniuersos episcopatus indictum est qualiter certis in locis a presulibus magnatisque totius patrie de reformanda pace et sacre fidei institutione celebrarentur concilia.

(f. 42^v) Quod etiam tota multitudo uniuerse plebis audiens, | letanter adiere maximi, mediocres ac minimi, parati cuncti obedire quicquid preceptum fuisset a pastoribus ecclesie, non minus uidelicet quam si uox emissa de celo hominibus in terra loqueretur. Terrebat enim uniuersos clades preteriti temporis, instabatque metus ne <non>^b adipiscerentur opulentiam future ubertatis.

15. Erat quippe descriptio capitatim digesta, qua continebantur tam illa que fieri prohibebantur quam ea que deuota sponsione omnipotenti Domino offerre decreuerant. In quibus potissimum erat de inuiolabili pace conseruanda, ut scilicet uiri utriusque

^a *So BAdD*; ethereis (*sc. auris?*) *substantivized?*

^b *Supplied by Winterbottom*

¹ By the mid-10th c. the French monarchy had little effective power south of the Loire. By the last quarter of the century all public authority, including that of dukes and counts, was being threatened with annexation to the private honours and estates of the aristocracy and the church. For a detailed study of this process in one area see Duby, pp. 155–71. The violence and anarchy generated by the collapse of the public authorities forced the bishops of southern France to seek methods of protecting the persons and property of the clergy, the poor, and other vulnerable groups from the violence of the feudal aristocracy. They developed the notion of the ‘Peace of God’, under which Councils were held at which the aristocracy were asked to swear oaths to refrain from war, in the presence of great assemblies of the clergy and people which acted as moral pressure upon them. The first such councils were at Le Puy in 975 and Charroux in 989 or 990: H. E. J. Cowdrey, ‘The Peace and Truce of God’, *Past and Present*, xlii (1970), 42–67. It is not possible to identify which Council or Councils Glaber was referring to in this passage because the account is ‘chronologically telescoped’: Cowdrey, p. 44. It may

v. *Peace and abundance mark the millennium of the Lord's Passion*¹

14. At the millennium of the Lord's Passion, which followed these years of famine and disaster, by divine mercy and goodness the violent rainstorms ended; the happy face of the sky began to shine and to blow with gentle breezes and by gentle serenity to proclaim the magnanimity of the Creator. The whole surface of the earth was benignly verdant, portending ample produce which altogether banished want. It was then that the bishops and abbots and other devout men of Aquitaine first summoned great councils of the whole people, to which were borne the bodies of many saints and innumerable caskets of holy relics. The movement spread to Arles and Lyons, then across all Burgundy into the furthest corners of the French realm. Throughout the dioceses it was decreed that in fixed places the bishops and magnates of the entire country should convene councils for re-establishing peace and consolidating the holy faith. When the people heard this, great, middling, and poor, they came rejoicing and ready, one and all, to obey the commands of the clergy no less than if they had been given by a voice from heaven speaking to men on earth. For all were still cowed by the recent carnage, and feared lest they might not obtain future abundance and plenty.

15. A roll divided into headings was drawn up, giving a list of all that was prohibited, and a record of what men had, by sworn undertaking, decided to offer to Almighty God. The most important of these was that the peace should be preserved inviolate so

well be, however, that Glaber was struck by the frequency of Aquitanian councils—of Charroux (1027–8), Limoges (1028), Poitiers (1029–31), and Bourges (1031)—coinciding with those in Burgundy at Verdun-sur-le-Doubs (1019–21) and Anse (1025): *ibid.* Glaber's account is especially valuable for the very clear picture it gives of the mechanics of the process and the way a formal record was kept, as indicated in para. 15. But it is the sense of revivalist exaltation, conveyed in para. 16, which stays most vividly in the memory. For the employment of the relics of saints in the Peace Movement see N. Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques des saints: Formation coutumière d'un droit* (Paris, 1975), pp. 223–5, and see above, pp. lxix–lxx. Glaber's near contemporary, Adhémar de Chabannes, is also a very valuable source for the Peace Movement, as Cowdrey, pp. 45, n. 11, 49–50n. Glaber later refers, 5. i. 15, to the ‘Truce of God’, which sought to stop all violence at particular times, most notably on the Sabbath and special holy days. It had more limited ends and never seems to have generated the remarkable enthusiasm associated with the ‘Peace of God’. Hugh of Flavigny borrows heavily from this chapter for the year 1033, using even the famous simile of the dog returning to its vomit from para. 17.

conditionis, cuiuscumque ante fuissent rei obnoxii, absque formidine procederent armis uacui. Predo namque aut inuasor alterius facultatis, legum districtione artatus, uel donis facultatum seu penis corporis acerrime mulctaretur. Locis nichilominus sacris omnium ecclesiarum honor et reuerentia talis exhiberetur ut, si quis ad ea cuiuscumque culpe obnoxius confugium faceret, inlesus euaderet, nisi solummodo ille qui pactum predictae pacis uiolasset, hic tamen captus ab altare prestatutam uindictam lueret: clericis similiter omnibus, monachis et sanctimonialibus, ut, si quis cum eis per regionem pergeret, nullam uim ab aliquo pateretur.

16. Plurima autem in eisdem conciliis constituta sunt que per longum duximus referre. Illud sane memorandum, quod omnibus in commune placuit qualiter omnibus ebdomadibus sanctione perpetua sexta die abstineretur a uino et a carnibus septima, nisi forte grauis infirmitas compelleret aut celeberrima sollempnitas interueniret; si uero effectio aliqua intercederet, ut hic tenor paululum laxaretur, tres proinde pauperes uictu sustentarentur. Tunc innumere sanitates patratae sunt infirmantium in eisdem conuentibus sanctorum. Sed et ne cui friuolum uideretur, in multis disrupta cutis discissaque caro crurium et brachiorum, nuper curuorum, erigendo in statum pristinum plurimus sanguis effundebatur. Quod utique in ceteris que dubitari^a poterant fidem prestabat. Quibus uniuersi tanto ardore accensi ut per manus episcoporum baculum ad celum eleuarent, ipsique palmis extensis ad Deum: 'Pax! pax! pax!' unanimitate clamarent, ut esset uidelicet signum perpetui pacti de hoc quod sponderant inter se et Deum: in hac tamen ratione ut, euoluto quinquennio, confirmande pacis gratia, id ipsum ab uniuersis in orbe fieret mirum in modum. Eodem denique anno tanta copia habundantie frumenti et uini ceterarumque frugum extitit quanta in subsequente quinquennio contigisse sperari^b non potuit.¹ Aliquis enim uictus humanus, praeter carnes seu delicia pulmentaria, nullius erat precii: erat autem instar illius antiqui mosaici magni iubelei.² Sequenti uero anno, tercio et quarto, non minus prouenit.

(f. 43) **17.** Sed heu! pro dolor! humana denique stirps, | immemor beneficiorum Dei ab initio, prona ad malum, ueluti canis ad uomitum, uel

^a dubitari *France*; dubitare *BAXD*

^b sperari *Ax* (after correction?); spirari *BD*

¹ This could mean that the harvest of that year was greater than in the following five

that all men, lay and religious, whatever threats had hung over them before, could now go about their business without fear and unarmed. The robber and the man who seized another's domains were to suffer the whole rigour of the law, either by a heavy fine or corporal punishment. The holy places of all churches were to be held in such honour and reverence that if someone guilty of any crime fled there he would get off unharmed, unless he had violated the peace oath, in which case he could be seized before the altar and made to suffer the established penalty. All clerics, monks, and nuns also were to be given reverence, such that those travelling with them were not to be harmed by anyone.

16. Much was decided at these councils which we wish to relate at length. One matter worth remembering is that all agreed, by a perpetual edict, that men, except when gravely ill, should always abstain from wine on the sixth day of the week, and from flesh on the seventh, unless an important feast happened to fall on one of these days. If, for any reason, a man had slightly to relax this prohibition, he was to feed three poor men. Many sick people were cured at these gatherings of holy men. Lest any doubt this, let it be recorded that as the bent legs and arms were straightened and returned to their normal state, skin was broken, flesh was torn, and blood ran freely. These cases provided credence for others when doubts might have been conceived. Such enthusiasm was generated that the bishops raised their croziers to the heavens, and all cried out with one voice to God, their hands extended: 'Peace! Peace! Peace!' This was the sign of their perpetual covenant with God. It was understood that after five years all should repeat this wonderful celebration in order to confirm the peace. In that same year there was such a plentiful abundance of corn and wine and other foods that the like could not be hoped to be attained in the following five years.¹ All food was cheap except meat and rare spices: truly it was like the great Mosaic jubilee of ancient times.² For the following three years food was no less plentiful.

17. But alas! since the beginning of time mankind has ever been forgetful of the benefits conferred by God, and prone to evil; like a

put together, but the more natural sense would seem to be that another such could not be hoped for in five years.

² On the divine institution of the Jubilee through Moses see Lev. 25: 8–55.

sus lota in ceni uolutabrum,^{1a} irritum in multis fecere^b proprie sponsonis pactum, et, sicut scriptum est, 'impinguatus et dilatatus recalcitrauit'.² Nam ipsi primates utriusque ordinis in auariciam uersi ceperunt exercere plurimas, ut olim fecerant uel etiam eo amplius, rapinas cupiditatis. Deinde mediocres ac minores exemplo maiorum ad immania sunt flagitia deuoluti. Quis enim umquam antea tantos incestus, tanta adulteria, tantas consanguinitatis illicitas permixtiones, tot concubinarum ludibria, tot malorum emulationes audiuerat? Insuper ad cumulum tanti mali, cum non essent in populo uel rari qui ceteros corrigentes talia redarguerent, impletum est prophete uaticinium quod ait: 'Et erit sicut populus, sic sacerdos'.³ presertim cum tunc in seculari potestate, tum etiam in ecclesiastica religione, totius regiminis persone constiterant in puerili etate; propter peccata enim populi contigit tunc illud Salomonicum quod ait: 'Ve tibi terre'.^{4c} Nam et ipse uniuersalis papa Romanus, nepos scilicet duorum, Benedicti atque Iohannis, qui ei precesserant, puer ferme decennis, intercedente thesaurorum pecunia, electus extitit a Romanis, a quibus exinde frequenter eiectus ac inhoneste receptus, nulla potestate uiguit.⁵ Et, ut iam superius taxauimus, ceteros tunc temporis ecclesiarum prelatos aurum potius uel argentum exaltabat quam meritum.⁶ Pro pudor! de his euentissime Scriptura ait, immo os ipsius Dei: 'Principes extiterunt et non cognoui'.⁷

vi. *De confluentia populi totius orbis que ad sepulchrum Domini Iherosolimis facta est*

18. Per idem tempus ex uniuerso orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo cepit confluere ad sepulchrum Saluatoris Iherosolimis⁸ quantum nullus hominum prius sperare poterat. Primitus enim

^a Perhaps uolutabro (*Winterbottom*), cf. 2 Pet. 2: 22

^b fecere D; facere BAx

^c Perhaps terra (*Migne*); cf. Eccles. 10: 16

¹ Cf. Prov. 26: 11; 2 Pet. 2: 22.

² Cf. Deut. 32: 15.

³ Isa. 24: 2; Hos. 4: 9.

⁴ Eccles. 10: 16: 'Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child.'

⁵ Theophylact, son of Alberic III of Tusculum, became pope as Benedict IX (1032–45) in succession to his uncles Benedict VIII and John XIX, on whom see above, i. 3n. Glaber here alleges that he was ten years old when he became pope, but later, at the end of the work (5. v. 26), says that he was about twelve. In fact there are grounds for believing that he was an adult when elected: Poole, *Studies*, pp. 203–4, 216–17; Herrmann,

dog returning to its vomit or a pig to wallowing in its mire,¹ in many respects they broke their own sworn agreements. Truly it is written: 'He had grown fat and thick . . . and kicked against the pricks. . .'.² The leaders of the clerical and temporal orders alike fell into avarice, and they resorted, even more than had formerly been their wont, to robbery to satisfy their lusts. Middling and lesser people followed their example and plunged into monstrous sin. Whoever before heard of so many incests, so many adulteries, illicit marriages between those of the same blood, shameless concubinage, and so much competition in evil? Moreover, to crown this peak of evil, there were none or very few amongst the people admonishing them and correcting these offences, so that the warning of the prophet was fulfilled: 'And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest.'³ Especially remarkable was the fact that supreme power in the church, as in the state, had then fallen to one of tender years; because of the people's sins was fulfilled the prophecy of Solomon: 'Woe to thee, O land.'⁴ For the Roman pontiff himself was a child barely ten years old, the nephew of the two who preceded him, Benedict and John. It was only because of his enormous riches that he was elected by the Romans, who often expelled him and then allowed him to make an ignominious return, so that he wielded no power.⁵ And, as we have already recounted, at this time all the other princes of the church owed their elevation to gold and silver rather than merit.⁶ For shame! quite evidently Scripture, or rather the mouth of God himself, says of them: 'Princes arose and I knew them not.'⁷

vi. *People from all over the world flock to the Sepulchre of the Lord at Jerusalem*

18. At this time an innumerable multitude of people from the whole world, greater than any man before could have hoped to see, began to travel to the Sepulchre of the Saviour at Jerusalem.⁸ First

Tuskulanerpapsttum, pp. 20–2, discusses the evidence and concludes that Benedict IX was a young man at his accession, but not a child as Glaber suggests.

⁶ Glaber has already bemoaned the prevalence of simony and corruption in the church, above, 2. vi. 11–12.

⁷ Hos. 8: 4.

⁸ Glaber goes on to mention the pilgrimage of Ulric, bishop of Orléans, and Robert, duke of Normandy (paras. 19, 20), and later records the death of Fulk of Anjou returning from his third journey to Jerusalem: 4. ix. 26.

(f. 43^v) ordo inferioris plebis, deinde uero mediocres, post hec permaximi quique reges et comites, marchiones ac presules, ad ultimum uero, quod numquam contigerat, mulieres multe nobiles cum pauperioribus illuc perrexere. Pluribus enim erat mentis desiderium mori priusquam ad propria reuerterentur. Contigit enim ut quidam a Burgundie partibus, ex Augustidunense territorio, Lethbaldus |
 nomine, cum ceteris illuc pergens deueniret.¹ Qui, prospectis locis omnium sacerrimis, cum ad illum locum montis Oliueti deuenisse contigit ex quo Saluator ad celos ascendens, tot cernentibus idoneis testibus, uenturus inde iudicare uiuos et mortuos est repromissus, proiciens se in crucis modum, toto prostratus corpore cum lacrimis inenarrabile mentis iubilo exultauit in Domino. Reerigens se idemtidem, palmis ad celum extensis, nisu quo poterat corpus librabat in altum ac in uoce huiusmodi aperiebat mentis desiderium; aiebat namque: ‘Domine Ihesu, qui propter nos de sede maiestatis tue ad terras descendere dignatus es, ut genus humanum saluares, quique ex hoc loco quem oculis intueor carne uestitus remeasti ad celos unde ueneras, obsecro tuam omnipotentissimam bonitatem ut, si hoc anno est mea anima ex hoc corpore migratura, non hinc recedam sed in conspectu loci tue ascensionis fieri contingat. Credo enim quoniam, sicut te secutus sum corpore, qualiter ad hunc deuenirem locum, sic anima mea inlesa et gaudens post te sit ingressura ad Paradisum.’ His peroratis reuersus est cum sociis ad hospicium. Erat autem iam hora prandii. Ceteris uero discumbentibus, conuersus ipse ad lectulum uultu alacris, ac ueluti graui sopore paululum requieturus; ilico namque obdormiscens ignoratur quid uiderit. Protinus dormiens exclamauit: ‘Gloria tibi, Deus! gloria tibi, Deus!’ Socii quoque hec audientes monebant illum ut surgens comederet. Qui noluit, sed uertens se in latus aliud dixit se pati aliquid incommodi; recubansque usque ad uesperum, conuocatis sui itineris sociis, uiuifice Eucharistie requirens accepit uiaticum, illisque dulciter salutatis emisit spiritum. Iste procul dubio liber a uanitate, ob quam multi proficiscuntur, ut solummodo mirabiles habeantur de Iherosolimitano itinere, in nomine Domini Ihesu fideliter petiuit patrem, quod et accepit. Cuius socii reuertentes nobis ea que diximus retulerunt positus tunc apud Besue monasterium.²

¹ Hugh of Flavigny, p. 393, uses this story but does not name Lethbaud.

to go were the petty people, then those of middling estate, and next the powerful, kings, counts, marquesses, and bishops; finally, and this was something which had never happened before, numerous women, noble and poor, undertook the journey. Many wished to die there before they returned to their own lands. A certain Burgundian called Lethbaud, from the region of Autun, went on this journey in the company of others.¹ When he had seen these most holy of places, he went to the Mount of Olives from where the Saviour, before many credible witnesses, ascended into heaven, with the promise that he would return to judge both the quick and the dead. Our pilgrim threw himself to the ground, his arms extended in the form of a cross, and with many tears he exulted in the Lord with indescribable joy. Repeatedly he stood up, raising his body with all his might, extending his arms to heaven and in a loud voice revealing the desires of his heart: ‘Lord Jesus, who for us and our salvation didst deign to come down from the seat of thy majesty to earth, and who, from this place which I now behold, didst return, still clad in the flesh, to heaven whence thou camest, I beseech thee by the plenitude of thy goodness, if this year is to be my last, let me not return to my own land but let it come to be accomplished in the sight of this, the place of thy Ascension. I believe that, just as I have followed thee in the body to come to this place, so my soul, unharmed and rejoicing, will follow after thee into heaven.’ The prayer finished, he returned with his companions to the hostel. It was then dinner-time. The others went to table, but he, with a smiling face, went to bed as though he were feeling very tired and wished to take a little rest. No one knows what he dreamt as he slept, but suddenly he cried out in his sleep: ‘Glory be to thee, O God! Glory be to thee, O God!’ Hearing this, his companions urged him to get up and eat. But he refused, turned over on the other side, and said that he did not feel well; he rested till evening, then, calling together his companions of the journey, he asked for and received the viaticum of the life-giving Eucharist, sweetly bade all farewell, and died. Truly he was free from that vanity which inspires so many to undertake the journey simply to gain the prestige of having been to Jerusalem. In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ he faithfully made petition to the Father, and this was granted. His companions, on their return, told this story to us when we were at the monastery of Bèze.²

² See above, pp. xxix–xxx.

19. Eodem quippe tempore^a Odolricus, Aurelianorum presul, illuc pergens, quid uiderit nobisque narrauerit non pretermittendum uidetur miraculum.¹ Die igitur magni illius sabbati quo ignis mirabili Dei potentia ueniens ab uniuerso populo prestolatur, ibi cum ceteris isdem presul adstabat.² Iamque dies ipsa in uesperum transiens, repente penes horam qua sperabatur ignis affuturus, unus Sarracenorum scurra impudentissimus, ex plurima illorum multitudine que annuatim semper una cum Christianis adesse solet, exclamauit, ut Christianis mos est, cum primum uidetur: 'Aios Kyrieleison!' Cauillanter cachinnum emisit, extensaque manu arripuit cereum de manu cuiusdam Christiani, aufugere temptans. Qui ilico arreptus a demonio turpiter nimium uexari cepit. Quem prosequens | Christianus cereum abstulit. Ille uero tortus acerrime, protinus inter Sarracenorum manus expirauit. Quod factum omnibus in commune terrorem immisit, Christicolis tamen gaudium et exultationem prebuit. Statim uero, ut assolet, Dei uirtute erumpens ignis ex una lampadarum, que septem ibidem pendere cernuntur, cursim eructuando ceteras inflammauit. Quam etiam cum suo oleo prefatus episcopus emens auri libra a Iordano, qui tunc preerat patriarcha, secum detulit, atque in sede propria reponens, plurima infirmis contulit beneficia.³ Detulit etiam Roberto regi partem pregrandem uenerabilis crucis Domini Saluatoris, missam a Constantino imperatore Grecorum cum multitudine palliorum olosericorum; cui isdem rex miserat per eundem episcopum spatam, capulum habens aureum, tecamque auream cum gemmis preciosissimis.⁴

(f. 44)

20. Tunc etiam inter ceteros Robertus, Normannorum dux, cum ingenti multitudine sue gentis Iherosolimam proficiscens, detulit secum plurima auri et argenti donaria erogandi gratia. Qui, dum

^a tempore quippe *B* before correction, *Ax*

¹ Ulric, bishop of Orléans (1021–35) participated in the condemnation of the Orléans heretics whom Glaber describes at length, above, 3. viii. 26; it is curious that his name is never mentioned in that connection (see above, p. xlviij).

² The ceremony of the New Fire was and is a familiar part of the Easter ritual of the Roman church, but amongst the Orthodox it was observed with special splendour, while at the Holy Sepulchre it was the occasion of a pious fraud. A hidden clockwork mechanism 'miraculously' lit one of the seven altar lamps, then transferred the fire to the others. After the crusader conquest of Jerusalem the Orthodox clergy were expelled from the church of the Holy Sepulchre. As a result the 'Miracle of the New Fire' failed to materialize and the Franks were obliged to readmit the Orthodox to their former position. I. Krakovskiy, 'The "Holy Fire" according to the Account of al-Bīrūnī and

19. At the same time Ulric bishop of Orléans undertook this journey; and he told us about a miracle which should not be passed over.¹ On the day of that great sabbath when all the people gathered together to await the Holy Fire wondrously lit by the power of God, he was amongst them.² Evening was drawing in when suddenly, just at the time when the fire was to appear, a Saracen, truly an impudent jester, one of the crowd of that race which every year gathers and mixes with the Christians, cried out in the manner of the Christians when the fire is first seen: 'Aios Kyrie Eleison [Holy Lord, have mercy upon us].' Then, laughing aloud mockingly he reached out and snatched a candle from the hand of one of the Christians and made to flee. But he was seized by a demon who much troubled him. The Christian followed him and took back his candle. The fellow at once died in agony in the hands of the other Saracens. This event terrified all the Saracens alike, but brought joy and exaltation to the Christians. At this very moment, as is customary, by the power of God the fire burst from one of the seven lamps seen hanging there, and swiftly it ignited the others. The bishop bought this lamp and its oil from Jordan, then patriarch of Jerusalem, for a pound of gold, and took it back with him to his own see, where it provided many benefits for the sick.³ He also brought back for King Robert a substantial portion of the Holy Cross of the Lord our Saviour, a present from Constantine, emperor of the Greeks, who also sent a great many silken hangings. The king had sent him by this bishop a sword with a golden hilt, and a reliquary of gold set with precious gems.⁴

20. Amongst others at this time, Robert duke of Normandy went to Jerusalem with a great many of his people, bearing many gifts of gold and silver as offerings. He died on his way back at the city of

Other Muslim Writers of the Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries' (in Russian), *Khristskiy Vostok*, iii (1915), 226–42.

³ The most authoritative list of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem does not mention a Jordan at this time. The Greek Patriarch at the time of Ulric's journey was Nicephorus I (July 1020–after 1048): V. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines*, I. *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), p. 452.

⁴ Ulric's journey was probably a diplomatic mission as well as a pilgrimage. It evidently took place during the reign of Constantine VIII (1025–8). On the dating of the mission and its importance see above, p. xxx. The gift of a portion of the 'True Cross' would have had a special significance because Ulric's cathedral at Orléans was dedicated to the Holy Cross (see above, 2. v. 9) and King Robert had a special affection for Orléans (see above, 2. v. 9n.).

rediret, apud Niceam obiit urbem, ibidemque sepultus quieuit. De quo maximum apud suos iccirco extitit iustitiam, quoniam non fuerat ei proles ex matrimonio aliqua ad regimen suscipiendum prouentia; quamlibet sororem Anglorum regis Canuc manifestum est duxisse uxorem, quam odiendo diuortium fecerat, ex concubina tamen filium genuerat Willelmi nomen atque ei imponens, cui, antequam proficisceretur, uniuersos sui ducaminis principes militaribus adstrinxit sacramentis, qualiter illum in principem pro se, si non rediret, eligerent. Quod etiam statim, ex consensu regis Francorum Heinrici, unanimiter postmodum firmauerunt.¹ Fuit enim usui a primo aduentu ipsius gentis in Gallias, ut superius pernotauimus, ex huiusmodi concubinarum commixtione illorum principes extitisse;² sed et hoc, ne supra modum putetur abominabile, libet comparationem de filiis concubinarum Iacob inducere, qui ob hoc non caruere paterna dignitate, inter ceteros fratres constituti patriarche.³ Et longo post, inferiore tempore singularis monarchie, magnus imperii prothochristicola Constantinus ex concubina Helena legitur genitus fuisse.⁴

21. Preterea, dum quidam de sollicitioribus, qui eo tempore habebantur, consulti a pluribus fuissent quid^a tantus | populorum concursus ad Iherosolimam designaret, olim seculi inauditus preteriti, responsum est a quibusdam satis caute non aliud portendere quam aduentum illius perditionis Antichristi, qui circa finem seculi istius, diuina testante auctoritate, prestolatur affuturus. Tuncque gentibus uniuersis uia orientis plage, unde uenturus est, patefacta, obuiam illi cuncte nationes incunctanter sint processure, reuera ut illud dominicum adimpleatur presagium, quoniam tunc in temptationem incident, si fieri potest, etiam electi.⁵ Huius hic meta uerbi, ceterum non negamus deuotum laborem fidelium exinde premium seu mercedem percipere a iusto Iudice.

^a quid *B* corr. (?), *D* (corrected from quidam); quod *BA*

¹ Robert the Magnificent (1027–35) was perhaps betrothed to Estrith, the daughter of Cnut of England and Denmark (on whom see above, 2. ii. 3n.), but his son William, later called the Conqueror, was the child of his mistress Herleva (or Arlette) of Falaise. Henry I of France (on whom see above 3. ix. 32, 35, 37) supported the accession of William: Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, pp. 73, 151. *GCA*, pp. 101–2, uses this paragraph, and especially what follows. Hugh of Flavigny, p. 402, records Robert's death in very similar terms to Glaber under 1035.

² Glaber has already told us that Richard I of Normandy was the child of William Longsword by a concubine: 3. ix. 39.

Nicaea, and there he was buried. It was a cause of great distress amongst his people that he had no legitimate child to succeed him in the government of this province. As is well known, he had married a sister of Cnut king of the English, but he so disliked the woman that he divorced her. However, by a concubine he had engendered a son whom he called William after one of his ancestors. Before he departed he constrained all the princes of his dukedom to swear an oath on their honour as warriors: by this they promised to elect him in his stead if he failed to return. Immediately this was unanimously put into effect with the agreement of Henry king of the French.¹ This had been the custom of this people since it first appeared in Gaul, as we noted earlier, to take as princes offspring born of similar unions with concubines;² but lest this be regarded as too extreme an abomination, we may compare the case of the sons of Jacob by concubines, who were not for that reason deprived of their honours by their father and indeed, like their brothers, were made patriarchs.³ Long after, in the last years of the universal monarchy, we read that Constantine, the great pioneer of the Christian faith in the empire, was born of a concubine, Helena.⁴

21. When some consulted the more watchful of the age as to what was meant by so many people, in numbers unheard-of in earlier ages, going to Jerusalem, some replied cautiously enough that it could portend nothing other than the advent of the accursed Antichrist who, according to divine testimony, is expected to appear at the end of the world. Then a way would be opened for all peoples to the east where he would appear, and all nations would march against him without delay. In fact then will be fulfilled that prophecy of the Lord, that even the elect will, if it is possible, fall into temptation.⁵ We will speak no further of this matter, but we do not deny that the pious labours of the faithful will be then rewarded and paid for by the Just Judge.

³ Cf. Gen. 29–30 and 49.

⁴ Flavius Constantius, father of the future emperor Constantine the Great (312–37), was raised in 293 to the position of Caesar in the east and married into the imperial family, setting aside his wife or concubine Helena. Constantine was probably born between 273 and 275: A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (London, 1949), pp. 17, 28.

⁵ Cf. Matt. 24: 24: '... if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect'.

vii. *De preliis Sarracenorum aduersus Christianos in Affrice partibus*

22. Sub hisdem uero temporibus consurgens rediuiua Sarracenorum in Affrice partibus aduersus Christianorum populum perfidia, persecuendo eos terra marique quosquos repperire poterant, quosdam excoriabant uiuos, alios trucidabant; et cum iam diu multumque inter utrosque debacatum plurima cede fuisset, pluresque strages ab utrisque partibus date, contigit ut ex deliberatione partis utriusque in comminus illorum acies pugnature deuenirent.¹ Illi presumentes confidebant in rabida feritate immense sue multitudinis, uictores sese fore existimabant, nostri uero, licet admodum pauci numero, Dei omnipotentis auxilium inuocantes, per interuentum genitricis ipsius Marie sanctique apostolorum principis Petri omniumque sanctorum sperabant de illis fiducialiter obtinere triumphum, precipue quoque in uoto quod in ipsius procinctu belli uouentes sese obstrinxerant, ut, si uidelicet manus Domini ualida gentem illam perfidissimam in manus illorum concluderet, potito de illis triumpho, quicquid auri argentique seu cetera suppellectilis ex eisdem capere contigisset, totum omnino ad locum Cluniaci apostolorum principi Petro destinarent. Iam olim namque, ut superius pernotauimus, plures ipsius gentis uiri religiosi in eodem cenobio sacri instituti habitum suscipientes totam gentem ad amorem eiusdem loci consciuerant.² Sed quid plura? Inito pugne certamine, diu multumque congressum est. Christiani tamen omnino inlesi uictores apparebant; ad ultimum quoque tantus horroris tremor inuasit Sarracenorum exercitum | ut, ueluti pugne oblitus, fugam arripere temptantes, quamuis nequicquam: propriis irretiti iaculis, immo uirtute Dei stupentes heserunt, Christianorum uero quantus erat cuneus diuino fortificatus auxilio tanta eosdem cede prostrauit ut ex innumerabili multitudine illorum uix pauci euaderent. Motget nempe princeps illorum, qui quasi Moyses ita confuse nominatur, illo prelio dicitur defuisse.³ Collectisque spoliis, confecerunt ex eisdem plurima argenti talentorum pondera, memores uoti quod Deo sponderant. Est namque mos Sarracenorum ad prelia euntium ut sese faleris argenti uel auri plurimum perornent; quod tunc etiam deuotioni nostrorum prestitit augmentum. Qui protinus miserunt quicquid exinde prouenit, ut uouerant, ad Cluniense

(f. 45)

vii. *The wars of the Saracens against the Christians in Africa*

22. At this time the treachery of the Saracens of Africa against the Christians revived, and they attacked by land and sea, taking all they could find; some they flayed alive, others they butchered. The maniac killing on both sides went on for a long time, and each side suffered terrible destruction, so that in the end they both agreed to bring their armies to battle at the earliest possible moment.¹ The arrogant enemy, trusting in the raging ferocity of their enormous host, believed victory was theirs, but our people, though very few in number, invoked the aid of God Almighty through the intercession of His Mother Mary, the holy Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and all the saints, and so they confidently looked forward to a triumph. They trusted especially in the vow they had sworn before the battle in which they had promised to dedicate all the gold, silver, or booty of any kind captured in the battle to St Peter, Prince of the Apostles, at Cluny, if the mighty hand of God put that treacherous people into their triumphant hands. As we have remarked before, many religious of this race who took the holy habit in this monastery had fostered love for Cluny amongst the whole people.² Why say more? Battle, savage and long drawn out, was joined. The Christians suffered no losses and were clearly victorious; finally a tremor ran through the Saracen army and the enemy, as if unmindful of the fight, sought to flee, but in vain; for they were entangled in their own spears—or rather, by the might of God—and were struck there dumbfounded. The army of God, made irresistible by divine aid, killed so many of them that only a handful of that unnumbered multitude survived. It is said that Mujāhid their prince, whose name is the same as Moses, but corrupted, died in the battle.³ When the booty was collected, they made from it an enormous weight of silver talents, remembering the vow they had made to God. It is the custom of the Saracens to decorate themselves with plaques of gold and silver when they go out to battle; in the event this profited the pious devotion of our people. They immediately despatched all this booty, as they had promised, to the monastery of

² See above, 3. iii. 12.³ After the death of al-Manṣūr (see above p. 33 n. 3) the old Muslim caliphate of Córdoba broke up into petty provincial kingdoms (*reinos de taifas*). One of these was Denia, whose king Mujāhid had been a household slave of al-Manṣūr. He seized the Balearic Islands in 1015, but lost them to a Pisan expedition in 1016: J. F. O'Callaghan, *History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca and London, 1975), pp. 133, 293.¹ Glaber has already introduced us to the notion of the prearranged battle in his account of the campaign of Conquereuil above, 2. iii. 4.

monasterium; ex quibus uenerabilis eiusdem loci abba Odilo ciborium super altare sancti Petri perhonestissimum fieri precepit. Cetera uero liberali dispensatione famosissime, ut decebat, erogari indigentibus usque ad assem mandauit. Sarracenorum nichilominus tumultuatio ad presens conquassata quieuit.

viii. *De Leuticorum prelio aduersus Christianos in partibus aquilonis*¹

23. Germania igitur, que a Reno flumine sursum uersus ad aquilonarem orbis plagam tendens^a sumit exordium, gentibus incolitur quamplurimis, ferocissimis tamen atque promiscuis. Inter quas una ceteris crudelior commanens in ultima parte secunde Retie. Nam prima Retia, licet a Reno utreque dicantur, in parte eiusdem Reni coniacet occidentali. Que scilicet corrupte regnum Lotharii uulgo nuncupatur. In altera, ut diximus, gens Leuticorum barbara omni crudelitate ferocior; cuius uocabulum a luto deriuatur.^b Est enim omnis illorum habitatio circa mare aquilonare in paludibus sordentibus, et iccirco Leutici quasi lutei uocantur. Hi quoque, anno a passione Domini millesimo, de suis egressi latibulis, uicinas sibi prouintias Saxonum ac Baioariorum nimium crudeliter deuastantes, Christianorum res ad | solum usque deleuerunt; uiros ac mulieres trucidantes exterminabant; aduersus quos imperator Chounradus cum exercitu permaximo egrediens multotiens plures ex illis cede prostrauit, non tamen sine dampno suorum; ob quam rem totius ecclesie clerus ac plebs regni sui, semet affligentes, Dominum rogauerunt, ut ultionis uindictam de tanta barbarorum uesania illi concederet, ut ad sui nominis honorem Christianis foret ex illis uictoria. Dehinc uero irruens super eos, maximam illorum partem contriuit. Ceteri fuge presidium arripientes, ad loca suarum paludum inaccessibilia nimium perterriti euaserunt; de qua uictoria isdem imperator accepta confidentia, rursum collecto exercitu, Italiam pergens, ad ipsam urbem Romam progrediens uniuersos rebelliones, qui contra eum insurgere temptauerant, anno integro ibidem degens, proterendo compecuit.² Pactum etiam securitatis et amicitie, ueluti Heinricus cum

^a tendens *BD*; tendere *Ax*

^b deriuatur *AxD*; diriuatur *B*

¹ The Ljutici were a Slav people living in Mecklenburg and Pomerania on the east bank of the Elbe close to the Baltic, which Glaber here calls the 'northern sea'. His assertion that their land was called Raetia, which is in reality an area of South Germany already alluded to above, 3. ix. 38, may spring from an erroneous rendering of

Cluny, whose abbot, the venerable Odilo, had part of it made into a splendid ciborium which was placed upon the altar of St Peter. With a remarkable liberality which became well known, he ordered the rest, as was only right, to be distributed to the poor, even down to the last sou. At all events, the turbulence of the Saracens was for the moment crushed, and they remained quiet.

viii. *A battle between the Ljutici and the Christians of the north*¹

23. Germany extends from the River Rhine to the northern parts of the world, and it is inhabited by many ferocious and intermingled tribes. The cruellest of all these lives in the furthest part of Second Raetia. First Raetia, although both are called after the River Rhine, lies along its west bank and is vulgarly, though quite wrongly, called the kingdom of Lothar. It is in the other province of that name that the barbarous, cruel, and ferocious Ljutici live; their name comes from the word *lutum* meaning 'mud'. They all live close to the northern sea amongst squalid marshes and that is why they are called 'the muddy ones'. In the millennial year of the Lord's Passion these people left their lairs and cruelly devastated the neighbouring provinces of Saxony and Bavaria, destroying Christian properties down to the bare earth, and slaughtering men and women. The Emperor Conrad raised a great army against them and in frequent skirmishes killed many of them, though not without loss to himself. Because of this the clergy and people of every church in his realm mortified themselves and prayed to the Lord that He might grant him vengeance upon this rabid people, and, for the glory of His name, grant victory over them to the Christians. Then the emperor flung himself upon the enemy and crushed the greater part of them. The remainder, completely terrified, sought safety in flight back to their inaccessible haunts amongst the marshes. This victory gave the emperor confidence, and so he raised a new army and marched through Italy to the very city of Rome, where he spent a year crushing all those who had tried to rebel against him.² He concluded a treaty of peace and

Redaria, which is its proper name. The Ljutici, despite many checks, including this one administered by Conrad II in 1035, continued to trouble eastern Germany until the 12th c.: H. Schreiber, *Teuton and Slav*, tr. J. Cleugh (London, 1965), pp. 51-3.

² The outbreak of civil war in northern Italy between *capitanei* and *uicassores* brought Conrad to Italy, where in 1037 he issued the famous *Constitutio de feudis* broadly favouring the interests of the latter. It was in part a consequence of Conrad's support for

patre illius egerat, cum rege Francorum Heinrico, filio Roberti, statuit, cui etiam leonem pergrandem amicitie gratia^a misit.¹ Qui postmodum uxorem nomine Mathildem, moribus egregiam, de regno eius ex Germanie nobilioribus accepit.²

ix. *De signo quod in sole apparuit*³

24. Anno igitur eodem, dominice^b passionis milesimo, die tercio kalendarum Iuliarum, sexta feria, luna uicesima octaua, facta est eclipsis seu deliquium solis ab hora eiusdem diei sexta usque in octauam nimium terribilis.⁴ Nam sol ipse factus est saphirini coloris, gerens in superiori parte speciem lune a sua reilluminatione quarte. Intuitus hominum in alterutrum uelut mortuorum pallor conspiciebatur, res uero quecumque sub aere croci coloris esse cernebantur. Tunc corda humani generis stupor ac pavor tenuit immensus, quoniam illud intuentes intelligebant portendere quiddam fore superuenture cladis humano generi triste. Nam eadem die, natale uidelicet apostolorum, in ecclesia beati Petri, quidam de principibus Romanorum conspirantes insurrexerunt in papam Romanum, cupientes illum interimere, sed minime ualentes, a sede tamen propria expulerunt. Sed, ut premisimus, tam pro hac re quam pro aliis insolenter patrat, imperator illuc proficiscens proprie sedi restituit.⁵

(f. 46) 25. Necnon et alia | passim in orbe, cum in ecclesiasticis, tum etiam in rebus secularibus, multa contra ius fasque patrata contigerunt. Instinctu nempe rapide cupiditatis pene nullius tuta fides in altero, que est fundamentum et columen totius boni, repperiebatur. Et ut euidentius foret quod peccata terre celos pulsarent, sicut propheta clamatur, propter creberrimas populi iniquitates:

^a gratia *Ax*; gratis *BD*

^b dominice *D*; die dominice *B*; die *Ax*

the *uassores* that Archbishop Aribert of Milan offered the throne of Italy to Odo of Blois, as already mentioned by Glaber above, 3. ix. 38. On the Italian policy of Conrad II see Hampe, pp. 43-4.

¹ For the pact between Henry II and Robert II in 1023 see above, 3. ii. 8. This passage probably refers to the treaty of Deville-sur-Meuse, by which Conrad II and Henry I of France allied against the ambitious Odo II of Blois, on which see above, 3. ix. 36n.

² Wipo, p. 51, mentions Matilda, the daughter of Conrad, who married Henry of France and died in 1034.

³ Hugh of Flavigny, p. 402, tells of an eclipse in which the sun became the colour of sapphire, but dates it 1039, which may reflect a confusion with the later eclipse recorded by Glaber below, ix. 26. Hugh records the name of the pope ejected from Rome in this

friendship with Henry king of the Franks, son of that King Robert with whom the Emperor Henry had likewise made a pact; as a mark of friendship he sent a great lion to the king.¹ Later he married a virtuous woman called Matilda who came from one of the most noble families of his kingdom in Germany.²

ix. *The sign which appeared in the sun*³

24. In that same year, a thousand after the Lord's Passion, on Friday, 29 June, the twenty-eighth day of the lunar month [of June], there occurred a terrible event, an eclipse or obscuring of the sun from the sixth to the eighth hour.⁴ Now the sun itself took on the colour of sapphire, and in its upper part it looked like the moon in its last quarter. Each saw his neighbour looking pale as though unto death, everything seemed to be bathed in a saffron vapour. Then extreme fear and terror gripped the hearts of men, for they understood that this omen portended some dreadful affliction which would fall upon mankind. That very day, the feast of the birth of the Apostles, in the church of St Peter, some of the Roman princes conspired together and rebelled against the Roman Pontiff. They sought to kill him, but failed and only succeeded in expelling him from his see. But, as we have already said, because of this and other insolent deeds, the emperor hastened thither and restored him.⁵

25. Throughout the whole world, in ecclesiastical as in secular affairs, crimes against all law and right flourished. The impulse of greed quickly all but overcame faith in others, which is the prop and support of all that is good. That it might be the more evident that the sins of the earth rose even to the heavens, let us recall the words of the prophet concerning the repeated sins of his people:

year as 'Clement'. H. Kuypers, *Studien über Rudolf den Kahlen* (Goch, 1891), p. 15, pointed out that this account of the eclipse is very like that contained in the *Annals of Bèze* for 1033. See above, p. cv.

⁴ Friday, 29 June 1033, the day of SS Peter and Paul, as Glaber goes on to indicate: Oppolzer, p. 214. See also G. C. Chambers, *The Story of Eclipses* (London, 1889), pp. 144-5.

⁵ This passage poses difficulties: all the evidence suggests that Benedict IX was safely in control of Rome in 1033; it is certain that Conrad did not go to Rome until late 1036, when the pope seems again to have been in control. Glaber, 4. v. 17, has referred to Benedict IX as being 'often' expelled from Rome, and at viii. 23 records the reimposition of imperial control in Rome in 1036 by Conrad II, which is presumably the force of the reference back here. On Benedict's reign see Poole, *Studies*, p. 203, Herrmann, *Tuskulanerpapsttum*, pp. 151-3.

'Sanguis' inquit 'sanguinem tetigit.'¹ Nam postmodum pene in uniuersis mortalium ordinibus insolentia pullulante, ac uigore iuste seueritatis tenorisque tepescente, ut illud apostolicum nostre genti rectissime potuisset improbari elogium, quod ait: 'Auditur inter uos nefas quod nec inter gentes.'² Nam, impudentissima auaricia humana pectora inuadente, periclitabatur fides in cunctis. Exinde procedebant rapine et incestus, litigia cecarum cupiditatum, furta et adulteria inmanissima; pro pudor! horrore erat cuique referre de se quod sentiebat. Nemo tamen propter hoc a nefario malitie usu sese corrigebat.

26. Iterum quoque post annos sex^a facta est eclipsis solis, undecimo die kalendarum Septembrium, feria quarta, hora sexta, atque, ut semper fit, luna uicesima octaua.³ Eodem nichilominus anno, Chounradus, cuius superius mentionem fecimus, apud Saxoniam Romanorum obiit imperator. Cuius filius Heinricus nomine, quem ipse uiuens pro se regem constituerat, imperauit.⁴ Willelmus etiam, Pictauorum comes, multis peccuniis liber a captione qua filius Fulconis, Gozfredus cognomento Martellus, illum in prelio capiens spacio trium annorum tenuerat, ad propria remeans, ipso in anno finem uite habuit.⁵ Hugo quoque, Autisiodorensis episcopus, uir nominatissimus uiuendi finem fecit. Similiter Rainaldus, comes eiusdem ciuitatis, Landrici comitis filius, qui filiam Roberti regis duxerat uxorem; ipse quidem audax a quodam milite generis infimi audacter interemptus est.⁶ Is quoque pertimescens ob audaciam, sicuti contigit prepropere, sibi funus imminere, dum adhuc uiueret abbatiam in honore Domini Saluatoris | constructam monasterio Beati Germani ex integro perpetually possidendam restituit, quo etiam sepultus quiescit.⁷ Preterea Fulco, Andegauorum comes, de quo superius quedam retulimus, ter Iherosolimam iam perrexerat, ueniensque Metensem urbem

^a sex France; quatuor BAsD (see above, p. lxvii)

¹ Hos. 4: 2.

² Cf. 1 Cor. 5: 1.

³ There was an eclipse six years later, Wednesday, 22 Aug. 1039; Oppolzer, p. 214. On the reasons why Glaber's MSS date this eclipse and the death of Conrad to 1037 instead of 1039, see above, pp. lxvii–lxviii.

⁴ Conrad died on 4 June 1039 at Utrecht; he was succeeded by his son, Henry III (1039–56), who had been made duke of Bavaria in 1027 and co-king in 1034; Hampe, pp. 35, 37.

⁵ When William V 'the Great' of Aquitaine (c. 993–c. 1030) died, the succession of his son by his first wife, William VI 'the Fat', was disputed. Charles Martel, son of Fulk Nerra and later himself count of Anjou (1040–60), married William V's widow Agnes,

'Blood has touched blood.'¹ After a while insolence mounted amongst almost all orders of men and strong direction and severity waned, so that the word of the Apostle could properly have been applied to our people: 'Profanity is heard amongst you which is not even among the Gentiles.'² Shameless greed invaded the hearts of men and the faith of all was jeopardized. As a result came rapine and incest, quarrels born of blind cupidity, extreme abominations, thefts, and adulteries. For shame! No man dared to say what he thought, yet none sought to correct in himself this terrible tendency to evil.

26. Then six years later there was another eclipse of the sun on Wednesday, 22 August, at the sixth hour, and, as ever, on the twenty-eighth day of the moon.³ In that year Conrad, emperor of the Romans, whom we have already mentioned, died in Saxony. His son Henry, whom he had crowned during his lifetime, succeeded him.⁴ William count of Poitou, released and sent home for a great ransom three years after his capture in battle by Geoffrey Martel, son of Fulk, also died in that year.⁵ The very famous Hugh, bishop of Auxerre, ended his life then, as did Raynard, count of that city and son of Count Landri, who had married a daughter of King Robert.⁶ He was daringly assassinated, for all his own daring, by a knight of low birth. The assassin, fearful that death would be the result of his temerity, as it speedily was, used the days which he had left to him to give an abbey dedicated to the Lord and Saviour wholly and for ever to the monastery of Saint-Germain, and it is there he lies buried.⁷ Fulk, count of Anjou, whom we have often mentioned, had already gone three times to Jerusalem; he died after arriving at

daughter of Otto-William, count of Mâcon, whom Glaber mentions above, 3. ii. 6, and claimed the duchy. He defeated and captured William VI at the battle of Moncontour, 20 Sept. 1033, but was forced to release him by his father Fulk in 1036. William the Fat died at the end of 1038: Halphen, *Comté d'Anjou*, pp. 56–9.

⁶ On Hugh, bishop of Auxerre and count of Chalon, see above, 2. viii. 16, 3. ii. 6n; for Raynard see 3. ii. 6n.

⁷ Landri, count of Nevers (989–1028), on whom see above, 3. ii. 6n., gave the abbey of Saint-Sauveur to Saint-Germain. His son and successor Raynald seized the abbey; there began a long dispute with Saint-Germain, which came to an end shortly after his assassination in 1040. The act of restitution, made in the time of Abbot Odo of Saint-Germain (1032–52) (whose name Glaber avoids mentioning, see below, 5. i. 1n.) survives in the *Gesta abbatum Sancti Germani Autisiodorensis* in Labbe, *Nova Bibliotheca*, i. 573.

ibidem obiit. Cuius corpus Lucacense ad monasterium, quod ipse construxerat, delatum est atque in eodem sepultum honorifice.^{1a}

EXPLICIT LIBER QVARTVS

GCA, p. 117; [] enclose matter also found in D²

Itaque terra usque ad obitum Fulconis in pace siluit, qui tamen non diu post uixit; [cuius finis huiusmodi exstitit. Bis iam Iherosolymis perrexit;³ tertio autem itinere in eundo peracto, adorata cruce Domini et sepulcro eius et multis etiam lacrimis effusis, dispartita iam multa pecunia ibi et hospitali in aliis etiam^b sanctis locis Deo seruientibus et multis egenis, ueniensque Metensem urbem, leui tactus incommodo, diem clausit extremum.⁴ Corpusque illius a medicis apertum et intestina illius sublata et in cimiterio ecclesiae condita sunt, lapis etiam superpositus;^c unde usque hodie sepulcrum Fulconis Andegauorum comitis ab incolis uocatur.] Corpus autem illius, conditum aromatibus et honorifice usque Lucacense castrum translatum, ad monasterium quod ipse construxerat⁵ delatum est atque in eodem honorifice sepultum.

^a For addition in *D* from presumed marginal *n.* in *A* itself taken from *GCA*, p. 117, see *n.* 2 below
^b etiam *D*; et *GCA* ^c superpositus *D*; suppositus *GCA*

¹ The story of Fulk's foundation of Loches is told above, 2. iv. 5.

² Although Sackur, p. 416, suggested that the basis for this passage was the last two sentences of Book 4, 'Preterea . . . honorifice', it contains far more detail, such as would be known to an Angevin writer. Some of this detail seems to have found its way into *A*

the city of Metz. His body was taken to the monastery of Loches, which he had founded, and there it was buried honourably.¹

THE FOURTH BOOK ENDS

Extra matter from GCA, p. 117²

Therefore the country enjoyed peace until the death of Fulk, who, however, did not live long thereafter; [this was the manner of his death. He had already been twice to Jerusalem;³ after he had made the journey a third time, adored the Lord's Cross and His sepulchre, weeping many tears, and spent large sums of money there and on the Hospital, also in other holy places on the servants of God and many in want, he came to the city of Metz, and there, smitten by a mild disorder, he ended his days.⁴ His body was cut open by the doctors, his entrails were removed and buried in the cemetery of the cathedral church, and a stone was erected over them; up to this day the local people call it the tomb of Fulk, count of Anjou.] His body, preserved in spices, was brought with honour to Loches, borne to the monastery which he himself had built,⁵ and there buried in proper state.

on a folio now lost, probably as a marginal *n.* (like those on 3. ix. 38, also from the *GCA*), and has been incorporated in the text of *D*.

³ See above, 2. iv. 5 *n.*

⁴ Fulk Nerra died on 21 June 1040: Halphen, *Comté d'Anjou*, p. 218.

⁵ See above, 2. iv. 5-7.

1. Rerum diuersarum permutationibus ac uariarum casuum euentibus attonitę aures mentesque obtunse seu hebetate uniuersorum tunc temporis pene mortalium, tum etiam infestationibus sinistrorum spirituum, aliquibus tamen reuelationum utilium fantasie manifestate fuisse creberrime ferebantur. Cuidam namque monacho una noctium uisum est, hora qua matutinale agitatum est signum, adfuisse sibi quendam teterrimum, qui eidem plura persuadendo inferebat huiusce^b colloquium: 'Cur' inquit 'uos monachi tot labores, tot uigilias atque ieiunia, necnon afflictiones et psalmodias, pluresque alias humiliaiones excercetis extra communem aliorum hominum usum? Nonne innumerabiles secularium homines, usque ad uite terminum in diuersis flagitiis perseuerantes, eandem tamen percepturi quam uos expectatis requiem? Sufficeret enim unus dies uel una hora ad promerenda premia aeternę beatitudinis uestre iustitie. Nam et tu ipse, miror qua de causa tam sollicitus mox ut audis signum uelociter exurgis a lecto, rumpisque dulcem somni quietem, cum posses quieti indulgere uel usque ad tertium signum. Est etiam quod tibi pandam secretum ualde memorabile, licet nostre sit partis dispendium, uestre quoque salutare remedium. Nam constat omnibus annis, die qua Christus resurgens ex mortuis uitam reparauit humani generis, ab eodem uniuersa spoliari tartara, et suos quoque reduci ad supera; pro qua re nil uobis pertimescendum. Quicquid libuerit uoluptatum carnis ac desideriorum securi agere potestis.' Hęc nempe et alia perplura, sicuti erat falacissimus demon, eidem monacho illudens friuola retulit, adeoque illum illexit ut communi fratrum sinaxi matutinali defuerit. Illud sane quod de dominica resurrectione seductorie confinxit uerba sacri redarguunt Euangelii, que dicunt: 'Multa corpora sanctorum que dormierant surrexerunt.'¹ Non inquit omnia, sed multa; et ita reuera profitetur fides catholica. Licet enim aliquoties, uera Omnipotentis prescientia disponente, fallacissimi omnino

^a The medieval part of *A* resumes with this word huiusce macula 5. v. 25.

^b Duchesne adds modi, but cf.

1. THE minds and ears of nearly all the people of that time were blunted and deafened by changes and vicissitudes and also by the frequent appearance of evil spirits; for some people, however, the fantasies of useful revelations were said to have been manifested very frequently. One night, at the hour when the bell rang for matins, a loathsome being appeared to a certain monk and spoke to him offering this advice: 'Why do you monks so labour, enduring vigils, fasts, mortifications, the chanting of psalms and many other humiliations far beyond the common practice of men? Don't you think that the innumerable secular men who persist in different sins down to the day of their death will gain the same rest to which you aspire? A day, even an hour, of such exertions would be enough to gain that everlasting beatitude which you regard as the reward of your virtue. As for you personally, I wonder why it is that as soon as the bell rings you rush so zealously from your bed, ending the sweet rest of sleep, when you could lie on until the third hour. Though the matter is detrimental to our side's interest, none the less I will unfold to you a memorable secret valuable for your side's salvation. Know that each year, on the anniversary of that day on which Christ rose from the dead bringing new life to mankind, He harrows all hell and returns with His faithful to heaven. Because of this you have nothing to fear, and can enjoy all the delights and desires of the flesh with no worries and to your heart's content.' With such stories and many others, the deceitful demon sought to seduce the monk, and indeed succeeded to the extent that he did not join the other brothers for matins. The words of the Holy Gospel contradict what he so seductively made up concerning the Lord's Resurrection when they say: 'Many bodies of saints which had slept, arose.'¹ They do not say all, but many: such is the truth of the catholic faith. Although occasionally Almighty God in his prescience so contrives matters that the deceitful demons speak

¹ Matt. 27: 52.

dēmones minus irrita prenuntient, tamen, quantum ex illorum deliberatione fit, perfuntoria ac seductoria constant; uel etiam si contigerit ex parte quę presagantur ab eisdem fieri, non plane saluti humanę sunt profutura, nisi forte diuina fiat prouidentia ob correctionis sollertiam.¹

f. 47^v 2. Huiusmodi igitur mihimet nuperrime multoties, | Deo propitiante, palam est contigisse. Nam dum aliquando in beati martyris Leodegarii monasterio, quod Capellis cognominatur,² positus degerem, nocte quadam, ante matutinalem sinaxim, adstitit mihi ex parte pedum lectuli forma homunculi teterrimę speciei. Erat enim, quantum a me dignosci potuit, statura mediocris, collo gracili, facie macilenta, oculis nigerrimis, fronte rugosa et contracta, depressis naribus, os exporrectum, labellis tumentibus, mento subtracto ac perangusto, barba caprina, aures irtas et præcutas, capillis stantibus et incompositis, dentibus caninis, occipitio acuto, pectore tumido, dorso gibato, clunibus agitantibus, uestibus sordidis, conatu aestuans, ac toto corpore preceps; arripiensque summitatem strati in quo cubabam, totum terribiliter concussit lectulum, ac deinde inquit: 'Non tu in hoc loco ultra manebis.'³ At ego territus euigilansque, sicuti repente fieri contingit, aspexi talem quem prescripsi.⁴ Ipse uero infrendens idemtidem aiebat: 'Non hic ultra manebis.' Ilico denique a lectulo exiliens cucurri in monasterium, atque ante altare sanctissimi patris Benedicti prostratus ac nimium pauefactus diutine decubui, cepique acerrime ad memoriam reducere quicquid ab ineunte aetate offensionum grauiumque peccaminum procaciter seu negligenter commiseram; tum precipue, quoniam pene nulla penitudinis satisfactio, ob amorem seu timorem Diuinitatis, a me exinde successerat. Ita quoque miser et confusus iacens non habebam quid potissimum dicerem nisi tantum: 'Domine Ihesu, qui uenisti peccatores saluos facere, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam miserere mihi.'

3. Interea confiteri non erubesco me non solum in peccatis parentum meorum genitum fuisse, uerum etiam moribus inportunum et

¹ In this passage 'Cuidam . . . monacho . . .' Glaber is giving a rather mischievous account of a vision seen by Odo, abbot of Saint-Germain (1032–52), whose name is never mentioned in the *Histories*. Possibly because Glaber's version portrays him in rather a poor light Odo was inspired to record an 'official' account in the *Visio Anselii Scholastici*: R. A. F. Shoaf, 'Raoul Glaber et la *Visio Anselii Scholastici*', *Cahiers de Civilisa-*

something other than simple falsehood, none the less, whatever of their own they mix up with it is nothing but lies and falsehood. If some part of their prophecies should come true, it is certainly not for the good of human kind unless Divine Providence intervenes to draw out a wise lesson.¹

2. It is no secret that through divine grace I have very recently had a number of similar experiences. One night when I was living in the monastery of Saint-Léger-de-Champceaux,² just before matins, a mannikin-like being of terrible aspect appeared before me from the direction of the foot of the bed. As far as I could judge he was of middling stature with a thin neck, skinny face, jet-black eyes, and a lined and wrinkled forehead; his nostrils were pinched and he had a wide mouth and blubbery lips; his goat-like beard covered a receding and pointed chin, while his ears were shaggy and pointed; his hair was a disordered mop and he had dog-like fangs; he had a pointed head, a swollen chest, a hunchback, and mobile haunches; clad in dirty clothes, his whole body seemed to quiver with effort as he leant forward, seized the head of the bed, gave it a mighty blow, and said: 'You will not remain longer in this place.'³ I woke in terror, and, as happens when we are suddenly woken, such an apparition as I have described was still before me.⁴ He gnashed his teeth and said time after time: 'You will not remain longer in this place.' Then I leapt out of bed, ran into the church, and cast myself down before the altar of the most holy father Benedict, where I lay for a long while greatly terrified, trying desperately to recall all the grave sins of which I had wantonly or carelessly been guilty since childhood; but especially because I had almost never since then done satisfaction of penance for love or fear of the Godhead. Lying there, wretched and confused, I could say nothing but: 'Lord Jesus, who camest to save sinners, through thy great mercy have pity upon me.'

3. I am not ashamed to confess that not only was I begotten in sin by my parents, but my character was more intractable and my

tion médiévale, xxiii (1980), 215–19. See also above, pp. xlix–l.

² On this and the following biographical passages see above, pp. xxx–xxxiii.

³ On this description of the devil and others in the *Histories*, see R. Colliot, 'Rencontres du moine Raoul Glaber avec le diable d'après ses histoires', in *Le Diable au Moyen Âge* (Paris and Aix-en-Provence, 1979), pp. 117–32.

⁴ The expression is confused; the translation gives the sense apparently intended.

f. 48 actibus intolerabilem plusquam narrari queat extitisse. Vi etiam cuiusdam monachi, mei scilicet auunculi, abstractus a peruersissima quam pre ceteris agebam seularis uite uanitate, cum essem ferme duodennis, atque monachili indutus habitu, heu! pro dolor! quoniam ueste solummodo non mente mutatus. Quęcumque enim a patribus uel spiritalibus fratribus modesta et sancta caritatiue mihi suggererentur, truculenti animi inflatione turgidum scutum cordis gerens, dictante superbia, ne salubria me contingerent opponebam. Dehinc senioribus | non oboediens, coequalibus molestus, iuuenioribus onerosus, atque, ut uere fatear, uniuersis mei presentia grauedo erat, leuamen absentia. Preterea his et huiusmodi predicti loci fratres instigati expulerunt me a contubernio sue habitationis, tamen scientes non defore mihi locum quempiam commanendi, tantum ob literatoriam notionem.¹ Hoc etiam persepe expertum fuerat.

4. Post hec igitur, in monasterio sancti Benigni Diuionensis martyris locatus, non dispar, immo isdem mihi uisus est in dormitorio fratrum.² Incipiente aurora diei, currens exiit a domo latrinarum taliter inclamando: 'Meus bacallaris ubi est? meus bacallaris ubi est?' Sequenti quoque die, eadem fere hora, aufugiens abiit exinde quidam frater iuuenis, mente leuissimus, Theodericus nomine, reiectoque habitu per aliquod temporis spacium seculariter uixit. Qui postmodum corde conpunctus ad propositum sacri ordinis rediit.

5. Tercio quoque, cum apud cenobium beate semperque uirginis Marie, cognomento Meleredense, demorarer,³ una noctium dum matutinorum pulsaretur signum et ego labore quodam fessus, non, ut debueram, mox ut auditum fuerat exsurrexissem, mecumque aliqui remansissent, quos uidelicet praua consuetudo illexerat, ceteris ad ecclesiam concurrentibus, egrediens autem post fratrum uestigia hanelus ascendit gradum presignatus demon, ad dorsum manibus reductis, herensque parieti bis terque repetebat dicens: 'Ego sum, ego sum, qui sto cum illis qui remanent.' Qua uoce excitus caput eleuans, uidi recognoscens quem bis dudum iam uideram. Post diem uero tertium unus ex

¹ Glaber probably entered the monastic life at Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, from which he was later expelled. He returned to Auxerre after 1035 and probably ended his life there: see above, pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

behaviour more intolerable than words can tell. An uncle of mine, who was a monk, tore me from the perverse vanity of secular life, to which I was more than most addicted, and so it was that, though barely twelve years old, I took the habit of a monk. Alas, it was a change of coat not of heart! Whatever moderate and holy advice my fathers or my spiritual brothers charitably offered me, I swelled up with a savage spirit which formed a carapace about my heart, which, at the dictates of my pride, I used to prevent the touch of what would have saved me. After this I did not obey my elders, I vexed my contemporaries, and I bore down upon those junior to me, so that truly my presence was a burden to all and my absence a relief. In the end, spurred on by such behaviour, the brethren of that place expelled me from their community, knowing full well that I should find somewhere to take me in because of my literary ability.¹ This was proved many times.

4. After this an exactly similar figure appeared to me in the monks' dormitory when I was living in the monastery of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon.² It was dawn when he rushed out of the lavatory crying: 'Where is my young man? Where is my young man?' The following day, at about the same time, a young monk of frivolous character, Theodericus by name, flung off the habit and went for a while to live the life of the world. Afterwards contrition pricked his heart and he returned to the rule of the holy order.

5. I saw the devil a third time when I was at the convent of the Blessed and Ever Virgin Mary at Moutiers.³ One night when the bell sounded for matins I did not get up immediately as I ought to have done, because I felt wearied by my labours. There were others with me seduced by this evil habit, but all the rest hastened to the church. This same devil emerged and came puffing and blowing up the stairs after the last of the brethren had gone. Leaning against the wall with his hands behind his back, he repeated two or three times: 'I am he, I am he who stays with those who hang behind.' Stirred by these words, I raised my head and recognized him as the being I had seen twice before. Two days later one of

² Glaber was a monk at Saint-Bénigne at Dijon under St William c. 1016–30: see above, pp. xxvii–xxix, xxxiii.

³ Moutiers-Sainte-Marie, a dependency of Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, which Glaber probably visited during his final period of residence at Auxerre after 1035: see above, p. xxxi.

illis fratribus qui, ut diximus, clancule cubitare soliti fuerant, pro-caciter a monasterio egressus, prefato demone instigante, sex dies extra monasterium cum secularibus tumultuose mansit. Septima tamen die correptus recipitur. Profecto, ut beatus testatur Gregorius, quibusdam hæc apparent ad sui detrimentum, aliquibus uero ad emendationis emolumentum, quod mihi contingat ad salutem oriri^a ac prouenire opto per Dominum Ihesum redemptorem nostrum.¹

f. 48^v 6. Illud nempe attentius est memorię commendandum, quoniam, dum manifestissima prodigia in corpore adhuc constitutis siue per bonos seu per sinistros spiritus ostententur, non illos diutius in hac carne uicturos quibus huiusmodi uidere contigerit. Huius quoque assertionis experimenta multa comperimus, ex quibus etiam nonnulla memorię commendari placuit, ut, quoties euen-nerit, cautelam inferant potius quam deceptionem. Apud castrum Tarnoderensem erat quidam presbiter | religiose degens, Frot-terius nomine, tempore quo Bruno Lingonum presulatum tenebat.² Hic uero una dierum dominica iam uesperascente, cum cenaturus esset, exiuit paululum se releuandi gratia ad fenestras domus suę, prospiciensque uidit a septemtrionali parte egredi acies equitum uelut in prelium innumerę multitudinis pergentes ad occidentem. Quas cum diu multumque intuitus fuisset, estuans uocare quempiam ę suis ad testimonium tanti ostentus. Dum autem cepit clamare ut occurreretur, rarescendo protinus disparuerunt. Ipse quoque tanto animi terrore percussus^b ut uix a lacrimis se continere posset. Dehinc cepit infirmari, eodemque anno, ut optime uixerat, obiit. Portento denique subtractus quod uidit, illi qui persensere testes fuerunt. Nam sequenti anno, filius regis Rotberti, Heinricus, qui post illum regnauit, ad eundem castrum ira permotus ueniens cum ingenti exercitu, multa ibidem hominum cedes ab utraque parte patrata est.³

^a oriri France; orari A

^b Perhaps add est (Winterbottom)

¹ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* xxiv. 46, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL cxliiii. 250. Glaber has already mentioned Gregory's account of St Benedict above, 3. iii. 12.

² Bruno, bishop of Langres (980–1016), whom Glaber has often mentioned, notably at 3. ii. 6. The *Histories* abound in omens such as that recorded here, which is not unlike the dragon in the sky portending the Burgundian civil war, above, 2. viii. 15.

³ Glaber's recollection of events must be confused. If this really happened in the life-

those brethren whom we have mentioned as being in the habit of secretly staying in bed, wickedly left the monastery at the instigation of the same devil, and for six days lived wildly outside with secular men. On the seventh day he was taken in again, full of remorse. Truly, as St Gregory says, such apparitions appear to some to their ruin, to others as an opportunity for self-improvement.¹ Through Lord Jesus our Redeemer I pray that this may come about for my salvation.

6. One thing we ought to remember with particular care: whenever such prodigies are clearly revealed to men still alive in this world, whether at the behest of good or evil spirits, those men do not live long afterwards. There are plenty of examples to support my claim, and from amongst them I have chosen to commit a few to record, so that whenever such a thing happens men may be on their guard and avoid being deceived. When Bruno was bishop of Langres, a priest called Frottier was living piously in the town called Tonnerre.² One Sunday as evening fell, just before dinner was served, he strolled a short while to the window of his house to relax; looking out he saw a great multitude of horsemen arrayed in line as though for battle, coming from the north and marching westwards. After looking at these intently for a time, he became agitated and called one of his servants to witness the scene, but the moment he cried out for him to come the vision wavered and vanished suddenly. So terrified was he that he could scarce refrain from tears. After this he fell ill and died in that same year; he made a good end just as he had lived a good life. He was removed by the portent which he saw: those who saw this were witnesses. In the following year Henry, King Robert's son and successor, came in anger to Tonnerre with a great army and there was an immense slaughter on both sides.³

time of Bruno of Langres, as he says, it must refer to an episode in the Burgundian civil war, which ended with Bruno's death in 1016. But Henry, the son of King Robert, was born c. 1007 and could hardly have led an army at the age of 9: above, p. 154 n. 1; J. Dhondt, 'Quelques aspects du règne de Henri I^{er}, roi de France', in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Âge dédiés à Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), p. 200. In 1015 King Robert of France attacked Burgundy and besieged Dijon, being persuaded not to devastate Saint-Bénigne only through the good offices of St Odilo: *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 173. This may refer to some episode on that expedition.

7. De hoc profecto constat quoniam ea quę uiderat et sibi prospexit et aliis. Licet dissimiliter, mirifice tamen, apud Autissiodorum in ecclesia beati Germani contigisse meminimus. Erat ibidem frater, Gerardus nomine, cui mos erat post sollemnes matutinales in oratorio remorari. Huic contigit quodam mane ut inter orationes obdormisceret. Qui protinus graui somno depressus, uelut exanimis delatus est foras monasterii, sed qualiter aut a quibus hucusque nescitur. Qui expergefactus repperit se in claustrō extra monasterium eiectum, admirans indicibiliter quod factum de sese cernebat. Simili quippe modo contigit cuidam presbitero, in eodem monasterio pernoctanti, dum in subterioribus criptis, ubi multa sanctorum requiescunt corpora, obdormiret: circa galli cantum repperit semet asportatum post chorū monachorum. Nam et de eadem ecclesia certa relatio constat quoniam, si contigerit noctu luminare extinguī, quousque reaccendatur custodes eiusdem ecclesie nullam quietem posse consequi. Preterea fuit ibidem quidam frater qui solitus erat ad altare sanctę Marię, quod excellentissime | constat, frequenter orare ac gemitus et conpunctionis lacrimas fundere. Vnum ergo ei erat quod pene uniuersis accidit, inter oratum frequenter spuere ac delumbe saliuam^a emittere.¹ Contigit uero aliquando ut somno depressus obdormiret. Apparuit ei stans iuxta altare quidam candidis indumentis circumdatus, preferens in manibus pannum candidissimum, atque in huiusmodi erumpebat uerba: 'Cur me' inquires 'sputis propriis uerberando inlinis? Nam ego, ut cernis, suscipio munus tuarum orationum, deferens illud ad conspectum misericordissimi iudicis.' Qua uisione correptus, frater ille et sese continuit, et ceteros ut se, in quantum ualerent, in sacris locis continerent ammonere curauit. Et licet hoc, natura dictante, proueniat, tamen implerisque locis gentium omnimodis abstinetur in ecclesia ab screationum sputis, nisi forte suscepta fuerint delatura exinde foras in quibusdam receptaculis, et precipue apud Grecos ubi semper tenor ecclesiasticus cautissime uiguit.

8. Clarere igitur locum predictum diutine, meritis beati Germani ac ceterorum sanctorum ibidem quiescentium, signis et prodigiis, tam in donis sanitatum quam in ultionum uindictis ad se pertinentia diripientium, manifestissimum est. Si qui nempe de primatibus

^a saliuam B; saliuū A

7. From this case it is clear that what he saw he witnessed both for himself and for others. I remember something rather different but equally remarkable which happened at the church of Saint-Germain in Auxerre. Gerard, one of the brethren, used to stay behind after matins in the church. One morning while he was in prayer he happened to fall asleep. Deep in slumber, he was at once carried out of the church for dead, but how and by whom remains as yet unknown. He awoke to find himself thrown down in the cloister outside the church; all this to his utter astonishment. A similar thing happened to a priest who was spending the night in the same church, sleeping in the underground crypt where the bodies of many saints repose. At cock-crow he found himself deposited behind the monks' choir. The following true story is also told about this church: if the night-light is extinguished the guardians can have no rest until it is relit. There was another brother there whose excellent habit it was to pray frequently at the altar of the Blessed Mary, and there he would groan and weep in penance. He had one great fault which afflicts almost everyone: at prayer he spat and feebly dribbled saliva.¹ One day he fell asleep, and there appeared to him a man all wound about in white garments standing by the altar, bearing a shining white cloth, who burst into these words: 'Why do you shower me with spittle? As you see, it is I who receive your prayers and bear them to the sight of the most merciful judge.' This vision so terrified the brother that not only did he take care to control himself, he also admonished his fellows to do likewise, so far as possible, in holy places. Although it is a perfectly natural thing to do, it has long been the custom in most places altogether to refrain from spitting in church, except into specially provided receptacles which can be removed. This is especially the case amongst the Greeks, who have always kept the church's observance scrupulously.

8. This monastery has long been famous for signs and prodigies because of the merits of the blessed Germanus and the other saints who rest there; the gift of healing has been offered and equally they have taken vengeance upon those who pillage their goods. Whenever any of the magnates of that region have invaded

¹ Awkwardly expressed (Glaber means that what most of us do occasionally, this fellow did all the time), and awkwardly adapted from Persius i. 104-5 'summa delumbe saliuā | hoc natat in labris', where 'delumbe' (referring to effeminate poetry) is neuter singular, not as here adverbial.

patrię huius loci rerum inuasores seu diremptores increuerunt, Deus exinde ultor ipsorum genus cum suis rebus in obprobrium et pene ad nichilum redigere consuevit. Huius enim testimonium inter cetera nostrę assertionis euidens extat ultio generis cuiusdam^a Bouonis necnon et filii eius Alwalonis, creberrimaque confusio Silliniaci sacrilegissimi castri.¹ Preterea egomet, quondam rogatus a conseruis et fratribus nostris eiusdem loci ut altariorum titulos, qui a scolasticis^b compositi olim fuerant, sed uetustate, ut pene cuncta, facescente minime comparebant, reformarem.² Quod, ut competens erat, libenti animo quomodo ualebam adimplere studui. Sed priusquam ad cepti operis calcem opus perducerem, ex nimia corporis statione ut reor, nocte quadam in strato conquiniscens ita contractus menbris omnibus hictica^c passione

f. 49^v | ut non erigere memet neque in latus aliud uertere ullo modo ual-
erem. Post triduum uero insecuta nocte nimiis detento angustiis apparuit mihi uir canicie uenerandus qui me in somnis per brachium erigens aiebat: 'Exple quantotius quod cepisti, dolere ultra ne pau eas.' Ilico uero expergefactus admirans memet excutiensque a lectulo cucurri ad altare uictoriosorum martyrum, Victoris uidelicet Apollinarisque ac Georgii, quoniam illorum oratorium contiguum erat domui infirmorum; ibique uniuersorum Deo humillimas grates referens alacer matutinales expleui sollemnes. Die uero insecuta, toto integerrime ualens corpore, eorundem martyrum nominibus propriis ibidem composui titulum. Eccliesię denique maioris erant altaria numero uiginti duo, quibus, ut decens erat, titulis synopi de uersibus exametris conuenienter digestis sanctorumque epitaphiis reparatis, religiosorum etiam uirorum quorundam tumulos itidem perhornare curauit. Quod sanę mentis hominibus admodum placabile fuit. Sed, ut pater Odilo sepius plangere solitus fuerat, ita contigit: 'Heu pro dolor!' inquires, 'quoniam neuum inuidentię, licet in ceteris grassetur hominibus, tamen in sinibus aliquorum monachiliter uiuere professorum^d cubile sibi locauit.' Nam quidam a sui monasterii fratribus exosus discedens uenit ad nostros; a quibus, ut mos illorum semper fuit, deuote susceptus est. Is autem ueneno inuidię infecit abbatem cum aliquibus monachis, compellens in tantum aduersum me odium ut prescriptos altariorum titulos destruerent uniuersos.

^a cuiusdam *B*; cuidam *A* ^b scolasticis *D*; scolastici *A* ^c *Perhaps* hictica
^d professorum *France*; professis *A*

¹ Seignelay is near Auxerre, in the *département* of the Yonne. As Prou, p. 120 n. 1, observes, an agreement is recorded in Leiden, Cod. Voss. Lat. Q. 41, ff. 1^v-2, between one

their property or plundered their goods, God the avenger has cast their posterity into dishonour and almost destroyed them and their goods. Evident proof of this assertion is offered by the case (amongst others) of the vengeance which fell upon the family of one Bovon and his son Auvalon and the disasters which afflicted the sacrilegious town of Seignelay.¹ Here is another example concerning myself: once our brethren and fellow servants in that place asked me to renew the inscriptions on the altars; these had been written by scholarly men long before, but through the passage of time, like most things, they were no longer legible.² The work was congenial, so I sought to carry it out to the best of my ability. But before I could complete the enterprise, one night as I lay upon my palliasse, all my limbs, perhaps because of the long hours of standing, began to contract themselves with the jaundice so that I could not get up or even turn over. One night, after this agony had been going on for three days, a venerable and grey-haired old man appeared before me and in my dream drew me upright by the arm, saying: 'Finish what you have begun as quickly as possible and fear no further affliction.' I woke astounded, leapt from my bed unaided and rushed to the altar of the victorious martyrs, Victor, Apollinaris, and George, whose chapel happened to be next door to the infirmary, and there I gave humble thanks to the God of all, and assisted joyfully in the celebration of matins. On the following day, by which time I was fully recovered, I composed the inscription with the names of these same holy martyrs. Within the great church there were twenty-two altars, on all of which, with red ochre, I duly restored the inscriptions in hexameters, along with the epitaphs of the saints; I even so honoured the tombs of some religious. All this seemed proper to men of good will. But things turned out as the holy father Odilo was wont to lament in these words: 'Alas, though the blemish of envy stalks abroad amongst other men, it has none the less found a place for itself in the bosoms of some who profess to live the religious life.' A monk who was much disliked by the brethren of his house left it and came to us, where, as was the custom, he was very well received. But he infected the abbot and certain monks with the venom of his envy, and to such an extent were they persuaded to hate me that they erased all the inscriptions on the altars.

Awalon and the abbey of Saint-Germain in 1106, relating to rights over Seignelay and neighbouring villages: see L. Delisle, *Bull. hist. et philol.* 1886, 58-60.

² On the inscriptions at Saint-Germain see M. Prou, *Gazette archéologique*, xiv (1888), 299-303.

Sed protinus Deo ultore adfuit illi ue uindex qui incentor exstiterat fraternę discordię. Multatus enim ilico damnabili oculorum cecitate, offendens pedibus inrecuperabiliter usque in finem uite suę. Cuius denique rei euentus tam uicinis quam longe positus non minimam prebuit ammirationem.

f. 50 **9.** Contigit ibidem ipso in tempore ut aliqui e fratribus subinde migrarent ab hac luce. Quorum unus nomine Walterius, cognomento, ut erat statura, Pusillus, ac natura simplicissimus, incipiente nocte magni sabbati resurrectionis dominicę¹ et ipse obiit. Apparuit enim in hora sui exitus innumerabilibus uiris ac mulieribus | columna lucis ignea a culmine monasterii ad celum usque pertingens. Quibus nempe non dubium fuit misericordissimi Dei actum largitione qui animam fratris istius suę gloriosę resurrectionis uoluit participem fore ac uiuentibus innocentię uiam demonstrare.

10. Quęri solet a nonnullis cur tempore nouę legis uel gratię non manifeste sicut antiquitus fiunt uisiones diuinitus ac rerum miracula. Quibus paucis respondendum est ex ipsius diuinę scripturę testimoniis, si tamen cor illorum capax fuerit Sancti Spiritus donorum. Libet quoque ut Deuteronomium euidentis primitus exhibeat testimonium. Postquam enim populus Hebręorum, passus quadraginta annorum cęleste manna, Iordanem transiens in terram uenit Chanaan, cessauit celum pluere illud nec ultra usi sunt tali cibo filii Israhel.² Quid igitur in hoc facto nobis innuit,^a quibus pene omnia in figura contingunt, nisi quod transito nostro Iordane, id est Christi baptisate, non ultra presagiorum celitus signa debere inquiri? Sed potius nobis debet panis uiuus ille sufficere, quo quis uescetur uiuet in ęternum possessurus terram uiuentium.³ Rursus uero ex precepto Domini constitutum est a Moyse ut quęque uasa ex preda hostium illi populo prouenirent lignea aqua expiarentur et ęnea igne.⁴ Simili quoque modo figuratim exprimit quoniam uasa, id est homines qui ex preda hostis antiqui in partem cesserunt Saluatoris, aqua baptismatis atque igne martyrii purificandi essent. Non minus etiam uirgeus ille

^a Perhaps innuitur (*Winterbottom*), cf. below, p. 230

¹ i.e. Holy Saturday (Eastern Even).

² Josh. 5: 12; cf. Deut. 8: 2–3; Josh. 3.

³ Cf. John 6: 51–2, and for *terra uiuentium* e.g. Pss. 26 (27): 13, 141: 6 (142: 5), Jer. 11: 19.

But God the avenger soon brought punishment upon this fomenter of fraternal discord. He at once suffered the loss of his eyesight and was forced to blunder along irrecoverably for the rest of his life. News of this outcome caused surprise and wonder locally and even also in distant places.

9. At about the same time some of the brethren of the house departed this life. Amongst them was Walter, a fellow of simple and straightforward nature, whom we called ‘Tiny’ because of his small stature. He died early on the night of the great Sabbath of Our Lord’s Resurrection.¹ At the very moment of his death innumerable men and women saw a fiery column of light extending from the roof of the church to the very heavens. No one could doubt that this was the work of the most merciful Lord, who wanted the soul of this brother to share in His glorious Resurrection, and to demonstrate to those living the path of innocence.

10. People often ask why it is that in this age of the New Law, the New Covenant, God does not reveal Himself manifestly in visions and miracles as in ancient times. To these a brief reply must be made by reference to the testimony of Holy Scripture itself, if indeed their hearts are capable of receiving the gifts of the Holy Spirit. I am happy first to employ clear evidence from Deuteronomy. The Hebrews lived on heavenly manna for forty years, but once they had crossed the River Jordan and entered into the land of Canaan this food ceased to fall from heaven and was eaten no more by the children of Israel.² What does this signify for us, to whom almost everything is a symbol, but that once our Jordan, by which we understand the baptism of Christ, is crossed, we should no longer seek for signs and wonders from heaven? Rather we ought to be satisfied with that living bread which gives to those who eat it the gift of eternal life and possession of the land of the living.³ Again the Lord commanded through Moses that all the vessels taken in booty from the enemy should be purified, by water if they were of wood, by fire if they were of bronze.⁴ This similarly signifies that men, who like these vessels, have as it were been taken from the ancient enemy and gone over to the side of the Saviour, must be purified by the water of baptism and the fire of martyrdom. It is in the same allegorical way that we must regard

⁴ Num. 31: 22–3.

serpens, qui Moysi pauorem incussit, ita ut fugeret illum, et rursus accipiens illum caudatenus effectus est uirga, typice in hoc facto perspicendus est.¹ Signatur per serpentem ex uirga factum deitatis potentia ex sanctę Marię Virginis carne induta. Per Moysen enim Iudaicus populus, qui cernens Dominum Ihesum uerum Deum et hominem, fugit ab eo incredulus; sed recipiet illum circa finem seculi, quod exprimitur per caudam serpentis.² Ille quoque transitus maris Rubri, in quo illud mare diuisum uel exsiccatum^a est, deinde gentes ex precepto Domini gladio extirpatę euidenter signant regnum Israheliticę gentis temporaliter subsistens marcescendo adnullari.³ In initio quippe nouę gratię uel regni Christi stans Dominus Ihesus atque ambulans super fluctus maris, ac Petro quem ꝛclesię suę prefecerat secum ambulare concessit;⁴ sed

f. 50^v

quid hoc facto | fidelibus uniuersis innuitur nisi quod, subactis gentibus uniuersis et non funditus perditis uel extirpatis, ex eisdem stabilietur Christi regnum per secula mansurum? Est enim frequens adtestatio diuini sermonis quod uidelicet mare figuram gerat presentis seculi.⁵

II. Sepe igitur dum aliquis rem permaximam uerbis elucidare cupit, in sese deficiens minuitur,^b ut scriptura dicit: 'Qui scrutator est maiestatis, opprimitur a gloria.'⁶ Sed cur ista premisimus breuiter intimabimus. Constat enim mysterium eucaristię paucissimis perspicuum, dum sit pene mortalibus uniuersis incognitum, sicuti cetera quę fide constant et intuitum oculorum non exposcunt. Illud precipue commonendum, quod corporis et sanguinis Domini Ihesu Christi uiuificans confectio existimetur nullatenus in sese pati dispendium aut casu aliquo incurrere periculum. Si quando autem uidetur conlabi seu deperire per negligentiam sibi tractantium, restat eisdem, si non alacriter penituerint, damnationis iudicium. Ac cum Dominus dixerit: 'Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem habet uitam aeternam, et ego resuscitabo eum',⁷ nullo modo putare debemus ut quodquam

^a exsiccatum B; excicatum A^b minuitur *Winterbottom*; minuit A¹ Exod. 4: 2-4.

² The belief that the Jews would return to God as the end of the world approached is expressed by Adson in his *Liber de Antichristo*: 'Iudaei etiam tunc conuertentur ad Dominum', *PL* ci. 1296. Bishop Bruno of Langres (on whom see above, 3. ii. 6 n.) appointed Adson, abbot of Montier-en-Der (968-92), to be abbot of Saint-Bénigne shortly after his succession. Adson enjoyed close relations with Bruno's tutor at Rheims, Gerbert of

the occasion when Moses was so terrified by the rod which became a living serpent that he fled from it, but when he seized its tail it became a rod once more:¹ the serpent formed from the rod signifies the might of the Godhead made flesh through the Blessed Virgin Mary. Moses symbolizes the Jews who saw the Lord Jesus, God and true man, but fled unbelieving before Him: they will return to Him towards the end of the world just as Moses seized the tail of the serpent.² That crossing of the Red Sea, when the waters were divided or dried up, and the slaughters of peoples at the word of the Lord, these signify the kingdom of the Jews which lasted for a time, only to wane and come to nothing.³ At the very beginning of the new time of grace or Kingdom of Christ, the Lord Jesus stood up and walked upon the waves of the sea and He permitted Peter, whom He had made head of His church, to walk with Him:⁴ but what does this reveal to all the faithful except that all the nations, subdued but not destroyed or annihilated, will serve as foundations for the Kingdom of Christ which will endure throughout all time? There is plentiful evidence in Holy Scripture that the sea prefigures this world of ours.⁵

II. Often when a man seeks to elucidate some great matter in words, he fails, and so feels himself diminished, for as Scripture says: 'Who inquires into majesty is overwhelmed by glory.'⁶ We will now explain briefly what we mean by this preamble. The mystery of the eucharist is only understood by a few; like many of the other truths of the faith which cannot be seen by the eye it is unknown to almost all. But this especially must be noted: it is thought that the life-giving fabric of the body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ does not suffer any loss to itself or by any chance incur danger. If it ever seems to be harmed or perishing through the neglect of those who are its guardians, they must repent, and quickly, lest the judgement of damnation fall upon them. The Lord says: 'Who eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life and I will raise him up.'⁷ But it must be recognized that no animal

Aurillac (on whom see above, 1. iv. 13), and had a considerable literary reputation. However he remained at Dijon for only two years before returning to Montier-en-Der: Bulst, pp. 31-5.

⁴ Matt. 14: 25-31, 16: 18.⁵ Because it is changeable.⁶ Prov. 25: 27.⁷ John 6: 55.³ Exod. 14: 1-26, etc.

animal preter hominem carnis resurrectionem percipiat; sic nec nisi fidelis etiam eucaristiam percipit ad salutem. Denique exstitit quidam nostro in tempore in clericali habitu, dum iure culparetur quodam crimine, contigit ut sumeret audacter iuditio examinationis donum eucaristię, calicis uidelicet sanguinis Christi. Cui protinus per medium umbilici egredi uisa est pars candidissima quam sumserat eiusdem sacrificii, dans procul dubio euidens inditium reatus se indigne percipientis; ilico uero confitens quod prius negauerat digne penituit. In Cabilonensi quoque pago ob imminentem cladem uidimus qui uidere ex pane sacrato ueram carnem effectam. Apud Diuionem castrum eodem tempore, dum a quodam deferretur cuidam egrotanti, casu excidit^a e manu ferentis; qui attente querens repperire minime potuit. Post annum uero euolutum repertum est iuxta uiam publicam ubi | sub diuo ceciderat, ita candidum atque incontaminatum ac si hora eadem cecidisset. Lugduni denique, in monasterio Barbarense,¹ dum quidam, ut credi debet, inconuenienter bustulam uel pixidem, in qua seruabatur, ut mos est, adtractare uellet, e manibus illius sese eripiens longius in aere stetit.

12. De crismale etiam quod a quibusdam corporalis appellatur plurimum expertum est prestare remedia, si fides exigentium non fuerit dubia.² Nam contra incendia sepius eleuatum, aut extinguendo comperuit, aut retrorsum pepulit, seu in partem alteram retorsit. Membra quippe egrorum dolentia multoties sana restituit, febricitantibus nichilominus impositum salutem contulit. Apud monasterium Reomense,³ tempore uenerabilis Willelmi abbatis, casu contigit ut incendium circumiacentia monasterii depopularetur. Arripientes autem eiusdem loci fratris crismale conto impositum, eleuauerunt illud contra incendiū flammam dire flagrantem.⁴ Statim uero isdem ignis in sese retorquens minime amplius quam inuaserat arrippere ualuit. Pannus tamen ille dominicus, aura flante a contulo elapsus plus minus duobus miliariis auolauit usque ad uillam, cui Tualgas uocabulum est,

^a excidit *Winterbottom*; excedit *A*

¹ This was a very ancient monastic site dating back to the 3rd c. It later became the abbey of St Andrew and St Martin. Its first surviving charter is of 640: C. de Charpin-Feugerolles and G. Guigue, *Grande Pancarte ou Cartulaire de l'Île-Barbe* (2 vols., Montbrison, 1923-4).

² The corporal is a cloth to cover the sacred elements in the eucharist; a *crismale* should be a container to hold chrism. Niermeyer, pp. 177, 275 quotes the two identified

except man can receive the resurrection of the flesh; similarly only the truly faithful can receive the eucharist for his salvation. In our own day a man who wore clerical clothes was committed for some crime; during the judicial process he had the audacity to take of the gift of the eucharist, the chalice of the blood of Christ. Immediately the white bread, that part of the sacrifice which he had already consumed, came out through his navel, evident proof of the guilt of one who had received it unworthily; the fellow then confessed what he had first denied and did suitable penance. Also in Chalon we have met some who saw the consecrated wafer turn to actual flesh at the approach of a great disaster. At Dijon, at the same time, the sacrament was being carried to a sick man when it fell from the hands of the bearer who sought it anxiously but in vain. A year later it was found close to a public road at the place where it had been lost in the open air; it was as white and as unblemished as if it had just fallen. In the monastery on the Île-Barbe at Lyons,¹ when some fellow clumsily, as it would seem, caught hold of the box or pyx in which the sacrament was usually kept, it flew from his hands and hung in the air for a long time.

12. As for the 'chrismal' (or corporal as some call it), it has often proved to be a saving remedy for those who have approached it in true faith.² It has often been elevated against fire, either to put it out or to push it back or to redirect it to another area. It has often restored the limbs of the sick to health and its imposition has healed those with fevers. It happened that the neighbourhood of the abbey of Réome was devastated by fire at the time when the holy William was its abbot.³ The brethren took the corporal, fixed it on a pole, and raised it in the air against the ravaging flames.⁴ Immediately the fire retreated and could spread its devastation no further. However, this banner of the Lord was torn by the blast of the wind from its standard and carried about two miles to the village of

only here; and this suggests that *crismale* could mean a cloth to cover relics, and that on this occasion the host was being carried aloft, as often relics were, to ward off disaster.

³ Moutiers-Saint-Jean, called Réome, on which see Roverius, *Reomaus*. E. Petit pointed out that here Glaber shows a familiarity with an obscure house explicable only if he had resided there: 'Raoul Glaber', *Revue historique*, xlviii (1892), 283-99. See also above, 2. ix. 19; cf. p. xxxi.

⁴ The custom of carrying sacred objects as talismans against disaster was an ancient one. Saints' relics were often used for this purpose: Adhémar de Chabannes, iii. xxxv, records how the relics of St Martial were borne in procession around the Limousin at the time of the plague in 1029.

ibique super domum cuiusdam ueniens sidit; quo prosecutus ad monasterium dignanter est delatus. Contigerat enim ipso anno die Pasce in ecclesia que monasterio adiacet, beati Pauli nomini dicata, ut calix uiuifici sanguinis de sacerdotis manibus in terram laberetur. Sed ut predictus pater comperit, ut erat uir sollertis ingenii, tribus e suis monachis huius delicti culpa penitere precepit, uidelicet pertimescens ne forte culpa insipientis presbiteri inuolueret suos cum illo ad uindictam ultionis; quod etiam fecisset, si non obstitisset prouidentia sagacis uiri, ut rei probauit euentus. Atque idcirco ista premisimus ut intimaremus fidenter credere quoniam, sicubi casus huius sacri ac uiuifici doni neglegenter euenerit, ultionis | cladem diuinitus imminere ac subsequi; quemadmodum uersa uice quolibet in loco condigne illud tractari contigerit habundare bonorum commodis uniuersis.

f. 51^v

13.¹ Sed et illius magnifici misterii celebratio, quantum prosit animabus defunctorum fidelium, cum in multis sit probatissimum, libet tamen e diuersis presentialiter producere ad medium unum. In remotioribus Africe partibus erat quidam anachorita, de quo ferebatur quod spatium uiginti annorum tenebat illum omnino segregatum a conspectu ullius hominis. Viuebat enim labore manuum et radicibus herbarum. Contigit ut homuntio quidam, cuius Marsiliensis,^a unus ex illis circuitoribus regionum qui nunquam saturantur experientia et nouitatibus locorum, illuc pergens deueniret. Qui famam illius anachorite comperiens, aggressus solitudinem ardore solis peruste regionis, diu multumque illum inquirens si forte repperiret. Tandem ille prior solitarius se inquirentem aspiciens uocauit eum ut ad se diuerteret. Qui ueniens ad illum interrogare eundem cepit quis aut unde esset, seu cuius rei gratia illuc deuenisset. Cui protinus respondit, ipsius desiderio conspitiendi accensus illuc deuenisse nihilque preter eum aliud querere. Deinde uir ille theologus subsequutus ait: 'Noui te' inquit 'a partibus Galliarum huc deuenisse; sed, queso, dic mihi si^b cenobium Cluniense,^c quod in eisdem partibus habetur, aliquando uidisti?' At ille dixit: 'Vidi', inquit, 'et optime cognitum est mihi.' Tunc dixit ei: 'Scito' ait 'pre cunctis Romani orbis illud ualere precipue in liberatione animarum a demonica dominatione. Tanta enim uiget in eo uiuifici sacrificii frequens immolatio ut

Tivauche, where it came to rest on a house; it was followed and brought back in honour. At Easter of that same year, in the church of Saint Paul close to that monastery, the chalice of life-giving blood slipped to the ground from the hands of the celebrant. The holy and wise father, hearing of it, ordered three of his monks to do penance for this fault, fearing lest the guilt of this foolish priest should involve his own people in his punishment. This really would have happened but for the wisdom of this holy man, as the sequel proved. We have told all this to show that we truly believe that where the holy and life-giving sacrifice suffers injury through negligence, avenging disaster from God follows hard in its track, and that by contrast places where it is worthily treated are given a plenitude of good things.

13.¹ As for the celebration of that magnificent and awesome mystery, it is proved already on many counts that it confers great benefits upon the souls of the faithful departed; however, we have chosen to make known one case amongst many others. In the most remote regions of Africa there lived a hermit of whom it is said that he had lived there wholly cut off from the sight of men for twenty years. He lived by the labour of his hands and on the roots of plants. It so happened that by chance a citizen of Marseilles, one of those fellows who travel widely widening their experience and seeing new things and are never satisfied, came to that region. Hearing of the hermit, he went into that lonely desert of blazing sun, long seeking to find him. At last the solitary, seeing the fellow who was seeking after him, called him over and asked who he was, whence he came, and why he had come to that place. The fellow at once replied that he had come to see him, and for no other reason. Then the holy man said: 'I know that you have come from Gaul. Tell me, have you ever seen the monastery of Cluny, which is in that country?' The fellow replied: 'I have, I know it well.' Then the hermit went on: 'Know that it exceeds all the monasteries in the Roman world in the number of souls it liberates from the clutches of the devil. The life-giving sacrifice is so often performed there

¹ The following story of the African hermit is told by Jotsald, *De Vita et Virtutibus sancti Odilonis abbatis*, PL cxlii. 926-7. There are differences between the two versions: in Jotsald the traveller is from Rodés and the whole point of the story is that it inspired Odilo to institute the Feast of All Souls. Clearly this was a Cluniac tradition which both Jotsald and Glaber are reporting independently. The insertions in B strengthen the idea that B came from western France: see above, p. lxxxvii.

^a marsiliensis A; genere teiphalus interpolated in B ^b si A; si nosti B
^c cluniense A; maioris monasterii interpolated in B

nulla pene dies pertranseat in qua non de potestate malignorum demonum tale commertium animas eripiat.⁷ Erat siquidem, ut ipsi prospeximus, mos illius cenobii a prima diei aurora usque in horam prandii propter fratrum copiam continua missarum celebratio; quæ uidelicet tam digne puræque ac reuerenter fiebat ut magis angelica quam humana exhibitio putabatur. |

f. 52 **14.** Anno igitur millesimo quadragesimo primo incarnationis dominicæ, extitit terminus Paschalis duodecimo Kalendarum Aprilium, et ipse dies undecimo, atque idcirco adnotare placuit quoniam nec communis umquam sit temperior, nec embolismus septimum^a Kalendarum Maiarum diem aliquando excedit, sed inter ipsos triginta quinque dies legitime dies sacerrimus Paschæ coartatur.¹ Obiit quoque eodem anno Chonradus imperator, cui successit in regnum Heinricus filius ipsius, iam ab eodem patre rex constitutus.²

15.³ Contigit uero ipso in tempore, inspirante diuina gratia primitus in partibus Aquitanicis, deinde paulatim per uniuersum Galliarum territorium, firmari pactum propter timorem Dei pariter et amorem, taliter ut nemo mortalium a feriæ quartæ uespere usque ad secundam feriam incipiente luce ausu temerario presumeret quippiam alicui hominum per uim auferre, neque ultionis uindictam a quocumque inimico exigere, nec etiam a fideiussore uadimonium sumere. Quod^b si ab aliquo fieri contigisset contra hoc decretum publicum, aut de uita componeret, aut a Christianorum consortio expulsus patria pelleretur. Hoc insuper placuit uniuersis, ueluti uulgo dicitur, ut treuga Domini uocaretur,⁴ quæ uidelicet non solum humanis fulta presidiiis, uerum etiam multoties diuinis

^a septimum *Migne*; septimo *A* ^b quod *B* (*it would seem*); quo *A*

¹ Easter is the first Sunday after the 'Paschal full moon' or *terminus Paschalis*, defined as the 14th of the first lunar month (theoretically equivalent to the Jewish Nisan) by a lunisolar calendar in which an extra month is added 7 years in every 19, so that the *terminus Paschalis* shall never fall earlier than 21 Mar., the notional date of the vernal equinox: Dionysius Exiguus, *Liber de Paschate*, PL lxvii. 438–503; Bede, *De temporum ratione*, in *Beda's opera de temporibus*, ed. C. W. Jones (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), pp. 173–291. The place of each lunar year in the 19-year cycle is reassigned to the solar year in which it begins as its Golden Number, being 1 more than the remainder to 19 of the year AD; the Golden Numbers to which this intercalation or embolism is attached are (in the Julian calendar) III, VI, VIII, XI, XIV, XVII, and XIX, these years being called embolismic and the rest common. (Such common and embolismic years have of course nothing to

that hardly a day passes without some souls being torn thereby from the power of the devils.' In fact, as we ourselves observed, the number of brethren in that house was so great that it was the custom to celebrate mass without interruption from daybreak to dinner-time. These masses are so reverently, piously, and worthily performed that you would have thought them the work of angels rather than men.

14. In the year 1041 of the Incarnation of Our Lord the limiting date which determined Easter fell on 21 March and Easter Day fell on 22 March; and in this connection I take pleasure in observing that neither in a common year can the feast ever be earlier than this, nor in an embolismic year can the feast be later than 25 April, but only within those thirty-five days may the most sacred day of Easter be celebrated.¹ That same year the Emperor Conrad died, to be succeeded by his son Henry who had already been made king by his father.²

15.³ At that time, by divine inspiration, a pact was confirmed first in Aquitaine and then gradually throughout Gaul; according to this men agreed, through both love and fear of the Lord, that from Wednesday evening to dawn on the following Monday no man might presume to steal by force from another, or wreak vengeance upon an enemy or even take surety from an oath-taker. Whoever broke this public decree was to pay for it with his life or be driven from his own country and the company of his fellow Christians. It was further unanimously decided that this law should be called, in the vulgar tongue, the Truce of God.⁴ It was not merely upheld by human sanctions, but also, as has frequently been demonstrated,

do with the common years and leap-years of the civil calendar.) Since intercalation delays the start of the new lunar year, Easter can fall on 22 Mar. only in a common year and on 25 Apr. only in an embolismic; specifically in years having the respective Golden Numbers XVI, with the Paschal full moon on 21 Mar., and VIII (18 Apr.). In 1041, whose Golden Number was XVI, 21 Mar. was a Saturday; Easter therefore fell on the 22nd. Glaber loosely employs *communis* and *embolismus* for Easter in a common and an embolismic year respectively.

² Glaber has already recorded Conrad II's death in 1039 (above, 4. ix. 26 with n.). Wipo, pp. 42–3, records Henry III's coronation by Pilgrim, archbishop of Cologne, at Aachen in 1028.

³ Hugh of Flavigny, p. 403, uses this chapter for his account of the Truce of God; he also notes its non-observance, as Glaber does in para. 16.

⁴ For the relationship between the Peace of God, which Glaber has already described, and the Truce of God, see above, 4. v. 14–16n.

suffragata terroribus. Nam plerique uesani audaci temeritate prescriptum pactum non timere transgredi, in quibus protinus aut diuina uindex ira seu humanus gladius ultor extitit. Et hoc passim tam frequenter contigit ut pre sui multitudine singulatim non queant adnotari, et hoc satis iuste. Nam sicut dies dominicus propter dominicam resurrectionem uenerabilis habetur, et octauus cognominatur, ita quintus, sextus et septimus ob dominicę cenę et eiusdem passionis reuerentiam debent ab iniquis actionibus esse feriat.¹

16. Contigit enim ut dum pene, sicut iam diximus, per totas Gallias hoc statutum firmiter custodiretur, Neustrie gens illud suscipere recusaret.² Erat enim huius rei occasio dissidium superbissimi litigii, quod exortum fuerat inter Heinricum regem, filium Rotberti, et filios supradicti Odonis,³ qui uicissim incendiis bella miscentes intestina, sibimet dampna inferentes non modica, plurimas^a suorum strages dederunt. Deinde quoque | occulto Dei iudicio cepit deseuire in ipsorum plebibus diuina ultio. Consumpsit etiam quidam mortifer ardor multos tam^b de magnatibus quam de mediocribus atque infimis populi; quosdam uero truncatis membrorum partibus reseruauit ad futurorum exemplum. Tunc etiam pene gens totius orbis sustinuit penuriam pro raritate uini et tritici.

17. Eodem uero anno, id est quinto post quadragesimum atque millesimum dominice incarnationis annum, antedictus Heinricus filius Chonradi, rex Saxonum iam in re, Romanorum uero imperator in spe, duxit uxorem filiam Willelmi Pictaurore ducis, nomine Agnetem,⁴ quam etiam desponsauit in ciuitate Crisopolitana, quę

^a plurimas B; plurima A

^b tam Pithou; iam A

¹ Glaber's comment that Sunday is the octave is confusing, because in Christian practice it is always the first day of the week. Here, however, he is discussing the Truce of God which outlawed war on certain days, and Glaber is explaining the special solemnity of the days 'from Wednesday evening to dawn on the following Monday'. They recall, he says, the Last Supper on Maundy Thursday, the Passion on Good Friday, and the Resurrection on Easter Sunday. The source of confusion is the fact that he is evidently counting from the first feast of Easter week, Palm Sunday, which means that Maundy Thursday is the fifth day, Good Friday the sixth, and Easter Sunday the eighth day.

² Glaber uses the word Neustria infrequently and always with the meaning of Northern France. This is the sense in which Richer, i. 15, ii. 11, uses it, and many others, but the *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vici*, p. 70, employs the term to mean Normandy. On Glaber's use of 'Austrasia' to mean Burgundy see e.g. 3. iii. 8, 3. ix. 37.

by divine vengeance. Various madmen in their folly did not fear to break the pact, and immediately divine punishment or the avenging sword of men fell upon them. This happened so often in so many places that the frequency of the event deters me from recording individual instances. This is only just. For while Sunday is a holy day in recollection of the Resurrection of Our Lord (it is called the octave), equally the fifth, sixth, and seventh days of the week should be freed from wrong actions out of respect for the Supper and Passion of Our Lord.¹

16. While this law was, as we have said, strictly observed throughout almost all Gaul, the people of Neustria refused to conform to it.² This was because of an arrogant quarrel which had arisen between King Henry, son of Robert, and the sons of that Odo of whom we have already made mention.³ During their civil wars each side used fire, inflicting heavy losses and much damage upon the other. Then, by a hidden judgement, divine vengeance struck their people. A fatal fever raged amongst them, killing men of all degrees, magnates, middling, and poor. Some, indeed, were left alive, but lacking an arm or a leg they served as examples for future generations. At the same time there was a famine throughout the world because of the lack of wine and wheat.

17. In the same year, 1045 of the Incarnation, Henry son of Conrad, currently king of Saxony and expected to be Roman emperor, married Agnes, the daughter of William duke of Poitou.⁴ The nuptials were celebrated in the city of Chrysopolis, which is called

³ After the death of Odo II in 1037, on which see above, 3. ix. 38, his inheritance was divided between his two sons. Theobald, the elder, took the old family lands of Blois and Tours, while Stephen, the younger, acquired the counties of Troyes and Meaux which Odo II had seized on the death of Count Stephen in 1019 or later, as Glaber has narrated above, 3. ii. 5. In 1041 they raised a rebellion against King Henry of France, who, in turn, allied with the count of Anjou, Geoffrey Martel; Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, pp. 194–7. On the conflict between the houses of Capet, Blois, and Anjou see below, ii. 19.

⁴ Henry III's first wife had been Gunhild, daughter of Cnut of Denmark and England: Hampe, p. 39. In 1043 he married Agnes of Aquitaine, daughter of Duke William V and a granddaughter of Otto-William, count of Mâcon (see above, 3. ii. 6n.). For an outline of her life see R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), pp. 76–8. During his reform at Gorze, St William appointed as abbot Siegfried of Metz, who denounced the French and Aquitanian followers of Agnes in such the same style employed by his mentor against the followers of Constance of France (above, 3. ix. 40, *Life*, c. xii): Bulst, pp. 88–9.

uulgo Vesuntio uocatur. Illuc denique ob^a amoris ac beniuolentię gratiam utriusque conuenit maxima nobilium multitudo, episcoporum uero numero uiginti octo. Prouenerat enim in deditionem predicti regis regnum Austrasiorum, quod illi a progenitoribus competeat.¹ Simul etiam genti Hunorum proprio moderamine regem Abbonem nomine instituerat. Vnanimiter enim uniuersi marchiones ac comites tam ex Italia quam ex Germania longe lateque eiusdem regis dominium semet superexercere gratanter expetebant. Et non inmerito: erat enim affabilitate gratissimus ac liberalitate^b perspicuus atque humilitatis gratia preditus; nec cuiuspiam extolentię nutu notabatur indeptus, atque idcirco uniuersis circumcirca existebat amabilis. Ipso itidem anno predicta gens Vngrorum eius imperio rebellis extitit, quam ille hostiliter aggressus potenter deuicit sibi que tributariam subiugauit.² Tamen pro pudor! unum in eo erat nimium reprehensibile, quod incontinentia carnis luxurię infamabatur. Illud enim uitium plus ceteris in genere humano rerum ordinem turbat.

f. 53 18.³ Sequenti igitur anno, id est quadagesimo sexto post millesimum, facta est per loca magna uini sterilitas et leguminum. Post hæc uero sexto idus Nouembrii mensis, luna quarta decima, nulla currente epacta, concurrente^c septimo, facta est eclypsis lune hominibus ualde tremenda.⁴ Nam octaua hora noctis inter solem et ipsam lunam siue patratum a Deo ostensum, seu interuenientem spera alterius syderis: | qualiter euenerit manet notum scientię Conditoris. Ipsa quoque luna primitus pene tota facta est sicut teter sanguis, paululum euadendo usque ad auroram superuenientis diei. Eodem nihilominus mense, apud castrum sancti Florentini quod est super Armentionem fluium, circa medium cuiusdam

^a ob *BD*; ab *A* ^b liberalitate *B*; liberitate *A* ^c concurrente *B*; cum currente *A*

¹ The defeat of Odo II and his death at the battle of Bar in 1037, on which see above, 3. ix. 38, had enabled Conrad II to absorb the old kingdom of Burgundy, whose last king, Rudolf III, had died in 1032. Burgundy passed to Henry III at his accession.

² Glaber has referred to the Hungarians a number of times; especially in connection with their conversion (1. v. 22 and 3. i. 2), which opened the route across central Europe to Jerusalem (ibid.; cf. 4. vi. 21). Glaber's account here is a travesty. In 1038, on the death of St Stephen, his nephew Peter Orseolo, son of his sister's marriage to the Doge of Venice, succeeded. Peter's dependence on foreigners, especially Germans and Italians, provoked a native rebellion led by Samuel Aba, who may be the 'Abbo' mentioned here by Glaber. Henry III intervened in support of Peter: the German victory which over-

Besançon in the vulgar tongue. Because of their love and devotion to the couple a great crowd of nobles and some twenty-eight bishops gathered for the occasion. The king had received the submission of the kingdom of Austrasia, which belonged to him by hereditary right.¹ He had also installed a king, one Abbo, to rule the Huns. All the marquesses and counts of the whole of both Italy and Germany hastened from far and wide to submit with joy to his government—as was only proper, for he was a man of many qualities. He was graciously affable, manifestly generous, and entirely modest; he did not suffer from pride and hence he was loved by all around. In the same year the Hungarians rebelled against his authority. He attacked them with a great force, subdued them, and levied a tribute.² Alas, he had one thoroughly reprehensible trait. He shamed himself by indulging in the delights of the flesh. This vice, more than any other, brings disorder to human society.

18.³ In the following year, the forty-sixth after the millennium, the world suffered a great famine of wine and vegetables. Later, on 8 November, the fourteenth day of the lunar month, there being no epact, in the seventh concurrent, there was an eclipse of the moon which terrified men.⁴ At the eighth hour of the night either God placed some wondrous thing between the sun and moon, or the sphere of some other star intruded into that position. What really happened is known only to the Creator. At first the whole moon took on a foul and bloody aspect, which went on gradually disappearing until dawn next day. That very month, in the town of Saint-Florentin by the River Armançon, about midday, there fell

threw Aba and re-established Peter is recorded below iv. 23 with n. See E. Pamlényi (ed.), *A History of Hungary* (Budapest, 1973), pp. 42–3.

³ Hugh of Flavigny, p. 404, refers to these shortages under 1045. This passage appears to be an amplification of the short reference to a famine in para. 16 above.

⁴ This eclipse happened on 8 Nov. 1044: Oppolzer, p. 359. See also G. C. Chambers, *The Story of Eclipses* (London, 1889), pp. 208–9. Glaber appears to have his chronological table askew, giving us the epact (defined by the practice then obtaining as the age of the ecclesiastical moon on 22 Mar.) of 1045, and the concurrent, or excess of the solar year over exact multiples of 52 weeks (the *feria* of 24 Mar.: Jones, edn. of Bede (above), p. 236 n. 1), p. 387) of 1044. The values in question for those years are (Glaber's figures in bold):

Year	Epact	Concurrent
1044	18	7
1045	0	1
1046	11	2

(See definitions and tables in revised Du Cange *s.v. annus*.)

diei cecidit de cęlo quod grece dicitur *selas* uel *casma* seu *palmecie*, dum fulgor etherei splendoris insolito ad terras emittitur; insulsum enim uulgus perhibet stellam de celo cadere.¹ Tunc ergo predicto mense Nouembrio perducte sunt in quibusdam locis Galliarum preter solitum ad maturitatem segetes primę saccionis Augusti mensis collecte mense Octobrio, quod non sine magna admiratione contigit fieri.²

ii. *De bello mire gesto*³

19. Sub eodem quoque tempore fuerat orta grandis discordia usque ad effusionem multi sanguinis inter Heinricum, Francorum regem, Rotberti filium, et filios suprataxati Odonis, Tetbaldum uidelicet atque Stephanum.⁴ Contigit enim post multas strages cladis utrarumque partium ut isdem rex, ablato ab eisdom dominio Turonicę urbis, daret illud Gozfredo cognomento Tuditi, filio scilicet Fulconis, iamdicti Andegauorum comitis.⁵ Qui collecto magno exercitu ipsam ciuitatem anno uno et eo amplius obsidione circumdedit, aduersus quem tandem hostili manu pergentes dimicaturi reuera ut afflictę indigentique alimoniis succurrerent urbi ambo predicti filii Odonis. Quod Gozfredus conperiens expetiuit auxilium beati Martini, promisit se humiliter emendaturum quidquid in ipsius sancti confessoris ceterorumque sanctorum possessionibus raptu abstraxerat. Indeque accepto sigillo, imponens illud proprię hastę, cum exercitu ęquitum peditumque multorum obuiam perrexit aduersum se dimicaturis; dumque uenirent utreque partes in cominus tantus terror inuasit exercitum duorum fratrum, ac si uincti ligaminibus omnes pariter imbelles exstiterunt. Stephanus autem arrepta fuga cum aliquibus militibus euasit, Tetboldus uero cum cetera multitudine totius exercitus captus, ad Turonensem ciuitatem deducitur, ipsamque Gozfredo reddidit atque cum suis omnibus huc illucque dispersis

f. 53^v

in captione remansit. | Nulli dubium est, beato Martino auxiliante, qui illum pie inuocauerat suorum inimicorum uictorem exitisse. Referebant enim aliqui ex acie fugientes quod tota falanx militum Gozfredi in ipso procintu belli, tam equites quam pedites, candidissimis indumentis uidebantur adoperti. Nam ex rapina pauperum eiusdem confessoris ferebant supplementum suis filii

¹ Glaber seems to draw on Isidore, *De Natura Rerum* 25 (PL lxxxiii. 997): 'falsa autem opinio et uulgaris est, nocte stellas cadere, cum sciamus ex aethere lapsos igniculos ire

from the sky what in Greek is called *selas*, *casma*, or *palmecie*; by this they mean one of those shining shafts of blazing ether which so rarely fall to earth; the common herd, in their stupidity, explain the phenomenon by saying that a star is falling from the sky.¹ In certain parts of Gaul in that month of November, contrary to all expectation, crops of the first sowing of August, normally harvested in October, came to maturity; this was viewed with no little surprise.²

ii. *The miraculous battle*³

19. At about the same time violent conflict arose between Henry, king of the French, son of Robert, and Theobald and Stephen, sons of that Odo whose fate we considered earlier.⁴ After many bloody conflicts between the two sides, the king removed the city of Tours from their domain and gave it to Geoffrey Martel, son of that Fulk, count of Anjou, whom we have mentioned before.⁵ He gathered a great army and had been besieging the city for more than a year when the two sons of Odo came against him in force, meaning to fight in order to aid the beleaguered and starving city. When Geoffrey realized this, he prayed for the aid of St Martin, promising to restore to this holy martyr, and indeed all other saints, any property of theirs which he had stolen. Then he took his standard, attached it to his lance, and marched out against his enemies with a great force of cavalry and infantry. When the two armies came close fear so struck the troops of the two brothers that they were all unable to fight; it was as though they had all been bound by chains. Stephen took flight and escaped with a few knights, but Theobald was captured with the whole mass of his army and taken to Tours, which he surrendered to Geoffrey before he and all his men were sent away captive to various places. There is no doubt at all that victory over his enemies went to the man who had piously invoked the aid of St Martin. Some of those who fled from the field said that, in the very array of battle, the whole mass of Geoffrey's army, horse and foot, seemed to be clad in shining white robes. It is true that the sons of Odo had robbed the poor of

per coelum'. The Greek words are *σελας* and *φάσμα*; *palmecie* remains obscure.

² This passage is almost certainly defective.

³ *GCA*, pp. 122–3, *fuerat orta . . . capti sunt* (p. 244), and Hugh of Flavigny, p. 403, use this passage about the Angevin war.

⁴ This amplifies a subject already briefly introduced at the start of i. 16.

⁵ He is mentioned in seven passages, some of them substantial. See Index.

Odonis. Prebuit enim uniuersis audientibus formidolosum stuporem, quod mille septingenti et eo amplius uiri armis instructi absque sanguinis effusione in prelio capti sint.¹

iii. *De tertia eclypsi solis*²

20. In prescripto quoque mense Nouembrio, decimo kalendarum Decembrium, hora tertia eiusdem diei facta est nostro in tempore tertia eclipsis solis, luna dumtaxat uicesima octaua, quoniam neque solis aliquando eclipsis nisi in uicesima octaua luna nec lunę nisi in quarta decima luna proueniet.³ Dicitur enim eclipsis defectus siue defectio, non quod sibimet res sed nobis impedita potius deficiat. Ipsis quoque diebus, referente Widone Remorum archipresule, didicimus quod uisa sit a suis stella Bosforus, quę et Lucifer, uespere sursum atque deorsum agitari quasi comminans terrigenas idemtitabat.⁴ Huiusmodi quippe ostentis cęlitus emisissis, terruerunt quamplurimos suę prauitates ut ad correctionis uiam penitendo redirent. Tunc inter ceteras rerum inopias uini tanta raritas extitit ut uiginti quattuor soldorum foret precium unius modii.

iv. *De dissensione Ludgunensis presulatus*⁵

21. Fuit igitur in suprataxatis diebus dissentio permaxima post mortem Burcardi archipresulis Lucdunensis de presulatu ipsius

¹ Glaber is a vital source for our knowledge of the battle of Nouy, when an effort by Theobald and Stephen, sons of Odo II of Blois, to raise the Angevin siege of Tours was decisively defeated. The *GCA*, loc. cit., adds a good deal to the basic story told by Glaber. On the battle see Halphen, *Comté d'Anjou*, pp. 48–9, whose date of 21 Aug. 1044 is accepted; J. F. Verbruggen, *Art of Warfare in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, tr. S. Willard and S. C. M. Southern (Oxford, 1977), pp. 198, 251.

² Hugh of Flavigny, p. 403, uses this chapter for the eclipse and mentions the star Lucifer. Through Hugh's chronicle the story of the star passed into the *Chronicon S. Petri Vivi*, pp. 119–20.

³ This occurred on 22 Nov. 1044; Oppolzer, p. 214. The solar eclipses referred to here occurred on 29 June 1033 (4. ix. 24), 22 Aug. 1039 (4. ix. 26). There was also a lunar eclipse on 8 Nov. 1044 (5. i. 18).

⁴ In ancient and medieval astronomy Venus was both the Morning Star—'Lucifer', and the evening star—'Hesperus'. 'Bosforus' is probably an error for the Greek *Φωσφόρος* (Lucifer), comparable to the mistranscriptions of Greek words noted above, i. 18. We do not know how Glaber came to hear the story of this star and its movements from Guy de Bar-sur-Aube, archbishop of Rheims (1033–55), on whom see Bur, *Comté de Champagne*, App. II, pp. 514–15. The word *idemtitabat* is very dubious.

St Martin in order to supplement the pay of their troops. Everyone was terrified and astonished to hear that a force of seventeen hundred or more armed men could be thus captured in battle without blood being shed.¹

iii. *The third eclipse of the sun*²

20. On the twenty-second day of the same November, at the third hour, there was another eclipse of the sun, the third in our time. It occurred on the twenty-eighth day of the lunar month, for eclipses of the sun occur only on the twenty-eighth, and those of the moon on the fourteenth.³ Eclipse means a failing or a want, but it is not the result of any failing within the heavenly body itself, but occurs because it is hidden from us by some obstacle. We have heard from Guy, archbishop of Rheims, that at that time some of his people saw the star Bosforus (which is also called Lucifer) fly up and down one evening, as though repeatedly to threaten the people of this world.⁴ The sight of such wonders from heaven led many men to be terrified at the thought of the sins they had committed, and so, by penance, they returned to the path of righteousness. Wine, amongst other things, was then very scarce, a muid selling for twenty-four sous.

iv. *The quarrel over the archbishopric of Lyons*⁵

21. About that time there was great trouble after the death of Burchard, archbishop of Lyons, for the question arose as to who would

⁵ Archbishop Burchard II of Lyons (979–1030 or 1031) was the illegitimate son of King Conrad 'the Peaceful' of Burgundy (on whom see above, 3. ii. 5 n.) by a concubine Aldiud. His sister, whose name is unknown, married one of the ancestors of the House of Savoy, Humbert 'Whitehands', count of Aosta and Maurienne, whose son Burchard became bishop of Aosta: Previtę-Orton, pp. 42–4, 67–8, 72–3, 122–3. When Archbishop Burchard II died shortly before Rudolf III of Burgundy, this nephew, Burchard III, seized the archbishopric, rallied the anti-imperial party in Burgundy, and resisted Conrad II of Germany's assumption of the crown after Rudolf III died (on which see above, 3. ii. 8), but was defeated and imprisoned by imperial troops in 1036, whereupon Gerard, count of Lyons, tried unsuccessfully to impose his young son as archbishop. It was after this that Benedict IX offered the see to Odilo. In 1042, at the diet of Besançon, Henry III imposed Ulric, archdeacon of Langres, upon the see of Lyons; when Ulric died in 1046, he was succeeded by Halinard, abbot of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon, who ruled until 1052: A. Steyert, *Histoire de Lyon* (Lyons, 1897), i. 242–9. Glaber's ignorance of the succession of Halinard is a useful indication of the time he was writing this passage: see above, pp. xxxi–xxxii. Hugh of Flavigny, p. 403, recounts the story of the troubles at Lyons with additional details.

sedis, quam plures non iustis appetebant meritis, sed instinctu superbe elationis. Primus omnium predicti Burcardi nepos, eiusdem equiuocus, supra modum superbissimus, relicta sede propria Augustane ciuitatis procaciter Lugdunensem arripuit. Qui, post multas perpetratas nequicias, captus a militibus imperatoris, perpetuo est condemnatus exilio. Post ipsum uero quidam comes Geraldus suum filium puerulum quendam arroganter ibidem, sola presumptione auctore, substituit, et ipse post modicum, non ut pastor ouium sed ueluti mercennarius, in fugam uersus delituit.¹

f. 54 Quę omnia dum perlata fuissent Romano pontifici, suggestum est ei a uiris fidelibus ut sua auctoritate patrem Odilonem, Cluniensis monasterii abbatem, ibidem eligeret consecrari pontificem. Sic enim totius cleri ac plebis optans acclamabat deuotio. Qui protinus mittens eidem patri palleum simul et anulum, imperauit eundem predictę ciuitatis fore archiepiscopum. Sed uir religiosus, suę humilitatis adtendens propositum, omnimodis renuit fieri. Palleum tamen et anulum suscipiens illi qui Deo dignus existeret reseruauit futuro pontifici eiusdem sedis. Habetur enim antiquitus ipsa ciuitas index ueri luminis maxime partis Gallię, quoniam illuc primitus precones christianę fidei a sancto Policarpo, discipulo Iohannis apostoli, missi deuenientes uniuersam illustrauerunt regionem.²

22. Contigit enim postmodum, ut superius diximus, ut Heinricus rex recepto regno Austrasiorum, dum comperisset huius dissensionis cladem, condoluit, perquirens quid exinde agere deberet.³ Cui, dum apud Vesoncionem deuenisset, suggestum est tam ab episcopis quam ab omni plebe ut uirum eque^a tali ministerio dignum, Odalricum, scilicet Lingonensis ecclesię archidiaconum, Lugduni constitueret pontificem. Qui protinus, ut suggestum fuerat, speciosissimis adhornatum indumentis ad prefatam illum destinauit sedem. Ilico nempe restituta est totius prouintię requies et pax diu optata cum gaudio.

23. Postmodum uero gens Hungrorum, iam secundo predicto regi rebellis existens, aduersus eundem preliari disposuit. Contra

^a See above, p. 128 n. c

¹ Cf. John 10: 12–13.

² St Polycarp (?c. 69–c. 155) was bishop of Smyrna and a disciple of St John the Apostle. An authentic record of his martyrdom has survived. As a boy, Irenaeus, the

be his successor. Many who were not properly qualified were driven by pride to seek this eminence. The first of all was a nephew of Burchard, who bore the same name. He was an extraordinarily proud fellow who deserted his own see of Aosta in order rashly to seize Lyons. After he had done much evil he was captured by troops of the emperor and condemned to perpetual exile. After him a presumptuous count, Gerald, intruded his son, a small boy, out of sheer arrogance; he soon fled into hiding, like a hireling and not a true shepherd.¹ When all this was reported to the Roman Pontiff, some of the faithful suggested to him that on his own authority he should choose Odilo, abbot of the monastery of Cluny, to be consecrated bishop there. This suggestion was greeted with acclaim by the zeal of all the clergy and people. The pope immediately sent the pallium and the ring to the holy father, ordering him to become archbishop of this city. But the venerable man, heeding as ever the voice of humility, absolutely refused. However, he took the pallium and the ring and kept them until someone worthy of God should become bishop of the see. Since antiquity that city has been a source of true light for the greater part of Gaul, for it was there that the first missionaries of the Christian faith were sent by St Polycarp, the disciple of John the Apostle, to enlighten the whole country.²

22. Later, when King Henry received control, as we have already remarked, of the kingdom of Austrasia, and was told about this disastrous quarrel, he was saddened, and asked what he should do about it.³ Coming to Besançon, he was advised by the clergy and people to appoint as archbishop of Lyons one Ulric, archdeacon of Langres, a man equally worthy of such an office. As soon as this was suggested he bedecked Ulric in rich vestments and sent him off to that see. So calm was restored to that province, and peace, so long desired, was welcomed with joy.

23. After this the Hungarians raised revolt against him for the second time, and prepared themselves for battle. The king marched against them even though his army was less numerous

second bishop of Lyons (?c. 178–200), who possibly came from Smyrna, had known Polycarp. This was the foundation for the story that Polycarp was the evangelist of Gaul: *ODS*, pp. 218, 361.

³ On the accession of Henry III to Burgundy see above, i. 17n.

quam egressus, licet impar numero, confidens tamen in Dei auxilio conflare cum ipsis non timuit. Non enim erant in exercitu ipsius plus quam sex milia uirorum, cum in Ungarorum falangibus estimarentur ducenta milia armatorum. Erant etiam cum rege quamplures episcopi cum clericis multis qui pietatis gratia inermes cum eo in certamen introierunt; in quoque certamine, tanta caligo ac tenebra occupauerunt Ungarorum partem ut uix iuxta se positum quis illorum posset agnoscere. Exercitus quoque regis uidebatur clarissimo sole circum et infra perlustratus. Qui fortiter dimicans innumerabili cede prostravit aduersarios fugauitque, cum de suis perpauci corruissent. Capta uero preda hostium, ac regno ut primitus ceperat ordinato, triumphanter rex deuenit ad propria.¹

f. 54^v 24. Contigit ergo tunc temporis ut abba cuiusdam monasterii honeste possessionis eidem imperatori equum ualde optimum presentaret, quatenus sibi ac loco sibi commisso illius liberalitatis amicitiam conciliaret. Fuerat denique isdem equus, ignorante abbate, cuidam militi clam sublatus sibi que precio uenundatus, at imperator gratanter illum suscipiens suimet euectioni mancipauit. Quodam igitur die eidem equo insidens iter agebat; obuiam fuit ei miles cui prefatus equus furtim ablatus fuerat. Qui prudenter aggrediens imperatorem in huiusmodi prorupit uerba: 'Tu', inquit, 'o rex, qui censuram debes tenere totius iustitie,^b equum mihi fraudulenter abstractum cerneris possidere.' Cui ilico rex tale protulit responsum: 'Si tuus' inquit 'est equus, ut ais, accipe illum cum possessore et duc tecum quo melius optas, et habeas utrumque quousque persolutionem furti suscipias.' Miles quoque existimans sibi inludi, herebat stupens. Enimuero rex compulit eum ut manu iniecta duceret utrumque in suum dominium. Aspicientes uero qui circumstabant ingenti admiratione stupuerunt. 'Quae grates' inquit rex 'referende sunt illi uiro qui me tam subdole in hanc impulit captionem?' Qui dum ab uniuersis horribiliter detestaretur, ait rex: 'Adducite illum ut secundum inlusionem quam in me gessit in eo uindicetur.' Dumque prefatus abba accersitus fuisset, ait ei: 'Depone baculum regiminis pastoralis, quem credis largitione mortalis hominis debere gestari.' Quem

^a posset *D*; poscet *A*

^b The old text of *B* ends with this word; *Bx* completes the book

¹ As a result of this German victory in 1044, the succession dispute in the kingdom of Hungary (on which see above, i. 17n.) was temporarily settled in favour of King Peter,

than theirs, for he trusted in the aid of God, and so did not fear to fight them. There were no more than 6,000 men in his army, while it is believed that the Hungarian columns numbered some 200,000. There were several bishops and many clerics with the king, who devotedly marched unarmed with him into battle. When battle was joined such thick darkness fell upon the enemy side that a man could barely see his immediate neighbour. But the army of the king was bathed all around with brilliant sunlight. They fought bravely, slaughtered an innumerable host of the enemy, and put the rest to flight, while losing very few of their own men. When booty had been taken from the enemy, and the kingdom restored, the king returned in triumph to his own lands.¹

24. At that time the abbot of a certain monastery of noble wealth gave a valuable horse to the emperor, hoping thereby to gain the friendship of the ruler for himself and the house committed to his charge. Although the abbot did not know it, the horse which he had bought had been stolen from a knight. But the emperor accepted it graciously and used it as his personal mount. One day when he was out riding on the animal he came across the knight from whom this horse had been stolen. The knight approached the emperor cautiously and said: 'Sire, you ought to be the fount of all justice, yet here you are with a horse in your possession which was stolen from me.' The king made this reply: 'If it is yours as you claim, take it with its rider and lead them where you will, keeping both until you have been recompensed for the loss.' The knight thought he was joking and stood astonished, but the king made him take the bridle in his hand and lead them both into his lands. The king's followers were stupefied. Then the king said: 'What thanks are due to the fellow who so cunningly had caused me to be led into this trickery?' When all had cursed the abbot horribly, the king said: 'Bring him to me so that he may be punished as befits the trick he has played on me.' When the abbot had been summoned, the king said to him: 'Put down the staff of your pastoral office, which you seem to believe you ought to employ through the generosity of some mortal man.' When

who did homage for his kingdom to Henry III. However, he did not last long, being overthrown in 1046 by King Andrew (1046–60), who put himself at the head of a native party opposed to foreign domination: E. Pamlényi (ed.), *A History of Hungary* (Budapest, 1973), p. 43. Pognon, p. 277 n. 189, points out that, according to Glaber, very similar conditions of light produced precisely the opposite results at the siege of Auxerre: 2. viii. 16.

cum a se proiecisset, suscipiens illum rex imposuit dextere immaginis Saluatoris: 'Vade', inquit abbat, 'et suscipe illum de manu omnipotentis regis, nec sis ultra pro eo debitor alicuius mortalis, sed libere utere eo, ut decet culmen tanti nominis.' At ipse gaudenter illum suscipiens plurimis de tali facto alacritatem contulit, ac dehinc omni cum libertate uiguit. |

f. 55

v. *De extirpatione simoniaca*¹

25. Dignoscens igitur isdem Heinricus per uniuersam Galliam atque Germaniam symoniace philargirię crassari cupidi(tatem),^a coadunari fecit ex omni imperio suo tam archipresules quam ceteros pont(ifices et)^b tale eis intulit colloquium: 'Lugens uobis incipio loqui, qui uice Christ(i in eius) ęcclesia constituti estis, quam ipse sibi desponsauit ac precio sui sanguinis red(emit). Sicut enim ipse gratuita bonitate de sinu Dei patris per uirginem ad (nos uenire dig)natus est redimendos, ita suis precepit, mittens eos in orbem uniuersum, at(que ait: "Gratis) accepistis, gratis date."² Vos enim auaricia et cupiditate corrupti, qui Domini (benedictionem) conferre deberetis, in huiusmodi transgressionibus^c dando et accipiendo (secundum sacerrimum) canonem maledicti estis. Nam et pater meus, de cuius animę periculo ualde pertim(esco, eandem) damnabilem auariciam in uita nimis exercuit.³ Idcirco quicumque uestrorum huius(ce macula) sese norunt contaminati, oportet ut a sacro ministerio secundum disp(ositionem) canonicam arceantur. Patet ergo manifestissime quoniam propter hanc offen(sam uenerunt)^d super filios hominum diuersę clades, fames uidelicet atque mortalitas (necnon) et gladius. Omnes quippe gradus ęcclesiastici a maximo pontifice usque ad hostiarium opprimuntur per suę damnationis precium, ac, iuxta uocem dominicam, in cunctis crasatur spiritale latrocinium.⁴ His denique ab imperatore accerrime prolatis, stupefacti pontifices quid illi responderent non habebant. Pertimescebant enim carere ob hanc culpam propriis episcopatum sedibus. Et quoniam non solum in Gallicanis^e episcopis hec

^a *Lacunae caused by damage to f. 55 of A have been filled from D; they are signalled by round brackets* ^b *et Bx; om. D* ^c *transgressionibus D; transgressionis A; transgressionem Hugh of Flavigny (p. 403)* ^d *uenerunt Bx; ueniant D* ^e *Gallicanis BxD; Callicanis A*

¹ Hugh of Flavigny, p. 403, uses this chapter and tells of Henry III's stand against simony, the rejection of a child pope, and the choice of Gregory VI, who *in melius reformauit*. He alleges that this pope sent the archiepiscopal insignia to St Odilo (on which

he had thrown it down the king took it and placed it in the right hand of an image of the Saviour. Then he said to the abbot: 'Go and receive it from the hand of the Almighty King, and be no more accountable to any mortal man, but use it freely as is proper for the exercise of your high office.' The abbot took it joyfully and encouraged many souls by telling what had happened, and afterwards he carried out his duties freely.

v. *The eradication of simony*¹

25. When the emperor Henry realized that throughout all Gaul and Germany the lust for simoniacal love of money was growing, he called together the archbishops and bishops of his whole empire and spoke to them in this way: 'I weep as I address you, you who are vicegerents of Christ in His church, which He espoused and redeemed at the price of His blood. Freely and willingly He left the bosom of God in order to come to redeem us through the Virgin. When He sent out His apostles into the world He gave them this command: "Freely ye have received, freely give."² But you, corrupted by avarice and greed, you, who ought to bestow God's blessing, are cursed according to the most sacred canon, because you give and receive in this sinful way. My father also practised this accursed vice in his lifetime, and because of it I fear for his soul.³ If any of you know you are tainted by this blemish you ought, according to canon law, to be driven out from the sacred ministry. Obviously it is because this sin is so prevalent that many afflictions have fallen upon the sons of men: famine, plague, and war. All grades of the clergy, from the supreme pontiff to the doorkeeper, are weighed down by the price they paid for their damnation. As the word of the Lord proclaims, spiritual theft runs rampant amongst all.⁴ The astonished prelates could make no reply to these savage accusations made by the emperor. They were afraid that their fondness for this vice could lose them their episcopal sees. This evil was not confined to the French bishops: it was

see above iv. 21n.) and goes on to tell how Henry III took action against Lyons.

² Matt. 10: 8.

³ The charge of simony underlies Glaber's hostility to Conrad especially notable in the charge that he was raised to the throne by the devil: 4. ii. 5.

⁴ Not traced; possibly a reminiscence of the words of Christ to the Scribes and Pharisees of Jerusalem reported in Matt. 15: 19 and Mark 7: 22, or an allusion to the money-changers who had made the Temple into a den of thieves, Matt. 21: 13, etc.

peissima pululauerat nequicia, uerum etiam multo amplius totam occupauerat Italiam, omnia quippe ministeria ecclesiastica ita eo tempore habebantur uenalia quasi in foro secularia mercimonia. Cernentes quoque episcopi graui sese inuentione^a irretitos, misericordię operam implorabant. At ipse princeps misericordia motus tale consolationis protulit uerbum, 'Ite,' inquit, 'et quod illicite accepistis bene disponere satagite, ac pro anima patris mei, qui hac noxa reus uobiscum tenetur, attentius intercedere mementote, quatenus ei indulgentiam huius facinoris a Deo possitis acquirere.' Tunc proposuit edictum omni imperio suo, ut nullus gradus clericorum uel ministerium ecclesiasticum precio aliquo acquireretur. At si quis dare aut accipere presumeret omni honore destitutus anathemate multaretur. Spondit insuper promissum huiusmodi, dicens: 'Sicut enim Dominus mihi coronam imperii sola miseratione sua gratis dedit, ita et ego id quod ad religionem ipsius pertinet gratis impendam. Volo, si placet, ut et uos similiter faciatis.'

f. 55^v **26.** Ipso quoque in tempore, Romana sedes, que uniuersalis iure habetur in orbe terrarum, prefato morbo pestifero^b per uiginti quinque annorum spacia miserrime laborauerat. | Fuerat (eni)m eidem sedi ordinatus quidam puer, circiter annorum XII, contra ius (fasque, quem) scilicet sola pecunia auri et argenti plus commendauit quam etas aut (sanctitas); et quoniam infelicem habuit introitum, infeliciorem persensit exitum.¹ (Horrori q)uippe referre turpitudine illius conuersionis et uitę. (Tunc uero) cum consensu totius Romani populi atque ex precepto impera(toris eiectus) est a sede et in loco eius subrogatus est uir religiosissimus (ac sanctitate per)spicuis Gregorius natione Romanus.² Cuius uidelicet bona (fama quicq)uid prior fedauerat in melius reformauit.

^a inuentione *BxD*; inuentionem *A Pithou*; prefati morbi pestifere *A*

^b prefato morbo (*so already Bx*) pestifero

¹ Benedict IX, on whom see 4. v. 17n., 4. ix. 24. Hugh of Flavigny, p. 403, used this passage and refers to the election of an unnamed boy of 12.

especially prevalent throughout Italy. All church offices were then for sale like secular goods in the market-place. The bishops, realizing that they could not disentangle themselves from these accusations, begged for mercy, and the king was moved to address to them these comforting words: 'Go, and use well that which you acquired wrongly. Remember to pray assiduously for the soul of my father, entrapped like you by this evil vice, and seek to obtain for him forgiveness from God for this sin.' Then he issued an edict for his whole empire prohibiting the purchase of any ecclesiastical office. Whoever offered or accepted money was to be deprived of all his honours and suffer excommunication. Further, the emperor made this promise: 'Just as God, without thought of reward and only through His mercy, conferred upon me an imperial crown, so I shall exert myself without thought of reward in all matters relating to His religion. I wish you, please, for your part, to do likewise.'

26. In the meantime the See of Rome, rightly regarded as universal throughout all the world, had also, for some twenty-five years, been suffering grievously from this affliction. Contrary to all law and justice a child of about twelve had been raised to that see; gold and silver, not age and sanctity, bought this for him. Since he had made a bad start, he came to a worse end.¹ The infamy of his life and conduct are horrible to relate. By the order of the emperor, and with the assent of all the people of Rome, he was driven out of his see and replaced by a saintly and religious man of the Roman nation called Gregory.² His good reputation served to reform the corruption of his predecessor.

² John Gratian became pope as Gregory VI: Poole, *Studies*, pp. 185–222, and G. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society in the Age of the Investiture Contest*, tr. R. F. Bennett (Oxford, 1940), pp. 86–7, and also Appendix I, 'Henry III's Church Policy', pp. 169–77. On the significance of this abrupt ending of the *Histories* see above, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

RODVLFÍ GLABRÍ
VITA DOMNI WILLELMI ABBATIS

Incipit prologus in uita domni Willelmi abbatis^a

DVLCE DINE Sancti Spiritus p̄d̄itis patribus uenerandis ac diligendis fratribus, ubique ꝑ̄cclesiarum Dei uniuersalis documentis, in caritatiua spe seruientibus, monachorum infimus Rodulfus^b tantillam oboeditionis exhibitionem. Placere denique unanimitati uestrę non diffidimus si de uita uel conuersatione uestri omnium dilectoris, domni uidelicet sacerdotis atque abbatis Willelmi, prout diuina pietas largiri dignata fuerit, posteris mandare studuerimus. Plura siquidem a nobis uisa, pluriora tamen a ueracissimis relatoribus comperta, huius narrationis informabunt seriem.¹ Iccirco communem fidelium uirtutigenam obsecramus caritatem ne simplex contemptui habeatur sermo, neue pro uili canistro purę respuatur similaginis offa, cuius si prudenti manu exercitaretur materia, omnem ualeret excludere inopiam ac sospitatem conferre perennem.

EXPLICIT PROLOGVS

Incipit uita domni Willelmi abbatis primi Fiscannensis²

⟨i.⟩ VIR igitur religiosus domnus Willelmus, quem pius Dominus ecclesię suę filiis pastorem ac iuris suę legis propagatorem constituit, natione quidem Italus, auus tamen eius, Vibo^c nomine,

F = Paris, BN lat. 5390

B = Bollandists' copy; D = Duchesne's copy; M = Mabillon's copy; Me = Menard's copy; R = Roverius' copy

^a Willelmi I abbatis. Rerum gestarum. Auctore Glabro Rodulpho R; Vita S. Willelmi Abbatis S. Benigni Diuionensis, Auctore Glabro Rodulpho Monacho Cluniacensi D; Vita S. Guillelmi auctore Glabro Rodulpho. Praefatio auctoris B; Vita sancti Guillelmi abbatis Diuionensis. Auctore Glabro Rodulpho monacho. Praefatio auctoris M
^b Rodulfus F (before correction to Rad-); Rodulphus BM ^c Vibo RBM; VLBO F; Vido Me

¹ Glaber makes the same assertion about the dependability of his sources in *Histories*

RODULFUS GLABER
THE LIFE OF ST WILLIAM

Here begins the Prologue to the life of the Lord Abbot William

To the venerable fathers, endowed with the sweetness of the Holy Spirit, and to the beloved brethren, exemplars of the churches of the universal God wherever they may be, serving in loving hope, Rodulfus, humblest of monks, makes some little offering of obedience. We do not doubt we shall please all of you if we labour hard to give to posterity, with such ability as the Divine Love has deemed worthy to bestow on us, an account of the life and conduct of the lord priest and abbot William, who loved you all. Indeed, the many things which we have seen and the many more garnered from truthful narrators will shape the course of this narrative.¹ Therefore we appeal to the common and virtue-born love of the faithful that my simple style should not be held in contempt, and that a mouthful of fine flour should not be spat out because of a poor basket, for if its material were worked by a prudent hand it would be able to drive out all lack and provide unceasing sustenance.

THE PROLOGUE ENDS

Here begins the Life of the Lord William, first abbot of Fécamp²

i. THE pious man, the Lord William, whom the blessed Lord made a pastor to the sons of His church and a propagator of His law, was an Italian; however, his grandfather, Vibo by name and a

i. i. 4. For comment on the worth of such claims see above, pp. xxii–xxiii, and for an account of his known sources see above, pp. xlv–lvii.

² This rubric, describing William as abbot of Fécamp, appears only in F, the base for the present edition, which was copied at Fécamp under St William's successor, Abbot John (1028–78): see above, pp. xciv–xcv. Duke Richard II of Normandy (996–1026) invited St William to reform Fécamp in 1001; he subsequently took charge of a number of Norman houses: Bulst, pp. 147–85; B. Leblond, *L'Accession des Normands de Neustrie à la culture occidentale* (Paris, 1966), pp. 40–3; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1963), pp. 84–6.

militari industria clarus, gente Sueuus fuit.¹ Qui scilicet ob inimicitiarum ultionem natiuam relinquens prouinciam perrexit habiturus Italiam, ibique copiose locupletatus opum gratia feliciter deguit. Hic ergo extitit genitor Rotberti, qui accipiens sibi uxorem ex Langobardorum nobilioribus nomine Perinzam, quæ foecunda prole filiorum genuit ei etiam præ cunctis optabilem Willelmum. Contigit nanque sub ipso tempore illius natiuitatis, Beringario Langobardorum rege defuncto, ut Otto imperatorum maximus hostili manu omnem sibi subiugandam peteret Italiam. Qui comperiens predicti Beringarii uxorem in quoddam castrum, situm in lacu urbis Nouerig, fecisse confugium atque cum ea uiros, quorum conspiratio rebellis foret eidem imperatori.² Ad quod ilico diuertens cinxit illud ferocis obsidione exercitus. Erat enim prædictus Rotbertus in eodem castro cum propria uxore et liberis, cui etiam quique illorum cum sua domina curam atque tutelam commiserant sui. Cunque diutius ab utrisque partibus acerrime decertatum fuisset, cernens imperator differri sibi uictoriam, temptans^a largitionibus munerum clam inflectere suorum hostium signiferum. Nam spondit ei cum maximis donis etiam apud sullimitatem suam celsitudinis locum, si suos deserens illius parti faueret. Ille uero minime adqueiuit, utpote miles adiuratus respondens sibi optabiliorem fore proprii interitum corporis quam sacramentis assertæ fidei desertor haberi. Post aliquot uero dies habito inuicem pacis consilio in deditionem gratis deuenere imperatoris. Tunc quoque isdem Rotbertus, ut erat uir prudens ac strenuus, suggessit imperatori ut filium, quem ei uxor sua intra ipsius obsidionem castri pepererat, cathecuminum fieri per manum imperialem præciperet. Quod ille libentissime annuens, ut monitus fuerat, impleri mandauit ac propria puerum sustulit dextera eique nomen indidit Willelmum. Quem scilicet postmodum regina, coniux illius, ex sacro fonte suscepit baptismatis.

^a tentans *BM* (edn. 1); temptat *F* corr.; tentat *RM* (edn. 2)

¹ In Glaber's day south-western Germany, including much of modern Switzerland, was the duchy of Swabia, land of the Swabians, whose name was derived from the Germanic tribal group called the Suebi.

² Otto I, king of Germany (936–73), had been crowned king of the Lombards in 951, but events in Germany prevented him from making his position effective. During this time Berengar II (950–64) and his son Adalbert were able to consolidate their power over the Italian kingdom, but the strength of their position alarmed Pope John XII (955–63), who appealed to Otto for protection. After the imperial coronation of Otto on 2 Feb. 962, John XII took fright at the power of his new master and intrigued with Berengar

man distinguished for his knightly skill, was a Swabian.¹ But, because of the vengeance of those who hated him, he left his native province and came to live in Italy. There, becoming very rich, he lived a happy life thanks to his wealth. He was the father of Robert, who took a wife called Perinza from amongst the Lombard nobility; and she, fruitful as she was in the generation of sons, presented to him William, desirable above all others. However, it happened at the very time when he was born that upon the death of Berengar, king of the Lombards, Otto, greatest of emperors, with warlike hand sought to subjugate all Italy to himself. He heard that the wife of this Berengar had taken refuge in a fortress situated on a lake by the city of Novara, and with her men was in a conspiracy of revolt against this emperor.² He went to that place immediately and invested it in a siege by his savage army. Now Robert was in this fortress with his wife and children, and all present, together with their Lady, committed to him their protection and defence. When both parties had fought very fiercely for a long time, the emperor, seeing that victory was being delayed, covertly tried by lavish gifts to undermine the loyalty of his enemies' standard-bearer. For he promised him a place of honour at his right hand, together with the greatest of gifts, if, deserting his own, he would favour his (the emperor's) party. However, by no means did the standard-bearer agree, replying as a sworn knight that he would prefer to be destroyed in the flesh rather than be held a betrayer of an oath pledged upon the sacraments. Now after several days they held a council of peace amongst themselves, and freely submitted to the power of the emperor. It was then too that Robert, because he was a shrewd and vigorous man, suggested to the emperor that he should order that the son whom his wife had borne him during the siege of the fortress should be made a catechumen by the imperial hand. The emperor very willingly agreed, ordered that as it had been asked so it should be done, and took the boy up in his arms, giving him the name of William; afterwards the queen, his wife, received him from the holy font of baptism.

during his war with Otto. The siege of San Giulio, some 80 km north of Novara on Lake Orta, was an episode in this conflict; it took place in June and July of 962. Glaber is wrong to state that Berengar was dead at the time that his wife Willa was trapped at San Giulio, because both were captured by Otto and exiled in Germany: Bulst, pp. 22–3; Jordan, p. 25. It is clear from this passage that William's father Robert was a trusted follower of Berengar; in c. ix below another native king of Italy, Arduin, appears to have had close relations with St William.

ii. Erat ergo, ut prædiximus, eiusdem genitrix non solum prosapia nobilis sed etiam morum honestate præcipua. Hęc siquidem referre erat solita de eodem puero huiusmodi uerba. 'Videbam me' inquiens 'nocte quadam dalmatica ueste indutam, statimque solis radius illustrabat michi mammillam dexteram. Dehinc uero apparuere quidam, uultus gerentes angelicos, ipsique filium meum michi abstrahentes altius efferebant eundem infantulum nimia claritate circumfusum. Ego quoque hęc intuens, pauore perterrita nil aliud quid^a dicerem repperiebam nisi tantum: "Sancta mater Domini Saluatoris, tibi committo custodi illum."¹ Alia nanque per plurima optimi præsgii, quę nos fastidium uitantes reticemus, conspiciebantur in illo. Nam et habitudo tenerrimę etatis ita dissimilis uidebatur cęterorum ut nimium admirabilis haberetur. Propterea uterque parens uno consensu ac uoluntate cum suorum omnium fauorabili hortatu Christo Domino uouere illum in eius domo assidue seruiturum. Duxerunt autem illum, cum esset fere septennis, ad monasterium sanctę Marię sanctique archangeli Michaelis in honore sacratum, cognomento Luciacum, in quo etiam ueneranda habentur ossa beati martyris Ianuarii,² ibique iuxta morem normę regularis eum ipsius loci abbati optulerunt. Qui satis deuote illum suscipiens, sacrę monachilis religionis etiam ueste induit. Hinc nempe tradidit ei primos litterarum apices atque huiusce custodię addidit præceptorem, cuius animum stupor inuasit nimius, quoniam uelocitas sensus sibi commissi pueri ad tantam proficiebat indaginem ut uniuersa priorum conscolasticorum studia in breui transcenderet spatio. Proinde in admiratione non modica iam tunc tam abbati quam fratribus cęteris habebatur.

iii. Pręterea in uicino monasterii quędam anus, cuius erat maritus iam senior,³ congruum habebat domicilium. Ad quod prædictus puer familiaris curę prouidentia per dies ducebatur, in quo etiam aliquotiens quietis noctium gratia suscipiebatur. Cum igitur prædicta anus eum aliquando diligentia fouendi in sinu proprio brachiis complexa fuisset, mamme illius, quę latis^b pendebant ac

^a quod RBM

^b laxis RM

¹ This vision reads remarkably like a description of some contemporary icon.

² The abbey of S. Michele, in what is now the hamlet of Lúcedio, was founded in the 7th c. as a Benedictine abbey, but it became Cistercian in the 12th: R. Orsenigo, *Vercelli Sacra* (Como, 1909), pp. 290–2. The cult of St Januarius, a bishop of Benevento mar-

ii. His mother, as we have already remarked, was not only of noble stock but also outstanding for the manner of her life. This is the story she used to tell about the boy: 'One night I dreamt that I was clad in a dalmatic, and immediately a ray of sunlight lit up my right breast. Thereupon there appeared certain beings, having the appearance of angels, and they, taking my son from me, carried on high this little child, all encircled with a great brightness. I, contemplating this, absolutely terrified by fear, found nothing else to say except merely: "Holy Mother of the Lord Saviour, to you as guardian I commit him."¹ A great many other signs of good omen were remarked in him which we are passing over in silence in order to avoid tedium. Now his disposition, when he was very young, was so different from that of others that he was regarded as entirely worthy of admiration. Therefore both parents, with one will and accord, and with the favourable encouragement of all their relatives, promised him to the Lord Jesus Christ so that he might serve Him zealously in His house. When he was about seven years old, they took him to the monastery, consecrated in honour of St Mary and the holy archangel Michael, called Lucedio, where also the venerable relics of the blessed martyr Januarius are kept.² And there, according to the custom of the monastic rule, they presented him to the abbot of that place, who, receiving him very devotedly, clothed him with the habit of holy monasticism, and thereafter passed on to him his first rudiments of learning. He also provided as his guardian a teacher, who was wonder-struck: the speed of perception of the boy in his charge developed so greatly that very soon he surpassed all the efforts of his former fellow students. So even then he was held in no small admiration both by the abbot and by the other brothers.

iii. Moreover, a certain old lady, whose husband was getting on in years,³ lived in the vicinity of the monastery and enjoyed with it a congenial relationship. The boy was brought to the house in order to receive domestic care during the day, and he was also several times received there to sleep at night. When, on one occasion, the old lady, in her anxiety to comfort him, enfolded him in the embrace of her arms, her breasts, which hung pendulously with

tyred? c. 305, is centred on Naples, where a phial of his blood is reported to liquefy annually on his feast-days: *ODS*, p. 223.

³ For 'iam senior' see Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 304; cf. *Histories* 3. vi. 22 n.

rugosis pellibus, subito turgentes lac fudere uberrime. At illa, ut erat pie mentis ac Deum timens, religiosis quibusque sagaciter intimare curauit quoniam isdem, qui uidebatur puer, excellentioris uitę ac dignitatis gratia esset augmentandus. In processu nanque temporis cum adoleuisset ac iam prudenter in Dei timore oboedienter seruire studuisset, non defuere inuidentię stimuli. Quibus etiam sepius agitatus constanter sustulit illorum probra in quorum profectum toto conamine laborauerat. Nam olim in Vercellensi urbe primitus, postmodum uero apud Ticinum sub tuta custodia regulas artis grammaticę pleniter didicerat. Constituitur etenim diuini officii assiduus custos ac scolę capitalis illius loci.¹ Qui felici uirtutum incremento Deo fauente^a proficiens, commissa est ei secretarii cura atque administratio, necnon etiam totius suppellectilis sanctuarii, domi^b forisque consiliorum diffinitio. Cępit interim cogitare qualiter suum genitorem a fluctuaga istius seculi cura subtraheret, ac quod illi uitę supererat secum in monasterio pro ęterna requie laborando consumeret. Nam mater illius iam in pace obierat. Tunc nempe suasit ei, ut mente tractauerat, et ille statim dilecto oboediuit filio, immo Deo, qui ei prestitit talem. Sicque satis accurate cum plurimis donorum exeniis duxit illum ad monasterium, ubi deuotissime a cunctis susceptus, in sanctę conuersationis habitu et ipse deuote uiuens, non multo post presente filio optimo fine uitam compleuit.

iii. Interea petebatur promoueri ad diaconatus officium: qui reuera ita obsequens extiterat inferiorum pceptionibus graduum ut etiam ipsis sacerdotibus imitabile foret exemplar ad iter arripiendum^c tutum.^d Sed pceditum monasterium in Vercellensis urbis episcopio situm atque eiusdem^e episcopi ditioni subiacebat. Insolescerat^f etiam male arreptę consuetudinis usus, ut nullus fratrum loci illius leuitici ordinis gradum prius susciperet quam sese assertionem iurandi promitteret seruaturum fidelitatem episcopo. Hoc quoque dum suggestum esset Willelmo, ut iuxta illorum morem faceret, ut erat eleganter affabilis, respondens dixit se non

^a fauente *RM*; fouente *B*; faciente *F* ^b et domi *R* ^c arripiendum *RBM*; arripiendi *F* ^d tutum *RBM*; uirtutum *F* ^e eiusdem *RBM*; eidem *F*
^f insolescerat *B*; inoleuerat *RM*

¹ The schools of Pavia were distinguished, by the early 11th c., for their interest in law as well as grammar and rhetoric; it is possible that William imbibed something of this legal training too. See M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 4–15.

wrinkled skin, swelled suddenly and poured out milk copiously. But she, being pious and God-fearing, wisely took care to inform all the brothers that although he appeared merely a boy, he was worthy of advancement by virtue of an excellent life and worth. In the course of time, when he grew up and already in the fear of God strove with prudence to serve obediently, the goads of envy were not wanting. Though he was often disturbed by these, he resolutely bore up against the infamies of those for whose advance he had laboured with all his efforts. At first in the city of Vercelli and later at Pavia under firm tutelage, he had learnt fully the rules of grammatical art: indeed he was made the constant guardian of the divine office and of the chief school in that place.¹ With God's favour he was advancing by the happy increase of virtues, and to him was committed the care and administration of the sacristy, and also of the whole furnishing of the sanctuary, and the formation of policy both within the house and outside. In the meantime he began to consider how he might rescue his father from the storm-driven grip of this world, and how he (the father) might spend what remained to him of life with him in the monastery labouring for eternal rest. For his mother had already died in peace. Then he (William) persuaded him in accordance with his plan, and his father immediately obeyed his beloved son, or rather God, who had given him such a son. And so, very carefully, with plentiful offering of endowments, he (William) brought him to the monastery, where he was received with the greatest devotion by all, and, surrounded by holy behaviour and himself living devoutly, not long after, in the presence of his son, he completed his life with an excellent ending.

iv. In the meantime William was asked if he would accept promotion to the office of deacon, although truly he had been so observant of the ordinances of the lowest grades (of holy orders) as to be a worthy example even for priests themselves of how to take the safe path. Now the monastery was situated in the diocese of the city of Vercelli, and lay under the authority of the bishop. The practice of a wickedly usurped custom had grown up that none of the brethren of that house could enter the rank of deacon before promising faithful service to the bishop on oath. When it was suggested to William that he should abide by this custom, he replied with his usual courtesy that where those

posse salubriter perpendere ut pro his, quæ solius Dei imperio gratis prestari deberent, horum ministro alicuius seruandæ fidei assertionem ullo modo exhibere,^a quin potius, inquires, terribilem huiusmodi assentatoribus Saluatoris sententiam imminere.¹ Atque huiusmodi responso prolato omnino quod hortauerant^b facere distulit. Illico nempe oppido ab huiusce suasoribus detractionum corrosionibus lacessitur, ab ipso presule redarguitur ac ueluti contumax sui iuris habetur. Ille uero talia pro nichilo ducens ac magis magisque in Dei se cultum astringens, ita ut pene ipsi soli omnis cura ac sollicitudo psallendi, legendi, horarumque^c pulsandi, die noctuque loci illius incumberet. Erat enim castissime mentis et corporis, paratus ad omne bonum,² ac meditabatur frequentius, si forte quenpiam repperire locum ualeret ad quem transiens deuotius præceptis regularibus inseruire liceret. Iam enim inibi feruor disciplinæ regularis admodum tepuerat. Proinde accepta quondam licentia orationis ac uisitacionis gratia, ut ad monasterium beati archangeli Michaelis, quod situm constat in altissimis iugis Alpium, pergeret.³ Qui^d dum ad montis radices deuenisset, atque ut est iter arduum ascendendi ad monasterium iam pene superaret, uector ipsius equus, quem post se habena dextera^e iniecta trahebat, ab angusto tramite pede luendo paululum deuians, excussa habena, quantum est illud immane præcipitium, totus ruit. Quod cernens uir Deo deuotus, mente quidem exterritus, uultu tamen sereno perrexit ad ecclesiam, orationi incubuit, ibique diutius, ac si nil aduersi ei contigisset, orauit. Deinde uero exiens misit famulum, si forte de equo aliter quam sperare poterant

^a exhiberet *RBM*, perhaps correctly
hortati erant *R*

^c horasque *R*

^b hortauerant *BM*; ortati fuerant *F corr.*;

^d qui *om.* After correction

^e dexterae *R*

¹ The reference is to Matt. 6: 24 or Luke 16: 13, passages which contain the precept that 'No man can serve two masters.' It is clear that William objected to the special obedience demanded by Peter, bishop of Vercelli (c. 978–97), who later died when his cathedral of S. Eusebio was burnt down by Arduin, marquess of Ivrea, claimant to the Italian crown (cf. *Histories*, 3. Preface. 1): R. Orsenigo, *Vercelli Sacra* (Como, 1909), p. 75. The reference to things 'which ought to be given freely' suggests that simony was involved, and this is supported by the allusion to the biblical texts with their injunction 'Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.' In his letter to the pope, recorded below, c. x, William expresses bitter hatred of simony, as Glaber does in the *Histories*, esp. 2. vi. 11.

² Cf. Titus 3: 1.

³ The context suggests that this visit to the abbey of S. Michele on the Monte Pirchiriano may have been in the nature of a voluntary exile in the wake of his disagreement with the bishop, in which, as is clearly indicated here, the rest of the congregation of Lucedio failed to support him. The abbey's early history is obscure, as Bulst remarks, p. 25, but the later abbey of S. Michele della Chiusa on the Monte Pirchiriano began when St John

things were concerned which ought to be given freely at the command of God alone, he could not safely consider in any way swearing any oath of obedience to a minister concerned with their discharge: rather, he said, the terrible sentence of the Redeemer threatens such flatterers.¹ And making this reply, he refused altogether to do what they had demanded. Indeed he was immediately bitterly attacked by the advocates of this course of action, and he was upbraided by the bishop himself and held to be contemptuous of his rights. He, however, considered such things as nothing, and drew himself more and more into the worship of God, in such a way that there fell upon him, almost alone in that place, all care and concern, by day and by night, for psalmody, reading, and the striking of hours. He was wholly without blemish in mind and body, and ready for all that was good;² he meditated often whether he might be able, perhaps, to find some other place, by moving to which he would be free to serve the precepts of the Rule more devotedly. For by now fervour in that house for the regular discipline had cooled. Accordingly permission was granted on a particular occasion for him to travel for prayer and pilgrimage to the monastery of the blessed Archangel Michael, which is situated on the highest peaks of the Alps.³ When he had come to the foot of the mountain and was on the point of conquering the steep climb to the monastery, the horse which bore him, which he trailed after him by the rein held in the right hand, wandering a little from the narrow pathway with erring hoof, shook off the rein and fell all the way down that terrible chasm. When he saw this, the devout man's mind was struck by terror, but with a serene face he continued up to the church, threw himself down in prayer, and there worshipped for a long time as though nothing untoward had happened to him. Then, coming out, he sent a servant to report to him if, by chance, anything other than what they could have expected had happened

Vincenzo, a disciple of St Romuald, established a hermitage nearby, c. 997, and an Auvergnat knight, Hugh le Descous, began the construction of the new abbey before 1000. Ardoin V, of the house of Turin, became one of its major patrons. Ardoin's support should be seen in the context of the general effort to repopulate the Alpine valleys which led Ardoin's cousin, Ulric-Manfred, to build the abbey of Susa which Glaber visited at the time of its consecration as he reports in *Histories* 4. iii. 6–7: Previtè-Orton, pp. 178–81. On the cult of St Michael see especially M. Baudot, 'Origine du culte de saint Michel'; 'Diffusion et évolution du culte de saint Michel en France'; A. Petrucci, 'Origine e diffusione del culto di San Michele nell'Italia medievale', in J. Laporte (ed.), *Millénaire monastique du Mont-Saint-Michel* (Paris, 1971), iii. 15–22, 99–112, 339–54. See also A. A. Bialas, *The Patronage of St. Michael the Archangel* (Chicago, 1954).

contigisset, ut ei renunciaret. Qui egressus repperit eum in loco ubi præceps ruerat stantem incolumem, ita ut nulla omnino læsura in eo uideretur, sed neque in loris aut ligno sedilis aliqua attritio appareret. Siquidem cum miliaria duo et eo amplius a loco unde ruinam cæperat usque in uallem ubi substiterat computentur. Receptoque qui missus fuerat equo ei qui amiserat reduxit. At ipse gratias Omnipotenti Deo referens, alacer ad monasterium rediit. Quæ res gesta plurimis admirationem prebuit atque indicium sanctitatis eius.

v. Audierat iam fama multiplici personante monasterium esse cognomento Cluniacum in partibus Burgundiæ, cuius sanctitatis ordo ac districtio regularis materque uirtutum discretio pre cunctis incomparabiliter uiguerant ab initio. Ad quod etiam ire, illud inuisere, toto mentis flagrabat desiderio. Contigit quoque, dum hoc meditaretur agere, ut sanctissimus abba predicti loci Maiolus sacra ecclesiarum loca ex more uisitans ad coenobium Luciacum diuerteret.¹ Quod cernens famulus Christi Willelmus intelligensque suum a Deo desiderium compleri decretum, secretius accessit ad Dei uirum eique sui pectoris patefecit archanum. At ille nimium alacriter spondit ei iuuamen optabile ad omne quod in diuini operis cultu decreuerat exercere. Dehinc Romam pergens,^a perinde rediturus, ut secum ad diu optatum locum illum deduceret. Interim uero Willelmus deliberans prudenter de omnibus quæ ad se pertinere uidebantur, acsi in procinctu miles expeditus, ne forte ad fidei certamen ei properaturo res diu licenter usæ, non necessitas parentum, aut speciositas carnalium fratrum, seu uici^b ac latifundia atque castella eorum, quæ perplura erant, non saltem pietas natiui soli uel generalis amor cunctorum obsisterent, sed ut ab his omnibus liber atque exoneratus uiam mandatorum Dei prout disposuerat currere² ualeret, totum se diuinæ commisit prouidentię. Regrediente igitur a Roma uiro Dei Maiolo, memor uterque proprię sponsonis, suscepit Willelmum in spiritualem filiationem ac duxit illum ad locorum sanctissimum Cluniacum. Ad quod cum uenisset, misit ante se ex suis unum, denunciatis fratribus ut obuiam ei ex more

^a pergens RBM; pergit F corr.

^b Only ui is legibile in F

¹ E. Sackur, *Die Cluniazenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1892–4), i. 259, suggests that this journey took place in 987. Bulst, p. 26, points out that in 971 or 972 Mayol of Cluny reformed the abbey of S. Salvatore of Pavia, where William was educated, and that therefore his visit to Lucedio was no accident. On St Mayol see *Histories*, I. iv. 9, and for his importance see above, pp. lxxvii–lxxviii.

to the horse. The fellow went out and found the horse in the place where it had fallen headlong, standing unharmed, so that absolutely no injury could be seen nor was any damage apparent on the harness or on the wood of the saddle. Indeed, it was reckoned to be two miles and more from the place where it had taken the fall to the valley where it ended up. The fellow who was sent out, having recovered the horse, led it back to him who had lost it. And William gave thanks to Almighty God and went briskly back to the monastery. These events were to many a source of wonder and a sign of his sanctity.

v. He had already heard from its resounding and many-faceted renown that there was a monastery called Cluny in the region of Burgundy, whose order of holiness, strict rule and discretion, the mother of virtues, had flourished above all incomparably from the very first. His whole mind burnt with a desire to go there and see it. It happened that when he was thinking about doing this, the most holy abbot of that place, Mayol, while visiting the holy places of churches, as was his custom, came to Lucedio.¹ William, servant of Christ, hearing of this and understanding that it had been decreed by God that his desire should be fulfilled, went privily to the man of God and revealed the secret of his heart. Mayol very quickly promised William the aid he desired for everything that he had decided to do in the performance of the divine office; then he went to Rome, proposing to return so that he could take him to the place so long desired. In the mean time William, thinking prudently about all the things that appeared to concern him, like a knight ready for battle, took care lest things long and freely used, the relationship with parents or the beauty of earthly brothers, or their villages and estates and fortresses which were very numerous, or even love of the native soil or general love of every one should stand in his way as he hastened to the struggle dictated by faith. But in order that he should be strong enough to run the way of God's commandments,² as he had determined to do, free and unburdened from all these matters, he committed himself entirely to the Divine Providence. Once the man of God, Mayol, had returned from Rome, therefore, each recollected his own promise, and he received William as a spiritual son and conducted him to Cluny, that most holy of places. When he drew near to that place, he sent on ahead one of his servants announcing to the brethren that they should come out to greet him

² Cf. Ps. 118 (119): 32.

ornati procederent, quoniam excepturi erant quendam secum uenientem cui honor diuinitus debebatur. Exceptus denique, ut sanctus mandauerat, solenni apparatu, promouit eum honorifice cum consilio fratrum, quippe dum una sensere in illo uite meritum. Nam et isdem uir Dei Maiolus peculiare frequentius cum eodem Willelmo de his que uere salutis sunt exercebat colloquium. Iamque expleto in eodem loco plus minus anno integro cunctis admirabilis uenerabilisque necnon honestioribus imitabilis habebatur. Tunc nanque spiritualis pater iudicauit eum sacerdotio fungi dignissimum. Iam enim sacratus fuerat leuitico ministerio. At ille humiliter pauendeque se subtrahens, dicens^a se omnino non esse dignum tractare tanti mysterii sacramentum.¹ Sanctus quoque nolens placorem animi eius turbare, consensit ut uoluit. Interea uenit quidam frater prepositus cenobii sancti martyris Saturnini, quod est super Rodanum,² precurator sanctum uirum Maiolum quatinus ei aliquem e suis commodaret qui eum cum fratribus sibi commissis ad salutis uiam agnoscendam instituere ualeret. At uir misericordie gemina consideratione prospiciens, unius uidelicet iuuamen, alterius quoque oboeditionis probationem, domnum ei protinus commisit Willelmum. Qui omnino nil dubitans aut renitens perrexit humiliter ad patris imperium, obsecutus ei qui ad hoc uenerat utilitatis anime gratia. Habebat enim prefatus uir plures fratres secum simul degentes. Vna tamen uoluntas omnium, par consensus, similis operatio, modus orandi ac psallendi atque edendi et totus horum habitus caritatis gratia uniformis, Willelmo reuera, ut ipsis conuenerat, preceptore Cluniacensi ex more. Enimuero quicquid illorum erat peculi communitatis in ecclesia heremus³ esse uidebatur. Atque

^a dicens *BM*; dixit *F corr.*, *R*

¹ He was ordained priest in 990: cf. Bulst, p. 26.

² The abbey of Saint-Sernin in what is now Pont-Saint-Esprit in the *département* of the Gard is said to have been given to Cluny in 949: *Gallia Christiana*, vi. 659–60. Syrus, in his *Vita Maioli*, III. 12 (*PL* cxxxvii. 772), tells us that while he was in *cellula Sancti Saturnini* the saint miraculously cured a lady of Viviers, which suggests that the house was then small. But this event probably occurred some time before William's arrival, and *cellula* is a word with a wide range of meaning.

³ Cf. Acts 4: 32–5. This passage has been seen as a distillation of the Cluniac ideal. It is possible that it may be based upon a part of the *Testament* of Abbot Berno of Cluny, who adjured his congregation: '... inter vos unanimitas ita perseueret, quatenus, modum conversationis huc usque retentum, tam in psalmodia quam in observatione silentii, sed et in qualitate victus et vestitus, et insuper, in contemptu rerum propriarum', *PL* cxxxiii. 857 ('... to keep staunchly united, to observe with the same exactness

wearing the traditional vestments, since they were about to receive someone coming with him to whom, in God's name, honour was owed. William was received, therefore, with solemn splendour, as ordained by the holy man, who advanced him with honour on the advice of the brethren, for in his case all were of one accord in perceiving the merit of his life. Now Mayol, the man of God, had private and very frequent conversation with William concerning those things which are necessary for true salvation. And once a whole year, more or less, had passed in that place, he was regarded as worthy of admiration and respect by all, and by the most honourable as worthy of imitation. Then the spiritual father judged him most worthy to enter into the sacerdotal office. For he had already been consecrated to the ministry as a deacon. But he, humble and fearful, turned away from this, saying that he was not at all worthy to perform the sacrament of such a mystery.¹ The holy man, unwilling to disturb the peace of his soul, fell in with his wishes. In the mean time a brother who was prior to the abbey of the holy martyr Saturninus, which is on the Rhône,² came appealing to the holy man Mayol that he should provide someone worthy from amongst his people to instruct him and the brethren committed to his care in the recognition of the path to salvation. But the man of mercy gave this matter a twofold consideration, to provide for the one (the prior) assistance, and for the other (William) a proof of obedience; and straight away despatched the Lord William to him. He, wholly without doubt or resistance, went humbly at the command of the father, making himself agreeable to the prior who had come for this for the good of his soul. For the prior had a number of brethren living together with him. But there was one common will, equal agreement, common work, and the method of praying and psalmody and eating and their entire dress was uniform for the sake of love, with William indeed, as they had agreed, being their instructor after the manner of Cluny. Whatever property anyone had of his own was seen to be common with the church.³ And later,

as before the established usage in chanting with psalms, in keeping silence, in the quality of food and raiment, and above all in the contemning of personal property': tr. J. Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny* (Oxford, 1931), p. 9). 'Heremus' (or 'eremus') can mean a wasteland or common. It is clearly used here in opposition to the notion of private property, abandoned by the monk whose goods become part of the community's property. It is as if Glaber has sought a word for property which had an overtone of 'that which is common, or open to all'. Essentially the use of 'heremus' reinforces 'communis'. Cf. Bulst, p. 28 n. 36.

isdem, postquam ad potiora Willelmus sullimatus fuisset, referre erat solitus nusquam se locum optabiliorem repperisse ad eam quam optinere deliberauerat pauperiem consequi uel extremitatem sanctitatis.

vi. Memorabili igitur Maiolo sub eodem tempore suggestum est a Brunone, uenerandę memorię Lingonis pontifice,¹ ut monasterium egregii martyris Benigni, quod iuxta Diuionense castrum antiquitus ueneratur,² ad redintegrandum diuini cultus ordinem, qui in eodem loco omnino defecerat, susciperet, et sicut per plurima coenobia iam dudum agere consueuerat,³ ita et istud in melius reformare satageret. At uir sanctus motus pietate ad preces pontificis misit continuo qui ad se reducerent Willelmum. Iam enim cum eodem fratre cui illum commiserat annum et semis pie uiuendo expleuerat. Cui utique ad se reuocato prædicti sancti martyris monasterii dulci imperio paternam ouilis Christi curam commisit.⁴ Spondit insuper ut quicquid iuuaminis ad spiritualis huius negotii incrementum optaret, ipse libenti animo ei imponderet. Episcopo nichilo minus in Dei fide pariter et sua contestatus est ut illi more dulcissimi patris aduocatus et custos, adiutor et consolator in omnibus esset. Qui integerrima obseruatione monitui eius obaudiens, ultra quam credi potuit illum in uita dilexit. Veniens igitur domnus Willelmus ad sibi destinatum suscipiendi ac regendi gratia monasterium, missis cum eo a sancto Maiolo quibusdam ex honestioribus Cluniaci fratribus, ibique honorifice exceptus atque ab eodem presule Brunone monachorum pater est ex more consecratus. Cunque acerrimo ac uigilanti studio se sibi commissos pro Dei amore disciplinis regularibus subderet, non multo post commissum est ei ab Henrico uenerabili duce⁵ monasterium etiam Verziaci castri ex latere situm, ubi

¹ Bruno, bishop of Langres, is frequently mentioned in the *Histories*, especially 3. ii. 6. Glaber goes on to report that St William was 'a close relative' of Otto-William, count of Mâcon, who had married Bruno's sister Ermentrude; this family relationship perhaps paved the way for his appointment to Saint-Bénigne, as Bulst suggests, pp. 22–3.

² St Benignus is a shadowy figure, said to have been a disciple of St Polycarp (on whom see *Histories* 5. iv. 21 n.), martyred in the 2nd c. under Marcus Aurelius: *ODS*, p. 42. In c. viii Glaber mentions the sources for his life, on which see above, p. xlix. The abbey of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon was founded by Gregory, bishop of Langres, in 535, but later decayed: *Gallia Christiana*, iv. 668–95; Bulst, pp. 30–1. It was indeed outside the *castrum* of Dijon, though well within the region of the city enclosed by the walls c. 1137 (see F. L. Ganshof, *Étude sur le développement des villes entre Loire et Rhin au moyen âge* (Paris and Brussels, 1943), pl. 12 (cf. p. 66)).

when William had been raised to greater things, he was wont to recall that he had found no more desirable place for attaining the poverty and extremity of holiness to which he had aspired.

vi. At about the same time it was suggested to the admirable Mayol by Bruno, of venerable memory, bishop of Langres,¹ that he should take charge of the monastery of the distinguished martyr Benignus, hard by the city of Dijon,² which has been venerated since ancient times, in order to restore the order of divine worship, which had failed totally in that place, and that, just as he had long been in the habit of doing this kind of thing in many monasteries,³ so he should do his utmost to reform this one too. Moved by piety, the holy man forthwith sent messengers in response to the petitions of the bishop, to bring William back to him. For by that time he had already spent a year and a half in pious living with that brother to whom he had sent him. When he had been recalled, he committed to him by sweet command the fatherly care of the fold of Christ, the monastery of the holy martyr which we have just mentioned.⁴ He further promised that he would gladly provide whatever help he desired for the development of this spiritual enterprise. And no less he promised to the bishop on the honour of God, and likewise on his own, that in the fashion of the tenderest father he would be advocate and guardian, helper and consoler to him in all things. He obeyed his advice with immaculate observance, and in his lifetime he loved him more than seemed credible. The Lord William came, therefore, to the monastery which it was intended that he should receive and rule, and with him were sent by the blessed Mayol a number of the worthiest among the brethren of Cluny; he was honourably received there and blessed according to custom as father of the monks by Bishop Bruno. When, by hard and anxious labour, he succeeded in subduing himself and those committed to his charge to the disciplines of the Rule for the love of God, a little afterwards the monastery situated at the side of the town of Vergy was also handed over to him by the highly respected Duke Henry;⁵ there the former confessor of

³ Glaber uses a rather similar phrase to describe St William's reform activity in c. ix.

⁴ St William became abbot in 990: *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 131; Bulst, pp. 28–9, 35.

⁵ Duke Henry of Burgundy married Gerberga, mother of Otto-William, count of Mâcon, who was, as Glaber reports here, a relative of St William. See *Histories* 3. ii. 6n. on Duke Henry, and for a discussion of the importance of the family relationship see above, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv.

antiquus confessor Christi sanctus requiescit Viuentius.¹ Illud quoque ueluti primum moderamine regulari erat destitutum. Illoque in melius reformato, tercio nichilominus pastore^a destituto ac recte uiuendi lege, super fontem^b posito Besuę apostolorumque principi sacrato, ab eodem Brunone pontifice constituitur pater. Erat antiquissimum ac sepius paganorum seu pessimorum quorumque hominum infestatione desolatum.² Ad huius nempe redintegrationem dum toto conamine decertaret, contigit ut prædictus episcopus cum comite maxime partis Burgundię Wilhelmo, qui etiam eiusdem patris, de quo sermo est, extiterat affinitate propinquus,^c ipso patre presente colloquium pacis haberet.³ Post cętera dixit presul in aure comiti ut abbati utpote propinquo scilicet suo leniter suggereret, ut elationem, ne forte pro uirtutum gratia uel rerum copia surriperet,^d caueret. Ille quoque reuerenter accedens dixit ut monitus fuerat. Tunc pater Willelmus uultu alacri eidem comiti huiusmodi responsum protulit: 'Si' inquit 'cognoscere potero quod augmentum terranarum opum uel possessionum unius tantum diei nostrę uitę protrahat spatium, persuaderi non michi potest quin non ad horum extollar incrementum.' Hoc autem responsum dum comes retulisset episcopo, admirati sunt uterque eius prudentiam pariterque lætati propter illius humilem sapientiam.

vii. Cum igitur fama sanctitatis illius iam latius deferretur, Normannorum dux uenerabilis illam comperiens Richardus misit ad eum, reuerenter supplicans ut ad se ueniret. Qui tandem libenter, ut rogatus fuerat, pergens uenit ad eum, a quo etiam sicuti decebat honorifice susceptus est. Cuius sanctissimis cum recreatus, ut erat totius boni amator, dux fuisset eloquiis, obsecrans illum ut ecclesiam sanctę et indiuiduę Trinitatis nomini et honori dicatam, in

^a pastore *om. RBM* ^b fontem *RBM*; frontem *F* ^c maxime . . . propinquus *om. B* (*cf. p. 278 n. b*) ^d surriperet *FM*; surreperet *B*; subreperet *R*

¹ Little is known about the abbey of Saint-Vivant-de-Vergy in the diocese of Autun except that it was founded by Manasses, count of Dijon and Chalon, during the lifetime of Walo, bishop of Autun (c. 884–918/19): *Gallia Christiana*, iv. 442, 369–71. For its reform by St William, who seems to have assumed control in 990, see Bulst, pp. 53–6.

² The ancient abbey of Saint-Pierre-de-Bęze was founded by Duke Amalgarus in 600: *Gallia Christiana*, iv. 703. Its annals, covering the period 600–1174, record that it was destroyed, or its community dispersed, some seven times. It was first destroyed in the wars between the Merovingians, Thierry III and Dagobert II of Austrasia, c. 676–9; and there followed a catalogue of disasters, notably its sack by the Saracens in the year 731

Christ, St Viventius, lies in peace.¹ That place, like the former, was destitute of governance by the Rule. When it had been reformed and brought to a better life, he was appointed father by the same Bishop Bruno to a third which lacked a pastor and any proper rule for right living, sited near the fountain of Bęze, and dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles. It was a very ancient place which had often been destroyed by the attacks of the pagans and of other evil men.² While he was struggling with all his might in the reform of that place, it so happened that this bishop, together with William, count of the greater part of Burgundy, who was a close relation of the father who is the subject of this writing, held a Peace Council at which this father (William) was present.³ After many considerations, the bishop whispered in the ear of the count that he should suggest gently to the abbot, as being his kinsman, that he should be on his guard against pride, lest, perchance, it might creep up on him because of his grace in virtues and his prosperity. He agreed with due respect and spoke as he had been asked. Then Father William, with an eager face, replied in the following way to the count: 'If I could know for certain that growth of earthly riches or possessions could extend the length of even one day of our life, I would not seek an increase of such things.' When the count retailed this to the bishop, both admired his prudence and equally rejoiced in his humble wisdom.

vii. Since, therefore, the fame of his sanctity was now spread far and wide, the respected Richard, duke of Normandy, heard about it and sent to him, reverently petitioning that he should come to him. After a while he came gladly to him as had been asked, and, as was only proper, was honourably received. As a lover of all that is good the duke was refreshed by his most holy eloquence; and he asked him to receive and adorn with the monastic order the church dedicated to the name and honour of the Holy and Undivided Trinity built in ancient times at the

(when they also raided Autun), and the devastation and dispersal of the community by disease shortly after. In 888 a Norman raid caused severe damage, but the final blow came in 937 when, as mentioned in *Histories* 1. v. 22n, the Hungarians reduced it to 'desolatio desolationum' and it was abandoned for 'fifty-one years' until Bruno, bishop of Langres, set about its revival in 981: *Analecta Divionensia*, pp. 285–6. The exact date on which William became abbot is not known, but it was evidently after he had begun to rule at Saint-Bęnigne; an act of John XV (985–96) dated 995 confirmed his abbacy which he held for the rest of his life, ruling through a series of priors: Bulst, pp. 56–61.

³ Glaber gives a vivid account of a Peace Council in *Histories* 4. v. 14–16. On Otto-William see also C. B. Bouchard in *Journ. of Med. Hist.* v (1979), 1–10.

loco Fiscannensi cognomento antiquitus constructam, a suo tamen patre Richardo honorificentius reformatam, ordine monachorum suscipiens decoraret.¹ Erat enim illic more uiuens carnali iugo soluta regulari clericorum leuis conciola. Cernens denique pater Willelmus illius animi deuotionem promisit se cum Dei adiutorio illud quod poscebat impleturum. Qui pariter uenientes ad prædictum locum satis sullime ac sollenniter commisit ei isdem dux cum aliquibus episcopis dominium et curam regiminis totius loci. Tum uir Domini congregauit ibidem monachorum regularem cateruam, ita uidelicet personis numerosam ac bonorum studiis copiosam ut triplici suo numero preteritorum numerum excelleret clericorum. Quod cernens iam dictus princeps multorum donorum ac possessionum largitionibus ampliauit locum. Monuit etiam tam abbatem quam ceteros fratres sepius ut ab illo peterent quicquid suorum utilitati expedire nossent, utpote quoniam de hac re secundum uelle prouenerat ei et posse. Interea cernens uigilantissimus pater quoniam non solum illo in loco sed etiam per totam prouinciam illam necnon per totam Galliam in plebeiis maxime scientiam legendi ac psallendi deficere et annullari, clericis instituit scholas sacri ministerii, quibus pro Dei amore assidui instarent fratres huius officii docti, ubi siquidem gratis largiretur cunctis doctrinæ beneficium ad coenobia sibi commissa confluentibus, nullusque qui ad hoc uellet procedere prohiberetur quin potius tam seruis quam liberis, diuitibus cum egenis uniforme caritatis impenderetur documentum. Plures etiam ex ipsis ex coenobiis utpote rerum tenues accipiebant uictum. Ex quibus quoque nonnulli in sanctæ conuersationis monachorum deuenere habitum. Cuius denique institutionis labor nimium optabilem diuersis ecclesiis contulit fructum. Nam præfatum, ut dicere cæperamus, locum taliter claustris atque officinis regularibus ceterisque bonorum copiis adornauit ut præ ceteris illius prouinciæ felicibus semper floreat incrementis.

viii. Contigit ergo postmodum quatinus pars ecclesiæ beati martyris Benigni, cui auctore Deo primitus pater datus fuerat, ruinam corruens daret. Quam cum reformare cuperent artifices cementarii,

¹ The abbey of the Holy Trinity at Fécamp was founded by Count Waningus; its consecration in 658 was attended by King Lothar III (657–73). After the destruction of the Norman invasions it was rebuilt by Duke Richard I of Normandy (on whom see *Histories*, esp. 2. vii. 14) c.990: *Gallia Christiana*, xi. 201–2. Duke Richard II (on whom see

place called Fécamp and honourably restored by his father Richard.¹ In that place there was an inconsequential little congregation of clerics living in a carnal manner unfettered by the burden of the Rule. Discerning the devotion of his [Richard's] soul, father William promised that he, with the aid of God, would do what he requested. They went together to that place, and the duke, along with several bishops, solemnly and ritually committed to him the dominion and care of the entire house. Then this man of the Lord gathered to that place a group of monks under the Rule, so numerous in their persons and abounding in the study of virtue that they exceeded three times the number of the past clerics. Seeing this, the prince endowed the place with gifts of many presents and property. He often told the abbot and the other brethren that they should seek from him anything that they knew would be useful for them, because, in his case, following the wish, there had come forth the ability. In the meantime the most vigilant father, seeing that amongst the inhabitants not only of that place but throughout the entire province and also all Gaul the science of reading and singing psalms had greatly declined and was becoming extinct, especially amongst the common people, founded schools in the holy ministry for clerics which brethren learned in that office were to attend assiduously for the love of God. Here indeed the benefit of teaching was to be freely bestowed on all those who converged on the monasteries entrusted to his charge; none who aspired to it was to be deprived, rather an example of uniform charity was to be given, for the slave and the freeman, the rich and the poor. Many amongst these, inasmuch as they lacked worldly things, accepted food from the monasteries. From amongst these too no small number entered the monastic life and its holy converse. In fact his educational work conferred the most desirable fruit on the different churches. He adorned this place, of which we have begun to speak, with claustral buildings and monastic workshops and with other plentiful good things, in such a way that before all others in that province it always flourishes with happy growth.

viii. Afterwards it happened that part of the church of the blessed martyr Benignus, to which he had first been sent as father by divine instigation, showed signs of falling down and becoming a

esp. 1. v. 21) brought St William to Fécamp in 1001. On the reform of the abbey and its importance to Norman monasticism see Bulst, pp. 147–61; above, pp. lxxix–lxxx.

grauiore pars eadem dedit ruinam. Quod cernens uir Deo deuotus, intellexit diuinitus sibi dari indicium quod totum a fundamentis renouari conueniret templum. Ilicoque summo mentis ingenio coepit ipsius aeccliesie reformandę mirificum construere apparatus.¹ Quam denique cum coepisset reedificare positione mirabili ualde longiore ac latiore quam fuerat, ignotus tamen erat uniuersis locellus quo p̄ciosi martyris membra claudebantur Benigni, quoniam sollerti cura taliter antiquitus fuerat reconditus ut illo^a fiducialiter ueneraretur martyr per xuum ubi felici morte occubuit propter Deum. Sed a quibusdam minus cautis dicebatur etiam ibi non haberi. Cuius ignoratio rei nimium mestificabat animum patris Willelmi. Tali quoque defectu anxio reuelatum est uisione pulcherrima per ipsum Dei martyrem ipsius honorabile sepulchrum.² Erat enim, ut beatus multorum sanctorum descriptor miraculorum Gregorius Turonorum pontifex refert, pregrandis archa lapidei sarcofagi continens illud.^{3b} Pro cuius incredulitate narrat isdem sanctus alterum sui nominis Gregorium Lingonicensem episcopum acrius quondam fuisse increpatum. Cuius nanque positionem loci antiqua uetustas occuluit. Nam coram p̄cipuo illius monasterii altare profundius habebatur defossum memoratum sepulchrum. Quod continuo requirens inuenit aperiensque illud contingere meruit sacratissima egregii martyris ossa. In cuius etiam cerebro, quod in descripta ipsius passione legitur, uulnus ferreo illatum uecte apparuit.⁴ Quę omnia integro numero, p̄sentibus honestioribus tam episcopis quam cęteris diuersorum ordinum uel sexuum, cum odoriferis timiamatibus ac psallentium choris in eodem recondidit sarcofago. Indeque paululum ad orientem illum amouens in pulcherrimo atque incomparabili locauit

^a illic R^b illum RBM

¹ At this point Glaber breaks off his account of the rebuilding of the church of Saint-Bénigne, returning to it in c. xii. This seems to reflect the fact that St William virtually reconstructed the whole complex on a very ambitious plan which took time to complete. It was begun on 14 Feb. 1002; the main church was consecrated on 30 Oct. 1016 and that of the Virgin in the Rotunda on 13 May 1018: C. Heitz, 'Lumières anciennes et nouvelles sur Saint-Bénigne de Dijon', *Du VIII^e au XI^e siècle: Édifices monastiques et culte en Lorraine et en Bourgogne* (Paris, 1977), p. 64. On the new church and its importance in the history of the Romanesque, see Appendix, pp. 300–2.

² The loss of St Benignus' remains was a very serious matter to William, and the suggestion that they might never be found tantamount to sacrilege. Saints were the spiritual protectors and patrons of the human community, and monks gained enormous authority and prestige by acting as custodians of their relics. It was vital for the good of the whole community, therefore, that the grave should be found. This kind of spiritual

ruin. When the master masons wanted to rebuild it, that same part fell into a greater ruin. Seeing this, that man devoted to God understood that a heavenly sign had been given to him that it would be proper to rebuild the whole church from its foundations. Immediately, with great ingenuity of mind, he began to make marvellous preparations for the rebuilding of this church.¹ When he had finally begun to reconstruct it to an admirable plan, much wider and longer than before, the coffin in which the bones of the precious martyr Benignus were kept was unknown to all. For it had been hidden with expert care in ancient times in such a way that the martyr should be faithfully venerated through the ages in the place where he died a happy death for God. But some, less prudent, said that it was not there at all. Their ignorance of the matter saddened the soul of Father William. In a sublime vision the very martyr of God revealed the honoured tomb to him who had been made so anxious by its disappearance.² As Bishop Gregory of Tours, that blessed narrator of many holy miracles, tells us, it [the tomb] was contained in a large coffin in the form of a stone sarcophagus.³ The saint tells us that for disbelieving this a namesake of his, Gregory, bishop of Langres, was once upon a time sharply rebuked. The exact position was shrouded in antiquity; for the sepulchre in question was buried deep down in front of the high altar of the monastery. As soon as he started to search, he discovered it, and opening it was found worthy to touch the most holy bones of the excellent martyr. On his temple, as can be read in his *Passion*, there could be seen a wound inflicted by an iron spike.⁴ He reburied all these things in their totality in the same sarcophagus, in the presence of the worthiest from amongst the bishops and others of various orders and both sexes, with sweet-smelling censers and choruses of psalms. He moved it from that place a little to the east and housed it in a shrine of incomparable beauty. After this the

imperative explains the contemporary trade in relics, and the readiness of the community at Susa to accept the clearly dubious relics of St Justus as reported by Glaber in *Histoires* 4. iii. 6. At a more prosaic level important relics attracted pilgrims, trade, and wealth, as Glaber indicates at *Histoires* 3. vi. 19 in describing the prosperity of Sens after the discovery of relics there c. 1015. On relics and their importance see N. Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques des saints: Formation coutumière d'un droit* (Paris, 1975); for parallels, R. and C. Brooke, *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages* (London, 1984), esp. pp. 38–45, 92.

³ Gregory of Tours, *Miracula*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* i. 2 (1885), pp. 522–3.

⁴ Glaber here shows familiarity with accounts of the life and passion of St Benignus, on which see above, p. xlix: *AASS Boll.*, Nov., i. 152ff.

tumulo. Dehinc nanque pater uenerandus acriori accensus deuotione reformandę opus basilicę instanter quemadmodum decreuerat accelerabat perficere: quoniam, ut diximus et presto est cernere, totius Gallię basilicis mirabiliorem atque propria positione incomparabilem perficere disponebat.¹

viii. Omnipotentis etenim Dei gratia in ipso cooperante coepit illius fama sanctitatis circumadiacentes seu longinquas penetrare prouincias. Nam p̄sul Mettensium Adalbero reuerenter satis illum euocans commisit eidem sancti Arnulfi confessoris regendum ac meliorandum, ut agere consueuerat, monasterium. Suscipiens ergo illud breui in tempore reddidit emendatum.² Tunc nempe deuota concepit mente ut apostolorum principis Petri sanctissimi^a limina uisitaturus adiret. Stabiliens nempe coenobia sibi commissa idoneis p̄positorum seu cęterorum officiorum personis, ut decreuerat, Romam orandi gratia perrexit. Visitatis quoque sanctorum sepulchris uel oratoriis, sacris etiam missarum per semet celebratis sollenniis, nam p̄fatus Bruno episcopus sacerdotium illi imposuerat,³ cum apostolica benedictione consolatus regrederetur ad patriam, coepit febricitans aegrotare, tandemque ad coenobium sanctę uirginis Cristinę perueniens in lectum decubuit.⁴ Qui paululum conualescens Vercellis deuenit rursusque ibidem grauius periclitari coepit. Tunc quoque, ut isdem referre erat solitus et etiam bonę memorię Gerbaldus, almi patris Maioli monachus ac p̄dicti coenobii sanctę Cristinę abbas, perhibebat, dum in ecclesia sancti Eusebii iaceret presulis, per quattuor uel quinque horarum spatia ita factus est exanimis ut nullum omnino spiramen in ipso cognosceretur. Sed tamen ignoratur quid tunc diuinitatis persenserit, quoniam paululum in se reuersus uoce qua poterat lingua palpitans hęc personabat uerba: 'Domine Iesu, rex aeternę glorię,

^a sanctissimi *BM*; sanctissima *F corr., R*

¹ This is very like the sentence in *Histories* 3. v. 16 in which Glaber described the new abbey of Saint-Bénigne.

² Adalbero, bishop of Metz (984–1005), invited St William to reform the ancient abbey of Saint-Arnoul at Metz, which dates from the 7th c., in 996 or 997. On the reform and the importance of this first penetration of the 'Cluniac' tradition into Lorraine, see above, pp. lxi–lxii and Bulst, pp. 81–5. It is interesting to note that Glaber's description of William reforming houses 'in the manner to which he was accustomed', is precisely the way in which he described Mayol in c. vi above. In the last sentence of this account of the reform of Saint-Arnoul the Latin is ambiguous and could be read to mean '... he gave it back reformed'. However, Bulst has shown that in 999 to 1000 William handed

beloved father was inflamed with a sharper passion, and he immediately hastened to complete the work of rebuilding the basilica in the way he had decided. For, as we have said, and as is plain to see, he planned to build a church more wondrous than those of all Gaul and incomparable in its situation.¹

ix. Through the grace of Almighty God working in him the fame of his sanctity began to penetrate neighbouring and distant provinces. Now Adalbero, bishop of Metz, summoned him with all reverence and gave to him the monastery of St Arnulf the Confessor to rule and reform, in the manner to which he was accustomed. Receiving this place, therefore, in a short time he rendered it reformed.² Then, in his devout mind, he decided that he should go and visit the domains of St Peter, most holy Prince of the Apostles. Strengthening the monasteries committed to his charge with persons whom he judged worthy as priors and other officers, he went to Rome for prayer as he had decided. Having visited the tombs and chapels of the saints, and having himself solemnly celebrated holy masses (for Bishop Bruno had conferred the priesthood upon him),³ he was returning to his own country fortified by apostolic blessing when he fell ill with a fever. Coming at length to the abbey of the holy virgin Christina, he took to his bed.⁴ Regaining his strength a little, he came to Vercelli, and there, once more, he was very seriously in danger of his life. Then also, as he himself was wont to relate, and also as Gerald, of happy memory, monk of the cherished father Mayol and abbot of the abbey of Sta Cristina already mentioned, used to say, while he lay in the church of the Bishop St Eusebius, for a spell of four or five hours he became so lifeless that absolutely no breath was discerned in him. It is not known, however, what of the Godhead he then perceived, because, coming to himself a little, he gave forth these words with such voice as he could muster, his tongue trembling: 'Lord Jesus, King of Eternal Glory, receive me if it please thee this abbey over to a pupil, Abbot Benedict, who ruled it until he died c. 1015, when William again took control before appointing Odo as abbot at an unknown date: Bulst, pp. 83–5.

³ When he went to Cluny William was ordained deacon; and he refused Mayol's suggestion that he should become a priest, as Glaber has told us in c. v. He was raised to the priesthood in 990 by Bruno of Langres (Bulst, p. 26). This journey probably took place in 1000–1: Bulst, pp. 115–16.

⁴ The abbey of Sta Cristina on the Olona, a tributary of the Po (Bulst, *Vita*, p. 474 n.). Its abbot Gerald was obviously dead by the time Glaber was writing.

suscipe me, si placet, quoniam bonus es, non dubito, ad te ex hoc corpore transire.' Sciendum uero est quia istius mora egritudinis, ut euentus rei subsequenter demonstrat, non fuit impedimentum tantum quam gratia spiritualis lucri. Occurrentes ei denique illuc tres ipsius germani fratres leui euectione deduxerunt illum ad sui iuris prædia confouendum. Ardentem enim desiderabant uidere illum, quoniam compungebat corda eorundem diutinae absentia pietatis. Conualescente quoque eo ab egritudine post aliquot dierum spatium, conuenere ad illum quique suorum ac plures Deum timentium uicinarum et suadere illi coeperunt, promittentes se plura largituros si in natiua patria coenobium sibi, sicut in exteriora^a audierant illum fecisse, edificare inciperet. Tunc quoque, quod potissimum fuit, duo ipsius germani, uidelicet Godefredus atque Nitardus, uiri spectabiles, secretius illum^b adeuntes sponderunt se secularem relicturos militiam ac se suaque omnia in omnipotentis Dei peculiare dominium deuenire. His auditis Dei cultor ilico fiducialiter coepit tractare de coenobii unde rogabatur constructione. Qui pariter communi consilio et uoluntate locum querentes rei huiusmodi aptum reppererunt^c in rure paterno a Pado distantem flumine quaterno miliarium solitarium, cognomento Fructuariensem.¹ Ibi nanque locari præcepit basilicam, quam præsentem Arduino rege cum aliquibus episcopis sacrari iussit in honore sanctæ genitricis Dei Mariæ sanctique Benigni martyris atque omnium sanctorum. In qua etiam isdem rex cum sua coniuge et filiis humatus quiescit.² Ad quam nichilominus tam a Romana urbe quam a diuersis partibus plurima congregauit sanctorum martyrum corpora. Breui nanque in spatio temporis collecta est ibidem numerosa fratrum congregatio^d Deum timentium, instituta beati Benedicti abbatis precipua seruantes, quæ isdem pater Willelmus a sancto Maiolo Cluniaci didicerat.

^a externa *RBM* ^b cum comite maximæ partis Burgundiaë Vuillelmo, qui etiam eiusdem patris, de quo sermo est, extiterat affinitate propinquus *add. BM* (*cf. p. 270 n. c.*) ^c reperere *RBM* ^d congregatio *RBM; om. F*

¹ Fruttuaria on the Po between the tributaries of the Orco and the Amalone. Glaber's statement that Arduin, king of Italy, was present at its consecration helps to establish the date of the ceremony. Arduin, marquis of Ivrea (died 1015), first claimed the Italian throne in revolt against Otto III in 1000, after whose death (on which see *Histories* 1. iv. 15) he was crowned at Pavia on 15 Feb. 1002 and granted its first surviving privilege to Fruttuaria in 1005; Bulst, pp. 116–17. However, it is likely that the new abbey was established before the consecration of 1003, because William went to Italy in 999–1000

that I should pass to thee from this body, by thy goodness, which I do not doubt.' It is evident that the set-back occasioned by his illness was not so much an impediment as a grace of spiritual profit, as the outcome of events shows. Hastening to him there, his three earthly brothers took him away gently to be cared for on their estates. They wished dearly to see him because the absence of his enduring love tormented their hearts. After a few days, when he had recovered from his illness, all his family and many God-fearing neighbours came to him and began to persuade him, promising many donations if he would start to build a monastery for them in his native country, just as they had heard he had done in foreign lands. Then also, and it was the most important factor, two of his brothers, Godfrey and Nithard, noblemen, came secretly to him and promised that they would leave the worldly profession of arms, and, with all that belonged to them, submit to the sole dominion of Almighty God. Hearing these things, that devotee of God immediately and confidently began to ponder upon the construction of a monastery as he had been asked. Together in common counsel, seeking a suitable location for an undertaking of this kind, they found a solitary place on their paternal estate four miles from the river Po, called Fruttuaria.¹ There he ordered a basilica to be built, which, in the presence of King Arduin and certain bishops, he had consecrated in honour of Mary, the Holy Mother of God, St Benignus the Martyr, and All Saints. There lie buried this king with his wife and sons.² He also collected in that house, both from the city of Rome and other places, many remains of holy martyrs. In a short space of time a numerous congregation of God-fearing brethren was gathered there, obeying the principal institutions of the holy Abbot Benedict, which father William had learnt from the holy Mayol at Cluny.

in company with St Odilo, and the story of the illness recorded by Glaber suggests that it was this journey which was the occasion for the foundation of Fruttuaria. By 1001 William was deeply involved in Normandy with the foundation of Fécamp; only after that did he return for the consecration of Fruttuaria: Bulst, pp. 115–17, 189.

² In 1004 Henry II of Germany (1002–24) came to claim the Italian throne (on which see *Histories*, 3. Preface. 1 n.) forcing Arduin to retreat. When Henry II returned to Germany Arduin was able to reassert his position, but after the imperial coronation of Henry II in 1014 he was defeated, and died a monk at Fruttuaria in 1015. He was the last native king of Italy: see p. lxxiv. It may be that St William's family was connected to Arduin's, as Bulst, pp. 22–3, suggests. This would have strengthened the allegation by St William's enemies that he supported Arduin against Henry II, as reported by Glaber in c. xi below, and alluded to obliquely in *Histories* 3. v. 16.

x. Reuertens igitur ab Italia post hæc omni studio satagebat e diuersis partibus terrarum colligere uiros seruituti Christi idoneos, suadendo eis uitę cęlestis gloriam pariterque comminans inferorum supplicia. Tantam enim ei Dominus cum cęteris uirtutibus uirtutem salutaris uerbi concessit ut quibusque doctrinam illius suscipientibus summam conferret fidei firmitatem bonarumque uirtutum augmentum ac uitiorum emendationem. Omnibus enim, sicuti expedire^a nouerat, siue leniter seu asperimę caritatiue tamen huiusmodi exhibebat. Contigit ergo illum aliquando cum uiro per omnia desiderabili, domno scilicet Odilone, adhuc illo in canonicali habitu degente, de uera animarum salute habuisse colloquium.¹ Intelligens uero illum niti ad sanctitatis culmina coepit illi attentius suadere ut, quod potissimum fore creditur, quantotius explere satageret, negotiis uidelicet seculi istius abiectis Christum Iesum sequi liceret expeditius. Compunctus ilico uir clarus libenter se facturum promisit quod pater suaserat Willelmus. Nam post paululum ad coenobium nominatissimum honorifice deueniens Cluniacum ibique a sancto Maiolo est deuote susceptus atque in habitu sanctę conuersationis monachus ex more sacratus. Cuius etiam conuersatio in tantum extitit cara Deo et dulcis Deum diligentibus ut isdem sanctissimus Maiolus sibi commisso gregi allegans illum in uita, qualiter post ipsius obitum haberent patrem atque pastorem. Quod ita manifestissime et utiliter fieri contigit. Quam enim præmaximam exinde dum adiuuerent dilectionem inter se habuere, dum alter eorundem alterum sibi utcunque præferens, exprimi non ualet. Pręterea pontificibus Romanis pater Willelmus, qui suo tempore prefuere, in tanta ueneratione ac reuerentia est habitus ut quicquid illis suggestisset siue per se siue per aliquam legationem, libentissime implere studebant.^b Nam Iohannem papam,² spiritualia dona per orbem maxime Italicum

^a expedire *RBM*; expediri *F*

^b studebant *BM*; studerent *F corr.*, *R*

¹ Jotsald, in his *Vita Odilonis*, *PL* clxii. 899, states that early in life Odilo entered the church of Saint-Julien at Brioude, which strongly suggests that he was a canon, not a layman, at the time of his entry into Cluny. The close relationship between St William and Odilo, to which Jotsald (col. 911) is a good witness, suggests that Glaber may be correct in stating that his patron influenced Odilo in his decision to enter Cluny. Further, it should be borne in mind that Glaber wrote the *Life* as a monk of Cluny (on which see above, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi) and so would have been careful in making such a statement about his abbot.

² There is no clear indication which Pope John was the recipient of this letter, which

x. Therefore, returning from Italy, after this he exerted himself zealously, gathering together men worthy for the service of Christ from many different lands, both by urging upon them the glory of the heavenly life and equally by threatening them with the pains of hell. The Lord had given him, along with many other strengths, such power of saving eloquence that he conferred upon all who received his teaching the greatest reinforcement of faith, the growth of goodness and virtue and the correction of vices. For to all he behaved in a charitable way, whether he deemed it proper to be severe or gentle. At one time it befell that he had discussions about the true salvation of souls with the Lord Odilo, a man loved for all that he did, at a time when he was still in the order of canons.¹ Truly perceiving that this man was striving on the path to the very peak of sanctity, he began to advise him very carefully that he should make efforts to achieve as quickly as possible that which is believed to be the most important thing. That is to say, rejecting earthly matters, he ought immediately to follow Jesus Christ. This worthy man was straightway conscience-stricken, and gladly promised that he would do as Father William suggested. Now a little while afterwards he came honourably to that most famous monastery of Cluny, where he was devoutly received by St Mayol and, according to custom, consecrated into the holy vocation of a monk. His way of life was so dear to God and so sweet to those who loved God that the truly saintly Mayol during his lifetime chose him for the flock committed to his care, so that after his death they should have a father and pastor. And so, manifestly and beneficially, it turned out. After this it is not possible to express how exceeding great was the love between them while both were living, each putting the other before himself as far as possible. Moreover, Father William was held in such respect and reverence by the Roman pontiffs who ruled in his time that whatever he suggested to them, either in person or through an intermediary, they gladly sought to do. Being concerned to reprove Pope John² for caring

is undated. If we assume that it took some time for William to establish himself in the status of one who could tender advice to popes, John XV (985–96) can surely be ruled out. The reigns of John XVI (997–8) and John XVII (1003) were very brief. This would suggest that it was sent either to the Crescentian John XVIII (1004–9) or the Tusculan John XIX (1024–32). At *Histories* 4. i. 3, Glaber records that William wrote to John XIX c. 1024 deploring his supposed decision to accept the special status of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The letters are about different matters, but the very severe tone is the same. On these letters see Bulst, p. 251 n.

auri uel argenti precio distracta minus curantem, tali inuentione monere studuit per epistolam hæc continentem:

Parcite, quæso, parcite, qui dicimini sal terræ et lux mundi.¹ Sufficiat hominibus iam semel Christum fuisse uenditum pro communi salute uniuersorum. Iam enim refuge ueri luminis, solo nomine pastores, ouile Christi, imo membra illius, uidete post uos, quo eunt. Si iuxta fontem tepet riuus, in longinquum foetere nulli dubium est. Iccirco cura quibusdam uenditur ad suum interitum. Volo uos patres ac pontifices omnes in commune iudicis securim gestantis,^a ante ianuam assistentis,^b memores.²

Quam epistolam papa libenter amplectens grates ac benedictiones tanto patri retulit Deumque in illo glorificauit.

xi. Sed et illud denique in eodem patre fuit ualde memorabile, quod multi tum etiam nobiles uenenatis infecti uerbis malorum, dum aduersus illum contumeliarum uerba dicenda concepissent seu iurgia ultionis uice referenda, ut ad conspectum illius uentum fuisset, statim mirabantur semet ab his quæ intenderant exprimere alienatos fuisse. Amissaque ferocitate rei preterite, quicquid id erat, totum procedebat ex mansuetudine. Henrico siquidem imperatori de eo suggestum fuerat quod illi derogans illumque contemnendum adiudicans, Arduini quoque^c parti, qui sibi Italiæ regnum^d præripuerat, faueret illumque pro posse defenditaret.³ Ex hoc quippe uiro Dei quanuis ab re iratus fuerat. Ille uero, ut comperit, prudenter ad illum pergens rei ueritatem sese purgando pandit atque, si quid erat odii, a corde illius detersit. In tantum etiam isdem imperator postmodum illum dilexit ut illi dona largiretur plurima et, quicquid ab eodem uellet fieri, continuo impetraret. Pari nanque ratione Rotberto Francorum regi de ipso indicatum fuerat quod Brunoni predicto Lingonis episcopo, qui regi minus adquiescebat, talia suaderet quæ regali iuri nimium resisterent.⁴ Ille uero simul et regina coniux illius propter hoc illi irati comminati sunt aliquoties coenobiis eius damnum

^a et added in *F* above the line
p. 292) ^c quoque om. *R*
corr.

^b esse added in *F* above the line, perhaps rightly (cf.
^d regnum *F* before correction (?), *RBM*; regimen *F*
corr.

¹ Cf. Matt. 5: 13–14.

² Cf. Matt. 3: 10; Luke 3: 9; Jas. 5: 9.

³ Arduin, marquess of Ivrea, who had claimed the Italian throne against Henry II, was present at the consecration of William's new abbey of Fruttuaria and may have been a relation: see above, c. ix and n.

⁴ On the death of Duke Henry of Burgundy (965–1002), his stepson Otto-William,

little that throughout all Italy spiritual gifts were being sold on a large scale for gold and silver, he brought that rebuke home to him through a letter of the following tenor:

Cease, I pray you, cease, you who are called the salt of the earth and the light of this world! Let it be enough for mankind that Christ has already once been sold for the common salvation of all. Runaways from the true light, pastors in name only, look behind you, see where Christ's flock, or rather His members, are straying. If the river is stagnant close to its source there can be no doubt that lower down it stinks. Who buys the care of souls purchases his damnation! I want you, pontiffs and bishops alike, to be mindful of the judge who wields the axe and stands before the door!²

The pope gladly welcomed the letter, sent blessings and gave thanks to such a father, and glorified God in him.

xi. But there was another matter which was truly worth remembering about this father: many men, even nobles, who, infected by the poisoned words of evil men, intended to say wicked things against him or to stir up quarrels by way of vengeance, on coming into his presence were at once astonished to find themselves turned completely aside from those things they had purposed to say. Setting aside all the unpleasantness of the past, everything now proceeded in goodwill. It had been suggested of him to the Emperor Henry that, disparaging him and judging him contemptible, he favoured the party of Arduin, who had seized for himself the kingdom of Italy, and frequently defended him to the best of his ability.³ For this reason he had been angry with the man of God, however wrongly. As soon as William learnt of it he wisely went to him to explain the truth of the matter, so as to purge himself, and cleared away from Henry's heart any hatred there was. Afterwards the emperor loved him so much that he made many gifts, and whatever he wanted to be done by him he immediately obtained. In the same way it was alleged about him to Robert, king of the French, that he had urged on Bruno, bishop of Langres, who did not accept the king, things which were very hostile to the royal law.⁴ Because of this both he and the queen his consort were angry with him and threatened him on several occasions with great loss

count of Mâcon (p. lvi) claimed the duchy and fought King Robert for control. On the Burgundian civil war see *Histories* 2. viii. 15–16. Otto-William enjoyed the support of Bruno of Langres, his brother-in-law: see p. lxxiv.

inferre maximum.¹ Adiens ergo intrepidus amborum presentiam ita illorum diuini uerbi uirtute iram compescuit ut etiam summam dignitatis gratiam apud illos optineret. Nam cum illorum filius, qui pro sua iuuentutis elegancia ac liberalitate Hugo magnus cognominabatur,² iam in regem unctus obisset, ac parens uterque pro morte illius pene usque in suimet necem cordis dolore et luctu affligerentur, tunc accessit ad eos spiritualis medicus et ait: 'Non infelices enim uos putare debetis quod talem amisistis, quin potius felices ualde quia talem habere meruistis. Ego' inquit 'ex ullo hominum gradu non tam paucissimos saluos futuros estimo sicut de regum.' Qui cum attoniti responderent: 'Cur hoc dicis, pater?', respondit: 'Non audistis' inquit 'sacer canon quomodo refert uix tres de triginta regibus bonos extitisse?'³ Iccirco cessate, queso, hunc iuuenem flere mortuum, sed potius congratulamini ei sicuti requiei datum et a malis liberatum.' His dictis ita consolans eos placabiles fecit ut uiderentur non habere quod plangerent, et Deum dicerent uisitasse illos per sanctum uirum. Quorundam etenim nomina aliquando interpretabatur, siue ad profectum siue ad detrimentum ipsorum. Cum igitur post mortem Bertoaldi Tullensis pontificis, qui ei monasterium sancti Apri confessoris commiserat, eidem episcopatu quidam Ermannus presul datus fuisset, ita coepit exosos huius patris habere monachos cum sua institutione ut etiam honestissimum fratrem, Widricum nomine, qui post illum eiusdem loci pater deuotus extitit, cui tunc ceterorum cura imminebat, baculo uerberaturus impeteret.⁴ Quod dum patri relatum fuisset, ad nomen illius alludens ait: 'Secundum suum nomen' inquit 'facit episcopus iste.' Nam lingua barbara, erman, in nostra, homo errans, dicitur.⁵ Ac deinde: 'Si enim Christi pastor fuisset, illius ouiculas minime laceraret. Sinite illum. Verus pastor nouit et ipse quae sua sunt colliget.' Non multo post denique pergens in longinquum secularia executurus negotia crudeliter obiit peregrina potitus sepultura. Simili inuidia quoque

¹ William was deprived of his abbey of Réome in 1003 by King Robert, perhaps because of his attitude to events in the Burgundian civil war. On the deprivation and his reform of Réome, see Bulst, pp. 61–5. Glaber would have been well aware of William's problems because he resided at that abbey for a time: see above, p. xxvi.

² Hugh died on 17 Sept. 1025. In *Historiae* 3, ix. 32–3 Glaber gives an account of his life together with a poem lauding his qualities.

³ 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 23: 13.

⁴ Saint-Epvre at Toul was a very ancient monastery founded in the 6th c., originally dedicated to St Maurice; it came to be known by the name of its founder, who was bishop of Toul about 500. Bishop Berthold of Toul (996–1019) called in William, but Berthold was succeeded by the hostile Hermann or Ermannus (1019–26), a noble canon

to his monasteries.¹ Undaunted, he went before the royal pair and so restrained their anger by virtue of the divine word that he even obtained a position of the highest dignity with them. Now when their son, who because of his youthful grace and generosity was called 'Hugh the Great',² died after already being anointed for kingship, and both parents were afflicted almost unto their own death by sadness of heart and mourning because of his loss, the spiritual doctor came before them and said: 'You ought not to reckon yourselves unhappy because you have lost such a son, but rather truly happy because you were found worthy to have him. I believe that from no rank of mankind will so very few be saved as from that of kings.' They were amazed and replied: 'Why do you say this, father?' He answered: 'Have you not heard that, according to Holy Scripture, from amongst thirty kings scarcely three were found good?'³ Therefore, cease, I beg you, to bewail this dead young man, but rather rejoice for him as one to whom rest is given and who has been freed from evil.' Condoling with them in these words, he consoled them so that they felt they had nothing to lament, and said that God had visited them through this holy man. Sometimes he interpreted the names of persons either to their benefit or to their detriment. Thus when, after the death of Berthold, bishop of Toul, who had committed the monastery of St Aper the Confessor to him, a certain Hermann, having been made bishop in that diocese, began to regard this father's monks as so hateful, together with their way of life, that he attacked with blows from his staff the most worthy brother, Widricus by name, who after him [William] was the devoted father of this place and who was then about to be given care of the others.⁴ When this was related to the father, playing on this fellow's name, he said: 'This bishop lives up to his name.' For in the barbarian tongue 'Hermann' means 'one who goes astray'.⁵ And he added: 'For if he were a pastor of Christ he would certainly not harm His little sheep. Let him be! The true shepherd knows and will himself gather together those who are his own.' Not long after, going into distant parts to transact some secular business, Hermann met a cruel death and received burial in a foreign field. Because of the same envy Leo, of Cologne who died in Cologne: *Gallia Christiana*, xiii. 960–1, 982–5. William's reform of Saint-Epvre is described by Bulst, pp. 90–8. Widricus was evidently chosen to be abbot after William's reform was complete; he was finally established as abbot by Bishop Bruno of Toul, the future Pope Leo IX, after his consecration in 1027: Bulst, pp. 96–7.

⁵ The true etymology seems to be from *Heer* and *Mann*, 'army-man'.

Leo Vercellensis episcopus ad actus uniuersos istius patris extiterat infestus. De quo etiam talia narrare erat solitus: 'Hic ergo crudelissimus leo totus est sine Deo, quia si fuisset Deus cum eo, quæ illius sunt amaret pro illo.' Affirmabat autem post mortem eius æternaliter illum esse damnatum.¹ Manifestissime siquidem in multis claruit, quoniam quisquis illum odio habuit exinde poenas luit, sicuti uersa uice si quis illum dilexit uere mercedem a Christo percepit illius auctore sanctitatis.

xii. Fertilem igitur gratiam ac dona uberrima a bonorum omnium largitore pater iste promeruisse eidentissime passim^a claruit. Sed nos lectoris tedium cauentes plurima silentio tegimus. Erant nanque tam monasteria quam coenobia atque cellulæ monachorum circiter quadraginta,² quæ illius patrocinio tutæ cunctorum bonorum affluebant copiis, fratres uero in ipsis degentes procul dubio plus mille ducenti, quibus inerat fides integerrima, ut quandiu id deuote exercerent quod ab eodem patre didicerant, nil mundi huius formidare debere^b aut cuiuspian suæ utilitatis rei indigentiam pati. Id ipsum enim suis sepissime inculcabat, a^c Deo sperare et credere. Quod etiam plurimis probauere experimentis. Nam aliquando per diuersa terrarum euntes itinera, dum ex euentus facie perturbari potuissent, dicere erant soliti: 'Domine, in fide patris Willelmi fac nobis sicut scis.'^d Nec ullus unquam illorum hoc dicens ope caruit. Instituit quoque simplicioribus uel idiotis e seculo ad se confugientibus fratribus orandi formam, quinque modulis mystice constantem, ut uidelicet, quot sensibus humani corporis Deus offenditur, totidem uocum clausulis ad misericordiam rogaretur. Erat autem huiusmodi: 'Domine, Iesu, rex pie, rex clemens, pie Deus.' Subiungebatur uero singulis: 'Miserere.' Supputabatur nanque taliter ut, si uerbi gratia in decem nouenalibus articulorum iuncturis ter quinquies identidem reuoluendo deuote diceretur, psalterii tota series mutuata persolueretur:³ unde etiam

^a passim *RBM*, *om. F* ^b deberent *R* ^c in *R* ^d uis *MeRBM*, *plausibly*

¹ The German emperors Otto III (983–1002) and Henry II (1002–24) both sought to establish a system of episcopal government in Northern Italy as a firm basis for imperial domination. Leo, bishop of Vercelli (999–1026), was a German who was the leader of the imperial party in north-west Italy. As a result he was a bitter enemy of Arduin of Ivrea's pretensions to the crown of Italy, on which see above, c. ix and n.: Previtè-Orton, pp. 167–76. In view of his family connections (on which see above, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv.) William's caustic comments about Leo must be seen in their political context.

bishop of Vercelli, was also hostile to all the acts of this father, who used to speak of him as follows: 'This very cruel lion is totally without God. For if God were with him he would love all that is His for His name's sake.' He declared that after his death he was eternally damned.¹ Very clearly William had many remarkable qualities, because whoever held him in odium paid the penalty for it, while conversely those who loved him truly earned a reward from Christ, the fount of his holiness.

xii. This father was always conspicuous as manifestly deserving the fertile grace and abundant gifts showered upon him by God the bestower of all that is good. However, we shall pass over much in silence, lest we bore the reader. Secure under his protection there were at this time some forty houses,² both monasteries and cells, large and small, of monks, abounding in all good things. Undoubtedly there were more than twelve hundred brothers living in them. Amongst these spotless faith found its abode, so that as long as they devoutly practised what they had learnt from the father, they did not need to fear anything which was of this world, or suffer lack of anything useful to them. Exceedingly often he impressed this very thing upon his followers—to trust and hope in God. They proved this by many trials. If at any time they went abroad in foreign lands, and could have become disheartened by the appearance of events, they were wont to say: 'Lord, in the faith of Father William, do to us as thou knowest [to be right].' None who said this ever wanted for anything. For the simple and uneducated brethren drawn from the laymen who sought refuge with him from the world he devised a form of prayer consisting of five parts with a spiritual meaning, so that God might be asked for mercy with as many verbal petitions as there are senses in the human body through which He is offended. It was in this form: 'Lord', 'Jesus', 'Righteous King', 'Merciful King', 'Righteous God'; and to each versicle was added 'Have mercy.' For it was calculated in such a manner that if, for example, it were said devoutly in ten groups of the nine Latin words repeated identically fifteen times, the whole sequence of the Psalter would be borrowed and repaid.³ Wherefore

² Cf. Bulst, p. 13 n. 10, and above, p. lxxii.

³ St William wrote this little prayer with its versicle for the benefit of those amongst his monks who lacked education. They could sing it instead of reciting the Psalter, which was the dominant form of prayer in monasteries; 150 repetitions were held to be the equivalent for such people of the whole Psalter of that number of psalms. The

pro psalterio apud illos habebatur, ut pater docuit, et cognominabatur. Mortificatio nempe carnis et abiectio corporis ac uilitas uestium ciborumque extremitas uel parsimonia in suorum uniuersis acsi naturaliter uiguit. Ipsius etenim sermonis habitudo equaliter cunctis, prout uidebatur, in^a gratia erat condita. Pietati siquidem ac misericordię expleri^b non quit quantum operam dabat. Cum superne dulcedinis nectare, artificialis etiam musicę perdoctus ac comptus dogmate, quicquid in psallendo^c choris suorum psallebatur die ac nocte, tam in antiphonis quam in responsoriis uel ymnis, corrigendo et emendando ad tantam direxit rectitudinem ut nullis decentius ac rectius psallere contingat in tota ecclesia Romana.¹ Psalmorum nichilominus concentum dulcissimo ultra omnes distinguens decorauit melodimate. Erant igitur, ut diximus, sub eiusdem patrocinio tam maxima quam minora perplura monasteria atque coenobia, quę uidelicet ipse omnia aut a fundamentis innouauit uel ampliando honestauit. Nam sancti martyris Benigni, ut dicere coepimus,² cui Deo auctore primitus pastor allegatus fuerat, basilicam incomparabili opere pene expletam, iam Brunone defuncto Lambertoque in sede illius surrogato, placuit ut eadem basilica pontificali ex more benedictione sacra retur.³ Tunc denique ad uotum ipsius patris conuenere die designato e diuersis prouinciis non solum episcopi uerum etiam quorumque ordinum promiscuę plebis innumera multitudo. Erat enim autumnus dies tercius Kalendarum Nouembrium, ante uidelicet natale ipsius martyris,⁴ quę^d omnia rite ac solenniter, ut condecens erat, explentes petierunt qui aderant episcopi ac quique religiosi patrem Willelmum ut in die tantę consecrationis tam ipsis quam uniuersę plebi inter sacra missarum sollennia diuini elemosinam impenderet uerbi. Ipse uero, ut erat bonis omnibus obsequens, agere non distulit, sed mente pia, corde contrito, uultu

^a in om. R ^b explicari R ^c psallendo om. R ^d quę F; qui RBM; perhaps quo

novelty here lay in suggesting a simple system whereby illiterates could count, presumably on their fingers, in 15 groups of 10 repetitions. The general principle is that used in the devotion of the rosary. Repetition of the *Pater noster* was then a common devotion for the simple, and this is an adaptation of that practice: see above, p. lxxvi.

¹ On St William's musical works and their place in the life of Saint-Bénigne see Bulst, pp. 193–8; also M. Huglo, *Les Tonaires: Inventaire, analyse, comparaison* (Paris, 1971), p. 328, and 'Le tonaire de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon', *Annales musicologiques*, iv (1956), 9–18.

² See above, c. viii: 'dicere coepimus' here means no more than *diximus*.

it was considered a Psalter among them and was called so, as the father taught. Naturally mortification of the flesh, rejection of the body, shoddy dress and a minimum of food to the point of meanness flourished amongst all his monks as if it were natural. The style of his discourse was grounded in graciousness equally with all people as seemed appropriate. It is not possible fully to explain how much effort he spent on piety and mercy. As he was thoroughly learned in the nectar of the highest sweetness of the art of music and accomplished in teaching it, through correction and emendation he governed whatever was sung in the chanting of choirs of monks, by day or night, whether in antiphon, responsory, or hymn, to such a state of precision that there was no lovelier or correcter singing in the whole Roman church.¹ He singled out especially the harmony of the Psalms, and more than anyone else adorned them with the sweetest melodiousness. There were, as we have indicated, many monasteries and cells both great and small under his command which he had either built entirely from the foundations or embellished by enlarging. Now the church of the holy martyr Benignus, in which at God's instigation he was first chosen as father, was, as we have related,² almost completed with incomparable splendour. Bruno had now died and Lambert been chosen for his see; it was then decided that the basilica should be consecrated according to custom by episcopal blessing.³ At the father's wish there gathered together on the designated day not just bishops but an unnumbered multitude of the different orders of the people from various provinces. It was in the autumn on 30 October, before the anniversary of this martyr,⁴ that, completing everything in order and with solemnity, as was fitting, the bishops and all the religious present asked Father William that, during the sacred observances of the masses on a day of such solemnity, he should impart to them and the people in general the kindly gift of preaching the Divine Word. Now because he was always deferential to all good men he did not delay putting this in hand, but with a pious spirit and a contrite heart and full of the Holy Spirit, his face

³ Bruno de Roucy died in 1016; King Robert took the opportunity to impose upon the diocese of Langres one of his own partisans, Lambert (1016–30): Pfister, pp. 190, 263.

⁴ St Benignus' feast-day is 1 Nov.: *ODS*, p. 42. As the context suggests that Bruno had just died, writers have assumed that the consecration took place in 1016. Since the chronicle of Saint-Bénigne, *Analecta Divionensia*, p. 41, indicates that the rotunda was consecrated on 18 Mar. 1018, it would appear that the consecration on 30 Oct. referred to here was that of another part of the church, probably the main nave: Bulst, p. 39.

alacri, Spiritu Sancto plenus in hæc uerba cum lacrimis erupit: 'Conuenistis, fratres et sorores, grex præcio Christi sanguinis redemptus, conuenistis, inquam, ad nuptias ipsius sponse matrisque uestrę cęlestis ac sempiternę aecclesię, quę iccirco uniuersalis dicitur, quoniam^a non solum quod in omnes mundi terminos dilatatur, sed etiam pro eo quod nulla immanitas criminum illius superat, si tantum fides assit, dona misericordiarum. Quę scilicet patriarcharum mysticis presignata figuris, prophetarum ostensa præsignis, apostolorum auctoritate ac labore constructa et martyrum sanguine consecrata. In qua abluti ac renouati a culpa ueteris piaculi per salutaris undam^b baptismatis sicque induimini prima^c stola angelicę beatitudinis, quam amisistis in transgressione parentis primi incolę paradysi, deinde uero editis carnem ac potatis sanguinem illius omnipotentis agni, qui uos præ cęteris mundi creaturis formans et redimens inuicta benignitate elegit ad sui atque patris regnum Sanctique Spiritus gloriam possidendam. Ad quam, dilectissimi, tendere uos inuito, moneo, obsecro per caritatis ignem et humilitatis atque castitatis continuam custodiam. Gaudere' inquit 'contigisset michi ex uestrę unanimittatis deuotione huius^d sanctificationis concursus, sed quia nimius meror mentem deprimit ex signis satanę, quę euidentissime apparent in populo Dei. Non' inquit 'aspicitis, quibus est mens adhuc sanior, quę scissurę et detruncationes uestium rabidissime? Quę attonsurę per ceruices uirorum? Quam turpis in barba orripilatio maxillarum? Quam uagacissima pene uniuersorum corporum et insanissima actitatio, quam lasciuia ad omnes pene sermones ore terricrepo iuramenta? Ista etenim uniuersa recentia et nuper grassata non ex religiositate christianitatis processere, quin potius ex diabolicę superstitionis rabie emersere.¹ Exinde quoque pullulat radix omnium malorum superbia cęterorumque uitiorum fomenta. Atque uos ipsi iudicate si non ipsius famuli estis cuius insignia et stigmata in uobismet ipsis geritis. Nam et me pudet dicere, dum penitet reticere, quoniam expectastis dulcedinem uerbi et ego propino uobis generaliter amaritudinem redargutionis. Moneo etiam illum, si quis est in tota hac plebe qui uel quinque solidos seu quippiam ad huius sancti

^a quoniam *om. R* ^b undam *RBM; unda F* ^c *Perhaps* primo
^d huius *BM; ad huius F corr.; in huius R (then concursu)*

¹ In the *Histories* 3. ix. 40, Glaber reports a similar diatribe against novelties in

eager, he burst forth tearfully with these words: 'You have come together, brothers and sisters, the flock redeemed by the price of Christ's blood, you have come together, I say, to the nuptials of His bride, your mother, the heavenly and eternal church which is called universal not merely because it stretches out towards all the boundaries of this world, but also for this reason, that if only faith is present, no enormity of her crimes overcomes the gift of mercies. She is prefigured by the mystical figures of the patriarchs, revealed in the signs of the prophets, given form by the labour and authority of the apostles and consecrated by the blood of martyrs. In her you are washed and renewed from the guilt of ancient sin by the waters of saving baptism, and thus you assume the first robe of that angelic beatitude which you lost by the sin of your first parent, the inhabitant of paradise. In her you eat the flesh and drink the blood of that Omnipotent Lamb, who, making you higher than other creatures of this world and redeeming you with unconquerable kindness, chose you for that kingdom which is His and His Father's, and for the possession of the glory of the Holy Spirit. To this end, dearly beloved, I invite you, advise you, beg you to strive through the fire of love and through the constant safeguarding of humility and chastity. I should have rejoiced at the devotion of you all at this gathering for the consecration, but that an extreme sorrow weighs upon my mind in the face of the signs of Satan which are very obviously evident amongst the people of God. Do not you, in whom a saner attitude has hitherto been preserved, see how completely insane are these slashed and foreshortened clothes, these shaven necks and the bristling of the beard on the jowls, this insane bodily cavorting and the lascivious oaths in thunderous mouths which dominate all converse? Such novelties, lately become very popular, do not spring from the Christian religion but rather are rooted in the devilish madness of superstition.¹ From this also springs Pride, the root of all evil and nourishment of the other vices. And do you yourselves not consider that you are his servants whose insignia and brands you bear upon your persons? Now it shames me to say this, just as it pains me to keep silence, because you expected sweet words and I am giving you as a whole the bitterness of reproof. I ask any one, if such there be in all this crowd, who brought five sous or indeed anything by way of gift for

appearance, dress, and dancing delivered by St William, but makes no mention of the occasion. On the possible importance of this see Bulst, p. 89, and above, p. xxvii.

martyris optulit reedificandam muneris ecclesiam, quam præ oculis habetis, coram cunctis referat.' Dum ergo non inueniretur quisquam aliquid contulisse, rursus ait: 'Videte, fratres amantissimi, inter quas spinas atque incendia pessimorum hæc aula Omnipotentis Dei per fidem sui testis Benigni, ad quam elegantia excreuit ipso cooperante fastigia. Volo uos, si placet, assidue esse memores quam uelox uniuscuiusque sit mundanae curæ et ambitionis depositio. Propter quod obsecro, cum nostri Auctoris adiutorio resistite uitiiis et maligno diabolo, uirtutes quoque præclaras assumite et colite, benignissimo Deo Conditori ac Redemptori uestro in cunctis obaudite, qui uos per fidem et orationes ac merita omnium fidelium suorum dignos faciat introducendi cum eis in sempiternæ gloriæ regnum per Iesum Christum, dilectum filium suum.' Dumque ille ista perorasset ac responsum ab omnibus fuisset: 'Amen', qui singultus, quantæ lacrimæ, qui gemitus per totam aecclesiam agebantur, exprimi non ualet. Omnibusque rite perfectis cum gaudio quique rediere ad propria. Ex illo etenim die in eadem basilica precipue ad tumulum gloriosi martyris factæ sunt multimodæ curationes diuersarum infirmitatum, quæ etiam ob multiplicatam scribi nequeunt. Sed et si quis cum fide plena sibi deposcens quæque utilia procul dubio adipiscitur, si talis sit ut promereatur, sanctorum meritis et orationibus.

xiii. Nec pretereundum nobis uidetur quod, dum patris Willelmi alloquio multi fuerint in mente recreati, plures etiam in corpore tactu eiusdem redintegrati, oratione refocilati, uisitatione confortati ac benedictione^a firmati. Et quanuis nunc minus audiatur, quod olim Christi sequacibus usui fuit, suscitare mortuum, pauca tamen e pluribus, ut testati sumus, quæ Dominus per eum operatus est dicemus. Reuertenti nanque illi quondam a coenobio sancti Viuentii confessoris,¹ cum iam appropinquaret sancti Benigni monasterio, obuiam habuit promiscui uulgi turbam plangentem ac repedantem a spectaculo cuiusdam miserrimi, uidelicet ex eiusdem seruorum familia sancti Benigni, quem magistratus crimine conuictum mortique suspensionis patibuli adiudicatum deliberauerat. Quod audiens uir misericors, miliario distans a loco,

^a sunt added above the line in F

¹ St William had taken over the abbey of Saint-Vivant-de-Vergy c. 990, as recorded in c. vi above.

the rebuilding of the church of this holy martyr which you see before your eyes, that he should say so in front of you all.' When, therefore, nobody was found who had contributed anything, he spoke again: 'You see, most loving brethren, how this palace of Almighty God has risen to such elegant heights through the faith of His witness St Benignus and with His help and amidst what thorns and fires of the wicked. I beg you, if you please, to be constantly mindful of the swift destruction of every kind of earthly care and ambition. Because of this I implore you, with the aid of Our Creator resist vices and the malign devil, put on and cultivate the shining virtues, in all things obey the most benign God, your Creator and your Redeemer, who, through the faith and prayers and merits of all His faithful makes you worthy to be brought with them into the kingdom of everlasting glory through Jesus Christ His beloved Son.' When he had made this peroration and the response of all had been 'Amen', it is impossible to record what weeping, how many tears, what lamentation was made throughout the whole church. Once everything had been completed according to ritual, all returned home in joy. Since that day many people suffering from various diseases have been healed in that basilica—too many indeed to write about—especially before the tomb of the glorious martyr. But if someone is filled with the faith and makes some request for his own good, without doubt he obtains it, if he is such that he deserves it, by the merits and prayers of the saints.

xiii. Nor does it seem that we should pass over the fact that while, through the encouragement of Father William, there were many whose spirits were renewed, there were many too who were restored in body by his touch, revived by his prayers, comforted by his presence and strengthened by his blessing. And in the matter of raising from the dead, which is very little heard of nowadays, but which was once quite usual amongst the followers of Christ, we will speak of a few cases from amongst many in which we had witnessed the Lord working through him. Once while he was returning from the abbey of the Confessor St Viuentius,¹ as he drew near to the abbey of St Benignus, he discovered in his path a crowd of common people beating their breasts and retreating from the spectacle of an unfortunate man from the establishment of the servants of St Benignus, whom a magistrate had handed over after conviction and condemnation to die on the gallows. On hearing about the matter, this

dimisso equo illucque quantotius occurrens^a hoc tantum dicebat: 'Iesu, Iesu, qui pepercisti latroni in cruce, miserere.' Iussitque suis uelocius infelicem illum, quem cernebant e trabe pendere iam rigentem, deponere. Ipse uero toto prostratus corpore orationi incubuit. At illi soluentes lora guttur illius artantia exanimis in terram cecidit. Ad quem accedens uir pius ait: 'Surge', inquit, 'quia Dominus imperat.' Ille uero aperiens oculos erexit se admirans ualde se sibi superesse. Qui cum uiro Dei egrediens exultantibus cunctis ad monasterium plures postea uixit annos.¹ Multos nempe ab huiusmodi patibuli suspendio ac nece per diuersas prouincias tam interuentu quam redemptionis precio liberauit. Nam et fratribus monasteriorum utilitatibus prepositis illud sepius inculcabat, ut in exactione sibi commissorum forent prouidi, ne forte nimis tenues pro census reddito affligerentur. Dicebat enim se magis uelle largiri egenti quam exigere quippiam ab indigente. Itinera quoque eius per ciuitates et uicos, seu quorsum haberet, ingens pauperum atque infirmorum turba preoccupauerat. At ipse liberalis et largus beneficiorum erat uniuersorum impensor. Desiderabatur enim ab omni hominum ordine uel sexu ipsius presentia sicuti unus^b e patriarchis aut apostolis Domini. Aliquanti etiam referebant illum sibi per uisum in somnis apparuisse seque de prauis actibus redarguisse uel monuisse illos de communi animarum salute. Testor ego, inquam, ipsius^c ac uirtutum matrem caritatem, quoniam quondam meorum culpis facinorum offensus, ut sensi illum ad horam amaricatum, secessi in aliud coenobium ipsius ditioni minime subditum. Dumque illic degerem, astitisse michi una noctium uisus est aspectu placido, ac manu iniecta caput michi demulcens aiebat: 'Rogo, ne me deseras, si non te amare fingebas, quin potius exercere te cupio que promiseras.' Ipsius nanque imperio maxima iam ex parte euentuum ac prodigiorum, que circa et infra Incarnati Saluatoris annum contingere millesimum, descripseram.^d Que etiam causa ad presens opus me

^a occurrens *BM*; currens *F corr.*; accurrens *R* ^b unius *RBM* ^c Perhaps supply beneuolentiam ^d Conflation between maximam partem euentuum ac prodigiorum and maxima ex parte euentus ac prodigia

¹ The deliverance of this servant of the abbey of Saint-Bénigne is presented as a miracle, but Glaber goes on to record more prosaically that William often pleaded successfully for those condemned or saved them from death by payment. Glaber clearly admired his patron for such good works; underlying this admiration was a knowledge of the arbitrary nature of contemporary justice. In the tale of the thief at Sens who escaped hanging because the rope snapped the count is portrayed as proceeding to sentence in a

merciful man, being about a mile from the place, left his horse and ran there as quickly as possible and said merely this: 'Jesu, Jesu, who sparedst the thief on the cross, have mercy.' He ordered his people to take down quickly the unhappy man whom they saw on the gibbet, already growing stiff. He (William) threw himself down, prostrate in prayer. But while his men were freeing the fellow's throat from the constricting cord, he (the victim) fell down lifeless on the ground. Going to him the holy man said: 'Arise, because', he said, 'the Lord commands it.' But he, opening his eyes, stood up and marvelled greatly to himself that he was alive. While everybody rejoiced, he went with the man of God to the monastery where afterwards he lived for many years.¹ By intercession and ransom he freed many from the gallows and from a violent death in different provinces. Now he used to impress upon the brethren set over the finances of the monasteries that they should be sparing in taxation of those committed to their charge, lest perchance the very poor should be distressed through the payment of renders. For himself, he said, he would rather give to the poor than take from those in need. On his journeys through the towns and villages, or wherever he made them, an enormous throng of poor and sick people lay in wait for him. He was a liberal and generous dispenser of all kinds of benefits. His very presence was sought after by people of every order and both sexes just like one of the Patriarchs or one of the Apostles of the Lord. No small number reported how he had appeared to them in dreams while sleeping, and had reproved them for their wicked deeds or advised them concerning the universal salvation of souls. I myself bear witness to his own and the virtues' mother charity, because at one time I was vexed by the wickedness of my evil deeds; and since I believed him at that time to be very angry, I went to another monastery which was not under his control. While I was living there, he appeared one night, standing before me, with a gentle expression, his hand placed caressingly on my head, and said: 'I pray you, do not desert me, if you were not feigning that you loved me; rather I want you to busy yourself about the work you had promised.' For at his command I had already written the greater part of the story of the events and prodigies which happened around and after the millennial year of the Incarnation of the Saviour. This is what compelled

brusque and arbitrary way, while an old man of Troyes was condemned without any real inquiry into his guilt: *Histories* 3. vi. 21-2.

compulit inflectere articulum.¹ Iccirco omnes pariter oro ne propter hoc præiudicium de me fiat.

xiii. Beatitudo igitur patris Willelmi iam ad tantam excreuerat excellentiam ut cunctas Latii ac Galliarum prouincias ipsius amor ac ueneratio penetraret. Nam reges ut patrem, pontifices ut magistrum, abbates et monachi ut archangelum, omnes in commune ut Dei amicum suęque præceptorem salutis habebant. Quis enim unquam alius præter eum Veneticorum gentem in tam amica familiaritate habuit? Exaggeratiue secundum apostolum loquimur quoniam, si fieri posset, oculos suos eruissent et dedissent ei.² Siquidem Vrsus illorum patriarcha ipsius sancti patris decreuit effici monachus, sed quia ipse dispendium illius gentis, quod foret pro tanti absentia uiri, considerans illi in suo proposito permanere suasit.³ Quod etiam de multis similis rei gratia cognitum habetur fecisse. Iam uero in Dei opere magis assiduus quam frequens,⁴ cum esset in Italia suum biennio prestolans a seculo excessum, sed rerum opportunitatibus exinde euocatus ægerrime tamen ad Gallias remeauit.⁵ Cunque reuiseudi caritate cunctos^a Gorzense usque monasterium,⁶ a se olim cum ceteris ad regulare specimen reformatum, deuenisset, quae supererant inuisere curauit; dehinc ad prænominatum uenit Fiscannum.⁷ Post aliquot uero dierum acris coepit doloribus affligi. Iam quippe imminente sollennitate Natiuitatis Dominicę, prænosens suę a Christo uocationis diem, conuocatis ad se fratribus deliberans coram eis prouide ac sapienter de cunctis quę ipsius innitebantur patrocínio, quid uel qualiter agendum seu ordinandum foret. Sicque uniuersis præsentibus simul et absentibus sua benedictione firmatis ac Deo commissis expetit sibi dari salutare^b atque uiuificum commeatum. Expletisque sollennibus totis octo dierum nichil omnino loquens, oculos tantum ad Deum erigens, illi soli intendens, illum solum mente

^a caritate cunctos *RBM*; caritatem cunctis *F*

^b salutarem *R*

¹ This shows that Glaber interrupted the writing of the *Histories* to compose the *Life*, probably in 1031 or 1032. On this passage, see above, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi.

² Cf. Gal. 4: 15.

³ Orso Orseolo, Patriarch of Grado (c. 1013–45), the son of Doge Pietro Orseolo (991–1008) and brother of Doge Ottone Orseolo (1008–26): J. J. Norwich, *Venice: The Rise to Empire* (London, 1973), pp. 86, 90.

⁴ Cf. *Histories* 2. ii. 2n. *Opus Dei* in *Reg. S. Benedicti*, c. 52, means the communal prayer of the oratory; but Glaber seems here to mean prayer in a broader sense.

⁵ C. 1027–8 Glaber accompanied St William on a journey to Italy described in

me to turn aside to compose the present work.¹ Therefore I beg everyone alike that this should not cause prejudice against me.

xiv. The blessedness of Father William rose to such heights that love and veneration of him penetrated all the provinces of Latium and Gaul. Kings regarded him as a father, bishops as a master, abbots and monks as an archangel, and all together believed him to be a friend of God and a guide to their salvation. Who but he ever enjoyed such amiable friendship with the people of Venice? We might say, following the Apostle in exaggeration, that if it were possible they would have torn out their eyes and given them to him.² Indeed Ursus, their Patriarch, decided to become a monk of the holy father's, but because William considered the absence of such a man would be a loss to that people, he persuaded him to remain in his position.³ He is known to have done the same thing in many cases for the same reason. He was now not just regular but ceaseless in attendance at the *Opus Dei*;⁴ and when he had been in Italy for two years he expected his departure from this world. But by a happy turn of events he was called from there and returned, though with great difficulty, to Gaul.⁵ When in loving charity he was revisiting all his people, he came to the monastery of Gorze which he had reformed, along with others, on the monastic pattern, and took care to clear up all matters which were outstanding;⁶ from there he came to Fécamp, which we have already mentioned.⁷ After a few days he started to be afflicted with sharp pains. When the celebration of the Nativity of the Lord was approaching, receiving foreknowledge of the day of his calling by Christ, he gathered the brothers to him and discussed with them prudently and wisely all the matters which bore upon his responsibility, and the means and methods by which they might be handled. And so, once all, whether present or absent, had been strengthened by his blessing and committed to God, he begged that a saving and life-giving departure should be granted to him. When all the week's celebrations had been completed, without saying anything at all he lifted his eyes only to God, directing himself to Him alone, so that

Histories 4. iii. 6–7. The opening of Book 4 is generally concerned with Italian affairs as a result of this journey, but he does not tell us that William was ill when he returned.

⁶ The abbey of Gorze, near Metz, was the centre of the Lotharingan reform in the late 10th c., but its best days were past when William was called to reinvigorate its life in the period 1012–17. For his work there see Bulst, pp. 86–90.

⁷ See above, c. vii.

respiens, iamque aspicebat felix anima subito ad illum itura de uasculo carnis in sua gloria Deum maiestatis. Anno igitur eiusdem Natiuitatis Dominicę millesimo xxx^o i^o, indictione xiiii^a, a natiuitate quoque istius patris ac Dei cultoris lxx^o, et ab aduentu illius ad Gallias de Italia xli^o, regnante Conrado imperatore, in Francia nichilominus Rotberto rege, die dominicę circuncisionis uenerabili atque eiusdem natiuitatis octauo, vi^{ta} feria mane, dum aurora superuenientis diei pelleret tenebras, e mundo transiuit a sancto istius Dei amici corpore felix anima et beata, lucerna uidelicet orbis ad sempiternam ac deificam lucem, suis lugentibus, sed letantibus angelis, cum quibus laudans ac magnificans benedicit Deum, in quo uiuit quicquid iuste subsistit.¹ Sepultum nanque est sacrum illius corpus honorifice in gremio eiusdem sanctę Trinitatis aeccliesię in conspectu euntium ac redeuntium fratrum,² ut cotidie siquidem prę oculis imitabilem haberent patrem, quem ad ęternam iusticię mercedem habuere institutorem. Ipsiusque precibus et meritis ualeant percipere aeternę uitę regnum et gloriam cum sanctis omnibus, donante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat per immortalia saeculorum saecula. Amen.

¹ St William died on 1 Jan. 1031: he was 69, that is in his 70th year. As noted above in c. v n., he probably came to Cluny in 987, some 44 years before his death.

² At *Histories* 4. iv. 9 Glaber records the death of St William and mentions a miracle

his spirit should dwell only on Him, for his happy soul was already looking to go suddenly to the majesty of God in His glory from the vessel of the flesh. And so, in the year of the Lord 1031, the fourteenth indiction, in the seventieth year from the birth of this father and devotee of God, and the forty-first after his arrival in Gaul from Italy, in the reigns of Conrad as emperor and Robert as king in Francia, on the holy day of the Lord's Circumcision and on the octave of His Nativity, on the Friday morning, as the dawn of coming day banished the darkness, his happy and blessed soul passed from the world, leaving the holy body of that friend of God, a lamp of the world passing to eternal and sacred light, his own people lamenting but the angels rejoicing, with whom, praising and magnifying, he worships God in whom lives whatever is righteous.¹ His holy body was buried with honour in the heart of the church of the Holy Trinity in the sight of the comings and goings of the brethren,² so that each day they should have before their eyes as an example to them this father whom they had had as a teacher to help them win the eternal reward of justice. By his prayers and merits may they be able to receive the kingdom of eternal life and glory with all the saints, through the gift of Our Lord Jesus Christ who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth world without end. Amen.

worked at his tomb at Fécamp which was not 'in the little book on his life and virtues that I issued'. William's tomb was placed before the altar of St Taurinus at Fécamp.

APPENDIX

ST WILLIAM'S NEW ABBEY-CHURCH OF SAINT-BÉNIGNE AT DIJON

GLABER was obviously deeply impressed by St William's new church of Saint-Bénigne at Dijon, which he describes in *c. viii* of the *Life* and refers to in *3. v. 16* of the *Histories*. The church which William inherited had been rebuilt by Isaac, bishop of Langres (859–80), who introduced the Benedictine Rule to the abbey, and consecrated it in 882.¹ Some parts of this building were incorporated into the massive new structure raised by St William. His great church was almost totally destroyed in 1792, but despite this it has been much discussed by historians because of its supposed place in the development of the Romanesque style. The evidence for this debate comes in part from early descriptions of the buildings and other documentary material which have been gathered together by C. Heitz, 'Lumières anciennes et nouvelles sur Saint-Bénigne de Dijon', *Du VIII^e au XI^e siècle: Édifices monastiques et culte en Lorraine et en Bourgogne* (Recueil d'études publié par C. Heitz, F. Héber-Suffrin, Université de Paris-X, Nanterre, Centre de recherches sur l'Antiquité tardive et le Haut Moyen-Âge, Cahier n^o. II) (Paris, 1977), pp. 64–106. The documentary sources published and translated into French by Heitz are:

(a) The description of the abbey church from the *Chronicon Sancti Benigni Divionensis*;² this chronicle dates from the period 1055–75 and provides a highly detailed description of the new church as it was within a generation of the death of its builder. It is, therefore, a highly authoritative source.

(b) Three chapters from a Customary of Saint-Bénigne dating from the time of its abbot Jarenton (1077–1113).³

(i) *De Ecclesia sanctae Mariae caeterisque membris ecclesiae* is important in that it confirms the account of the *Chronicon* and gives details about the altars.

¹ Bulst, p. 31.

² Heitz used the text of the Saint-Bénigne Chronicle as prepared by A. Martindale, 'The Romanesque Church of S. Bénigne at Dijon and Ms. 591 in the Bibliothèque municipale', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, xxv (1962), 21–55. An older version is to be found in *Analecta Divionensia*, pp. 137–48.

³ These passages are to be found in Paris, BN Coll. de Bourgogne 11, ff. 83, 84–7, 99–100'. Parts were used by Dom Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, iv (1738), cols. 443A–444A; Heitz, p. 75.

(ii) *De Sanctorum solemnitatibus quomodo agantur* provides liturgical information bearing upon the layout of the church and its altars.

(iii) *De Processionibus quae fiunt post matutinas uel uesperas* shows that the Rotunda was the liturgical focus of the abbey.

(c) *Reliquie Domini Saluatoris* which is an inventory of important relics kept at the abbey.¹

These texts and the early pictures which Heitz also brought together provide vital evidence about the abbey as rebuilt by St William. Important information about recent excavations is to be found in C. M. Malone, 'Les fouilles de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon (1976–1978) et le problème de l'église de l'an mil', *Bulletin monumental*, cxxxviii (1980), 253–84. K. J. Conant's confident and detailed reconstruction of St William's church in his *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800–1200* (London, 1959), pp. 84–7, can no longer stand unchallenged in the light of this and other more recent research, such as that of A. Martindale, 'The Romanesque Church of S. Bénigne at Dijon and Ms. 591 in the Bibliothèque municipale', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, xxv (1962), 21–55, and W. Schlink, *Saint-Bénigne in Dijon: Untersuchungen zur Abteikirche Wilhelms von Volpiano (962–1031)* (Berlin, 1978). The main features of St William's great church—some 90 m. long—are clearly established. There was a large basilica built over a columnar hall-crypt, of which only the apsidal chapels and the colonnade around St Benignus' tomb survive, heavily restored. At its eastern end this led, via a transept, into the dominant feature of the whole complex, the massive three-storey rotunda whose crypt survives; its main altar was dedicated to the Virgin. Each of the three storeys of the rotunda was extended to the east to form a chapel whose lower parts almost certainly incorporated some elements of Bishop Isaac's structure. It has long been supposed that St William's church represented a crucial stage in the dissemination in France of Romanesque architectural forms as developed in his birthplace, northern Italy. However, only the great columnar hall-crypt is certainly north-Italian. The eastern rotunda, with its dedication to the Virgin, certainly reflects the influence of the Pantheon at Rome, but this form was already established in Carolingian Burgundy with examples, all much smaller, at Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, Flavigny, Saint-Pierre at Geneva, and Saint-Pierre-le-Vif at Sens. The basilica was extended *c. 1160* and then destroyed and rebuilt in the Gothic style in the late thirteenth century. The severe destruction of 1792 and the restoration work of the late nineteenth century make any detailed reconstruction of the elevations speculative. Such fragments of decoration and sculpture as survive are very difficult to date; some of the capitals, in particular, are very vigorous.

¹ To be found in Coll. de Bourgogne 11, fo. 761; Heitz, p. 104.

However, they cannot with any certainty be ascribed to Italian carvers supposedly imported by St William, for much work was done on the monastic complex in the later eleventh century, and Italian parallels are hard to find. The recent research noted here challenges the supposed key role of Saint-Bénigne in the evolution of the Romanesque style, on which see also C. Sapin, *La Bourgogne préromane: Construction, décor et fonction des édifices religieux* (Paris, 1986), especially pp. 75-9, 220-3. But whatever the place of St William's church in architectural history it was evidently a splendid structure in which Glaber felt a deep pride as he reveals here and in c. xii. It is interesting that in the *Histories* Glaber introduces St William for the first time as a builder of monasteries and describes Saint-Bénigne in glowing terms: 'it would be difficult to find another as beautiful'. This passage, in 3. v. 16, comes soon after the famous description of the great rebuilding of churches shortly after the year 1000, and perhaps the new church of Saint-Bénigne, where he served so long, was the inspiration for the famous lyrical passage in 3. iv. 13 about the whole world: 'shrugging off the burden of the past, and cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches'.

Neil Stratford, Keeper of Medieval and Later Antiquities at the British Museum, provided generous assistance on the history of Saint-Bénigne, for which grateful thanks are offered.

CONCORDANCE

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B. LIFE

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