Revolt of the Earls

Taken from; http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/waltheof.htm

In August 1072, King William invaded Scotland. He doesn't appear to have met with any significant resistance, and he received the submission of, the Scots’ king, Malcolm Canmore at Abernethy (on the south bank of the Tay).

William returning thence deprived Gospatric of the dignity of his earldom [northern Northumbria], charging him with having afforded counsel and aid to those who had murdered the earl [Robert Cumin] and his men at Durham [in January 1069[\*]], although he had not been present in person; and that he had been on the side of the enemy when the Normans were slain at York.

[Symeon of Durham](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/symeon.htm) *Historia Regum*

Gospatric, though, evaded arrest. Subsequently,[\*] Symeon reports that he fled to King Malcolm, and then sailed to Flanders. After “a little time” he returned to Scotland, and Malcolm: “bestowed upon him Dunbar, with the lands adjacent in Lothian, that out of these he might provide for himself and his friends until more prosperous times should come.”  To which statement Roger of Howden adds[\*]: “But not long after this, being reduced to extreme infirmity, he sent for Aldwin and Turgot, the monks, who at this time were living at Melrose [south of the Tweed, some 29 crow-flying miles upriver from Berwick], in poverty and contrite in spirit for the sake of Christ, and ended his life with a full confession of his sins, and great lamentations and penitence, at Ubbanford, which is also called Norham [south of the Tweed, some 6½ crow-flying miles upriver from Berwick], and was buried in the porch of the church there. He gave them two fair dorsals, that, in whatever place they might chance to take rest, they should set them up there in remembrance of him. These are still preserved in the church at Durham.”

Gospatric being cast down from his dignity, Waltheof was raised to the earldom, which was his right by his father’s and mother’s descent[\*] … At that time (namely, when the king had returned from Scotland) he built a castle in Durham, where the bishop might keep himself and his people safe from the attacks of assailants. —

Walcher (“a clerk of the church of Liège”) was now bishop of Durham.

waltheof01

— Bishop Walcher and earl Waltheof were very friendly and accommodating to each other; so that he, sitting together with the bishop in the synod of priests, humbly and obediently carried out whatever the bishop decreed for the reformation of Christianity in his earldom.

Symeon of Durham *Historia Regum*

The charges made against Gospatric might be thought to apply just as well to Waltheof. However, Waltheof was clearly a favourite of King William. [Orderic Vitalis](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/orderic.htm) (*HE* IV: ii, 221) calls him “one of the greatest of the English”, and notes that the king “married him to his own niece Judith to strengthen the bonds of friendship between them”.

In fact, Orderic never mentions Waltheof’s acquisition of the north-Northumbrian earldom. He says “King William gave the county of Northampton to Earl Waltheof”, and links that to the marriage with Judith. It would appear, though, from entries in the [Domesday Book](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/book.htm), that the kernel of Waltheof’s pre-Conquest earldom was Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire,[\*] so Orderic’s reference tends to suggest that, following Waltheof’s submission at the beginning of 1070, King William reinstated him in his erstwhile command (as he did Gospatric) and gave him Judith in marriage.

Meanwhile, the happy political situation (from the Norman point of view) on the other side of the Channel – giving William the domestic security which enabled him to successfully conquer England – had deteriorated. William’s father-in-law, Count Baldwin V of Flanders, died in 1067. (Since 1060, Baldwin had acted as regent for his young nephew, King Philip I of France.[\*]) Baldwin V’s successor, his son, Baldwin VI, died in 1070, and was succeeded by his fifteen-year-old son, Arnulf III. Arnulf’s mother, Richildis of Hainaut, served as regent. Baldwin VI’s brother, Robert the Frisian, however, invaded and took possession of Flanders. Richildis and Arnulf sought assistance from King Philip I. Now, Orderic Vitalis (*HE* IV: ii, 234) reports that, at this time, King William sent his right-hand man, William fitz Osbern, earl of Hereford, to Normandy, to act, alongside Queen Matilda (daughter of Baldwin V), as his regent. King Philip:

… mustered an army of Frenchmen to aid Arnulf, and summoned Earl William as regent of Normandy to accompany him.

Orderic Vitalis (*HE* IV: ii, 235)

Taking only ten knights with him, Earl William:

… rode off gaily to Flanders as though he were going to a tournament.

Orderic Vitalis (*HE* IV: ii, 235)

But there came Robert, and slew Arnulf his kinsman and the earl William, and put the king to flight and slew many thousands of his men.

[*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/chronicle.htm) Manuscript D[\*]

Orderic Vitalis (*HE* IV: ii, 235–6): “The body of Earl William was borne back to Normandy by his men and buried with great mourning in the abbey of Cormeilles.… The bravest of the Normans, renowned for his generosity, ready wit, and outstanding integrity, he was universally mourned.”

This battle took place at Cassel, Flanders, in February 1071.[\*] The upshot was that King Philip made peace with Robert – Robert became count of Flanders (Robert I), and Philip married Robert’s step-daughter, Bertha:

But mutual and lasting hostility arose between the Normans and Flemings … chiefly because of the fate of Earl William.

Orderic Vitalis (*HE* IV: ii, 237)

The death of Geoffrey Martel (Geoffrey II), count of Anjou, in 1060 was followed by a protracted dispute between his nephews (he had died childless), Geoffrey the Bearded (Geoffrey III) and, his younger brother, Fulk Rechin. William the Bastard (William II), duke of Normandy (and future king of England), took advantage of Anjou’s preoccupation, and, c.1063, conquered Maine (which acted as a buffer-zone between Normandy and Anjou). In 1068, Fulk (Fulk IV) finally threw his brother into prison. The following year there was a nationalist rebellion in Maine – Norman rule there collapsed. The resulting government, headed by one Geoffrey de Mayenne, however, was unstable. In 1072, the citizens of Le Mans invited Count Fulk’s intervention on their behalf. Fulk obliged, and assisted them to drive out Geoffrey de Mayenne. And so:

In this year [1073] King William led an English and French army over sea, and won the land of Maine. And the Englishmen greatly wasted it; they ruined vineyards and burned towns and greatly wasted the land, and reduced it all into the hand of King William; and they afterwards went home to England.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Manuscripts D and E[\*]

The following year, as reported in some detail by *Chronicle* Manuscript D:

In this year [1074] King William went over sea to Normandy; and Edgar Cild [i.e. Edgar Ætheling] came from the Flemings’ land to Scotland on St Grimbald’s mass-day [8th July]; —

Edgar Ætheling was in Scotland the last time he was heard of, in 1070. Presumably, when King William invaded in 1072, he had been obliged to relocate to Flanders, which was by then antagonistic towards Normandy.

— and King Malcolm and his sister [i.e. Edgar’s sister, Malcolm’s wife] Margaret received him with great worship. At the same time Philip king of France wrote to him, and bade him come to him, and he would give him the castle of Montreuil, that he might then daily do harm to his enemies [i.e. the Normans]. Well, King Malcolm and his sister Margaret gave him and all his men great gifts and many treasures, in skins decked with purple, and in pelisses of marten-skin and miniver-skin and ermine-skin; and in costly robes, and in golden and silver vessels; and led him and all his shipmen with great worship from his dominion. But on the voyage evil befell them, when they were out at sea; so that there came on them very rough weather, and the raging sea and the strong wind cast them on the land so that all their ships burst asunder, and they themselves with difficulty came to land [evidently on the English coast], and almost all their treasures were lost. And some of his men also were seized by the Frenchmen [i.e. Normans]; but he himself and his best men went back again to Scotland – some ruefully going on foot, and some miserably riding. Then King Malcolm advised him that he should send to King William over sea, and pray his peace; and he did so, and the king granted it to him, and sent after him. And King Malcolm and his sister again gave him and all his men innumerable treasures, and very worthily again sent him from their dominion. And the sheriff of York came to meet him at Durham, and went all the way with him, and enabled him to find food and fodder at every castle which they came to, until they came over sea to the king. And King William then received him with great worship; and he was there in his court, and took such rights as he allowed him.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Manuscript D

Whilst King William was absent in Normandy, however, a plot was hatched against him in England. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says:

In this year [1075] King William gave to Earl Ralph the daughter of William fitz Osbern [in marriage].

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Manuscripts D and E

[Florence of Worcester](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/florence.htm), though, maintains that:

Roger, earl of Hereford, son of William, earl of the same province, gave his sister in marriage to Ralph, earl of the East Angles, against the command of King William …

Both Roger and Ralph had succeeded to their father’s earldoms. Ralph’s father, Ralph the Staller, had served King Edward before the Conquest,[\*] and had been made earl of East Anglia by King William. He probably died in 1069. The *Chronicle* says (Manuscript D phraseology) that the younger Ralph: “was Breton on his mother’s side, and Ralph his father [i.e Ralph the Staller] was English and was born in Norfolk.”  The indications are, however, that, although he may have been born in England, Ralph the Staller was of Breton descent – it is widely suggested that his father could have accompanied Emma of Normandy, when she travelled to England to marry [Æthelred the Unready](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/unready.htm), in 1002.[\*] At any rate, the younger Ralph, the Staller’s son, was evidently resident in Brittany before 1066 – he is known as Ralph de Gael (or Ralph Guader) after his holdings in Brittany – and according to Wace ([*Roman de Rou*](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/wace.htm): ii, 247) he fought on the Norman side at the battle of Hastings: “Ralph de Gael; he was himself a Breton, and led Bretons”.

Anyway, at the wedding celebrations[\*]:

There were Earl Roger and Earl Waltheof, and bishops and abbots; and they there resolved that they would drive their royal lord from his kingdom … Earl Ralph and Earl Roger were ringleaders in this evil design; and they enticed the Bretons to them, and sent also to Denmark for a ship-army.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Manuscript D phraseology

… they compelled Earl Waltheof, who had been entrapped by their wiles, to join them in the plot.[\*]

Florence of Worcester

Orderic Vitalis (*HE* IV: ii, 261–2) puts words into the mouths of the three earls. Ralph and Roger tell Waltheof: “Join our party and stand with us; we can promise you a third part of England. We wish to restore all the good customs that the realm of Albion enjoyed in the time of the virtuous King Edward. One of us shall be king and the other two dukes”.  In his reply, Waltheof says: “King William has lawfully received the oath of fealty which I his vassal rightly swore, and has given his niece to me in marriage as a pledge of lasting loyalty. He has given me a rich earldom and counted me amongst his closest friends. How can I be unfaithful to such a lord, unless I utterly desecrate my faith? I am known all over the country, and it would cause great scandal if – which Heaven forbid – I were publicly proclaimed a sacrilegious traitor.… The law of England punishes the traitor by beheading, and deprives his whole progeny of their just inheritance. Heaven forbid that I should stain my honour with the guilt of treachery, and that such shame should be voiced abroad about me.”  Having declined the earls’ invitation to join their plot, Waltheof is obliged to take “a terrible oath” not to reveal their plans.

Roger returned to Herefordshire, and Ralph, with his new wife (whose name, incidentally, was Emma), went to Norwich. Waltheof, however:

As soon as he was able … went to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and accepting penance for his compulsory oath, by his advice proceeded to King William, who was then in Normandy, and having related the affair from beginning to end, voluntarily threw himself upon the royal clemency.[\*] But the chiefs of the conspiracy … began by every exertion, with the aid of their supporters, to excite the rebellion.

Florence of Worcester

It is apparent that Lanfranc was acting in a governmental capacity during the king’s absence. There exists a series of letters, written during this period by Lanfranc to Earl Roger. It is clear that Roger was definitely not a chip off the old block, and Lanfranc’s disappointment is obvious.

waltheof02

William de Warenne and Richard de Bienfaite, son of Count Gilbert [of Brionne, murdered in 1040], whom the king had appointed among his chief ministers for all business in England, summoned the rebels to the king’s court. They however, scorned the summons, preferring to continue in their evil ways, and joined battle with the king’s men.

Orderic Vitalis (*HE* IV: ii, 262)

… Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, with a great military force, Æthelwig, abbot of Evesham, with his followers, and having procured the assistance of Urse, sheriff of Worcester, and Walter de Lacy, with their forces, and a large number of the people, prepared to prevent the earl of Hereford from crossing the Severn and joining Earl Ralph and his army at the appointed place. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the king’s brother, and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, with a great force, both of English and Normans, ready for action, met Earl Ralph encamped near Cambridge. But he, perceiving that his plan was frustrated, and moreover fearing the superior numbers of his opponents, escaped secretly to Norwich, and leaving his castle to the care of his wife and his knights, embarked from England for Brittany; his adversaries pursuing him, and killing or maiming in various ways those of his followers whom they were able to capture. Then the leaders laid siege to his castle …

Florence of Worcester

Orderic doesn't mention that Bishop Wulfstan et al. held Earl Roger in check, and he says it was William de Warenne and Richard de Bienfaite who:

… mustered the English army and engaged in a hard-fought battle with the rebels in a plain called *Fagaduna*.[\*] Holding their ground they won the field by God’s help, and left their mark on all prisoners of whatever rank by cutting off their right foot. They pursued Ralph the Breton to his castle, but could not capture him. —

Whereas Florence has Ralph travel directly to Brittany, Orderic (a few sentences later) has him sail “to seek help in Denmark” first. Florence makes no mention of Denmark at all in connection to these events, but the *Chronicle* had previously noted that the rebellious earls sent to Denmark for assistance, and the Danes would indeed soon make an appearance, so it may well be that Ralph did travel to Brittany by way of Denmark.

— Then concentrating their forces they [William de Warenne and Richard de Bienfaite] besieged and attacked Norwich, encouraging their friends by their bravery and military skill, and harrying their besieged foes by continual assault with every kind of engine of war.

Orderic Vitalis (*HE* IV: ii, 262–3)

Orderic claims that William de Warenne and Richard de Bienfaite sent messages to King William urging him to “return with all speed” to England. In fact, Archbishop Lanfranc wrote to the king assuring him that everything was under control and there was no need for his return.[\*]

After a siege of three months (according to Orderic), the defenders of Norwich capitulated.

To his most glorious lord William, king of the English, Lanfranc his loyal subject sends loyal service and prayers.  
Glory be to God on high, by whose mercy your kingdom has been purged of its Breton dung. Norwich Castle has been surrendered and those Bretons in it who held lands in England have been granted their lives and spared mutilation; they have sworn for their part to leave your kingdom within forty days and never to enter it again without your permission. The landless mercenaries who served Ralph the traitor and his associates begged for and were granted the same terms within the limit of one month. Bishop Geoffrey, William de Warenne and Robert Malet have remained in the castle itself with three hundred heavily-armed soldiers, supported by a large force of slingers and siege engineers. By God’s mercy all the clamour of warfare has fallen silent in the land of England.  
The Lord almighty bless you.

Letter from Lanfranc to King William[\*]

Ralph’s wife, Emma, was allowed to join her husband in Brittany. Of course, Ralph forfeited his English estates, but, his Breton lands, as Orderic notes (*HE* IV: ii, 264): “the English monarch had no power to confiscate.”

Apparently, Earl Roger had requested a meeting with Lanfranc, but Lanfranc wrote back to him saying, much as he would like to, he dared not for fear of King William. The archbishop told Roger to “lie low”, and that he (Lanfranc) would inform the king of his (Roger’s) penitence, and give him all the help he could.[\*]

In a letter, to Walcher, bishop of Durham, Lanfranc writes: “now that the Bretons are banished and all warfare is suppressed, we live in a tranquility greater than we can recall ever experiencing since the king crossed the sea. Be assured that our lord the king’s affairs are prospering and that he himself is crossing to England without delay. The Danes are indeed coming, as the king told us. So fortify your castle with men, weapons and stores: be ready.”[\*]

These things being done, the king returned in the autumn from Normandy, and put Earl Roger in confinement, and delivered Earl Waltheof to custody, though he had implored his mercy.

Florence of Worcester

Earl Roger … was judged by the laws of the Normans, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment after forfeiting all his earthly goods.

Orderic Vitalis (*HE* IV: ii, 264)

On the one hand, Orderic is adamant that Roger was never released: “The king’s sentence was so lasting that even after the king’s death nothing but death released him from his fetters.”  But on the other, he (and also Florence of Worcester) names Roger amongst the prisoners whose release King William ordered, from his deathbed, in 1087. Roger may have been released, but then swiftly imprisoned again, as happened to certain other notables whose release William ordered.

Earl Waltheof was summoned before the king and accused, on the deposition of his wife Judith, of being a party to the conspiracy and proving unfaithful to his lord. He, however, fearlessly and openly admitted that he had learned from the traitors of their infamous intention, but had refused to give them any support in such a shameful affair. Judgement was demanded on the grounds of this confession: but as the judges could not agree among themselves a decision was postponed several times and delayed a year [actually, several months, but not a year]. During this time the brave earl was kept in the king’s prison at Winchester …

Orderic Vitalis (*HE* IV: ii, 265)

And soon after this came two hundred ships from Denmark; wherein the chiefs were Cnut, son of King Swein,[\*] and Earl Hakon; and they durst not maintain a battle against King William, but …

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Manuscript D phraseology

At this point in the story Manuscript E simply says the Danes “proceeded over sea to Flanders”, but Manuscript D reports that they:

… went to York, and broke into St Peter’s minster, and therein took much property, and so went away; but all perished who were in that plan; that was the son of Earl Hakon, and many others with him.

Edith, widow of King Edward and sister of King Harold, died at Winchester, “seven nights before Christmas” 1075. King William had her body taken to Westminster, “with great worship”, and buried alongside her husband.

The king was that Midwinter at Westminster; there were all the Bretons condemned who were at the marriage-feast at Norwich:

Some were blinded, and some banished from the land,  
and some punished ignominiously.[\*]  
So were the king’s traitors crushed."

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Manuscript D phraseology

And in this year [1076] Earl Waltheof was beheaded at Winchester, on St Petronella’s mass-day [31st May]; and his body was conveyed to Crowland [8 miles northeast of Peterborough], and he is there buried.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Manuscript D[\*]

Florence of Worcester says that Waltheof was beheaded, with an axe, “outside the city of Winchester”. His body was initially buried at the execution site, but later “carried with great honour to Crowland, and honourably buried in the church”.  Orderic Vitalis (*HE* IV: ii, 268) notes that "Earl Waltheof was a good friend and brother of the abbey of Crowland".

It is evident that Waltheof had a skald, Thorkell Skallason, in his entourage. Two stanzas of a poem that Thorkell composed about his employer (*Valþjófsflokkr*) appear in *Heimskringla*. The first tells how Waltheof caused a hundred of King William’s ‘Frenchmen’ to burn to death.[\*] The second laments his death:

It is certain that William, the reddener of weapons, he who from the south clove the foamy sea, has kept bad faith with valiant Waltheof. Truly it will be long before slaying of men ceases in England – but my lord was gallant! There will not die a more famous chief than he.

*Valþjófsflokkr* (*Heimskringla*, ‘Saga of Harald Sigurdsson’ Chapter 97)

This man [Waltheof], while yet in the enjoyment of life, being placed in close confinement, lamented without ceasing and with extreme bitterness the unrighteous actions of his past life. He earnestly sought to appease his God by vigils, prayers, fastings, and almsgiving. Men desired to blot the remembrance of him on earth; but we firmly believe that he is now rejoicing with the saints in heaven, on the testimony of Archbishop Lanfranc of pious memory, from whom he received the sacrament of penance after his confession, who declared that not only was he guiltless of the crime laid to his charge, the conspiracy mentioned above, but that, like a true Christian, he had lamented with tears of penitence the other sins which he had committed; and he added that he himself should esteem himself happy could he enjoy, after his own departure, the blessed repose of the earl.

[Florence of Worcester](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/florence.htm)

… some assert that he joined the league of treachery more through necessity than inclination. This is the excuse the English make for him, and those, of the greater credit, for the Normans affirm the contrary, to whose decision the Divinity itself appears to assent, showing many and very great miracles at his tomb; for they declare that during his captivity, he wiped away his transgressions by daily sorrow.

[William of Malmesbury](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/malmesbury.htm) (*GR* III §253)

His body they [the monks of Crowland] cherished well.  
Afterwards it was often seen in the place  
That God did by it many works.

Geffrei Gaimar (5734–5736)

[Orderic Vitalis](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/orderic.htm) spent five weeks at Crowland, where the cult of Waltheof was fostered. Consequently, his narrative (*HE* IV: ii, 266–7) becomes more hagiography than history. Waltheof (“a handsome man of splendid physique”) had been taken to his place of execution – St Giles’ Hill, outside Winchester – very early in the morning, whilst people were still asleep. Once there, Waltheof gave away his rich garments to the few clergy and poor who were present, and prostrated himself in prayer. After some considerable time, his executioners, anxious to get the job over before the citizens awoke and intervened to prevent the sentence being carried out, told him to get up. He asked to be allowed to say the Lord’s prayer:

As they agreed he rose, and kneeling with his eyes raised to heaven and his hands stretched out he began to say aloud, “Our Father, which art in Heaven”. But when he reached the last sentence and said, “And lead us not into temptation,” such tears and lamentations broke from him that he could not finish his prayer. The executioner refused to wait any longer, but straightway drawing his sword struck off the earl’s head with a mighty blow. Then the severed head was heard by all present to say in a clear voice, “But deliver us from evil. Amen.”[\*]

*HE* IV: ii, 267)

Waltheof’s body was flung into a ditch and covered with turf. A fortnight later, “at the request of Judith and with the king’s permission”, the abbot of Crowland dug up the body (“which still remained incorrupt with the blood as fresh as if he had just died”), transported it to Crowland and buried it in the chapter-house.

At this point, Orderic includes his abridgement of Felix’s ‘Life’ of St Guthlac (produced at the request of the prior of Crowland), followed by a history of Crowland Abbey (based on information told to him by the subprior and other senior monks). Orderic says (*HE* IV: ii, 286) that when Waltheof’s body had been interred for almost sixteen years, the then abbot, Ingulf, had it moved into the church. When the coffin lid was opened, the corpse was “found as incorrupt as on the day of its burial, and moreover the head was joined to the body”.  Orderic’s visit to Crowland took place during the tenure of Ingulf’s successor, Abbot Geoffrey, i.e. between 1109 and 1124. It is said (*HE* IV: ii, 288) to have been in “the third year” of Abbot Geoffrey’s term of office, that miracles first began to occur at Waltheof’s tomb: “the news of them gladdened the hearts of the English and the populace came flocking in great numbers to the tomb of their compatriot”.[\*]  Orderic himself (“the Englishman Vitalis”) was asked to compose an epitaph for Waltheof:

Beneath this stone a man of highest virtue –  
The valiant son of Siward, earl and Dane –  
Waltheof, most glorious earl, lies nobly buried.  
Honoured in war, revered by all, he flourished;  
Yet knowing worldly wealth and fame are shadows  
He gave his love to Christ, and sought to please him,  
Cherished his Church, and humbly loved his clergy,  
Cherishing most the faithful monks of Crowland.  
Sentenced to die by cruel Norman judgement,  
At the last dawn of May he fell, beheaded.  
The marshy soil of Crowland which, while living,  
He had so deeply loved received his body.  
God grant his soul eternal rest in Heaven.

(*HE* IV: ii, 289–90)

Waltheof’s widow inherited many of the land-holdings associated with his Midlands earldom – in the [Domesday Book](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/book.htm) she appears as Countess Judith. Waltheof’s Northern earldom was handed to Walcher, bishop of Durham.

Still in 1076:

And King William went over sea, and led a force to Brittany, and besieged the castle of Dol; —

Florence of Worcester: “besieged the castle of Earl Ralph, which was called Dol”.

— but the Bretons held it, until the king [Philip I] came from France; and King William went from there, and there lost both men and horses, and innumerable treasures.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Manuscript D phraseology

In this year [1077] the king of the French and William king of England were reconciled; though it lasted but a little while.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Manuscript E[\*]

[Trials and Tribulations ►](http://www.dot-domesday.me.uk/robert.htm)

Translations:  
*Valþjófsflokkr* by Forrest S. Scott  
Wace *Roman de Rou* by Edgar Taylor  
Roger of Howden *Chronica* by Henry T. Riley  
Orderic Vitalis *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Marjorie Chibnall  
Geffrei Gaimar *Estoire des Engleis* by Sir T.D. Hardy and C.T. Martin  
William of Malmesbury *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* by David Preest  
Florence of Worcester *Chronicon ex Chronicis* by Joseph Stevenson  
*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* adapted from the translation of Benjamin Thorpe  
Symeon of Durham *Libellus de Exordio* and *Historia Regum* by Joseph Stevenson  
William of Malmesbury *Gesta Regum Anglorum* by John Sharpe, revised by Joseph Stevenson

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