

## CLASS OUTLINE FOR ANGLO-NORMANS: WHO THEY WERE AND HOW THEY CHANGED ENGLAND FOREVER (Revised)

### DAY ONE

Introduction and scope of the class  
Review of basic knowledge of the period

#### 1 Charlemagne's Empire in 843

Disintegration into three parts  
Charles the Bald and his successors  
Charles the Simple and the West Francia Empire  
The Vikings and their impact on West Francia

#### 2 Beginnings of Normandy as an entity (why Normandy succeeded)

##### A **Hrolf** (Rollo, Rou) 860?-920s

Scandinavian origins and Viking past  
Treaty of St. Claire-sur-Epte (910)  
"Conversion" to Christianity  
Relations with Francia and neighboring entities  
"Marriage" and *mores Danico*  
Death and burial-Rouen

##### B **William "Longsword"** (?-942)

Faalty to King Ralph (Rudolf/Raoul)  
Land gains in Contentin and Avranches 934  
Count of Rouen  
Begins Norman support of new monasteries and rebuilding  
Allies with Hugh the Great and then Louis IV  
Assassination of Wm on Dec 17, 942 at Picquigny/Somme  
Marriage with Leutegarde (Vermandois) no issue  
"Marriage" with Sprota of Brittany

##### C **Richard I** (933-996) "The Fearless" (Sans Peur)

Capture of and release of Richard from Louis IV  
Help of Herald of Denmark and allies  
Close to Hugh the Great and son, Hugh Capet (1<sup>st</sup> Capetian king)  
Less Scandinavian and more Frankish-fiefdom of French King  
Continues strong ties with church/mont-St. Mont Michel/Bec,  
Jumieges  
Marriage with Emma, dau of Hugh Capet-no issue  
Gunnor, danico wife produces many children marrying into Frankish  
families  
Treaty Mar 9, 991 with King Ethelred (England) not to aid Viking  
enemies of England  
Buried at Fecamp

##### D **Duke Richard II** "The Good" (978-1026)

First to known as Duke of Normandy  
Gets Dudo of St. Quintin to compile a "favorable" history of family  
**[1002] Ethelred of England marries Emma, Richard's sister**  
Defends duchy against King Ethelred to bring Rich to account for  
continued Viking raids from Normandy  
Repels serious attack on duchy from Blois/Vikings from Norway aid

Marries Judith (d 1017) of Rennes (Brittany): Rich III & Robert  
 Marries Poppa: Wm of Arques and Mauger (AB Rouen)  
 Buried at Fecamp

**E Duke Richard III (957-1027) “The Unlucky” (my word)**

Brothers fall out over spoils/truce later  
 Richard dies (suddenly) Aug 6, 1023-poisoned?  
 Married Adela of Contenance, dau King of France-two dau and  
 Nicholas, son of concubine

**F. Duke Robert I “The Magnificent” (1000-1035)**

Frequent wars with Flanders over French claims; supports Henry I  
 In French succession  
 Conflicts with Uncle Robert AB Rouen and Hugh III Bishop of  
 Bayeux-much destruction of church property and seizures  
 Wars with Alan III of Brittany (cousin) western Normandy-draw

**[King Ethelred dies, son Edmund Ironside opposes King Cnut who later rules England, Norway, and Denmark). Queen Emma flees with children, Edward and Alfred to Normandy BUT Emma returns to England and marries Cnut!]**

1032-Robert unsuccessful in attempt to invade England, weather destroys his fleet-washes up on Guernsey-not likely to succeed  
 1035-Robt gets religion, on pilgrimage to Holy Land, but dies on way back at Nicaea. Leave illegitimate son, William. Magnates all swear to support Wm as successor despite his birth.

**G. William, Duke of Normandy (1027?-1087) “The Conqueror”**

Falaise castle-Heuleva Arletta)mother-later married to Heuluin  
 Vicomte :sons Odo and Robert (half-brothers)  
 Attempts to kill him as child, Osbern and Gilbert of Brionne  
 Rebellion of Guy (Burgundy) Nigel of Contentin almost toppled Wm  
 King King of France aids Wm at Battle of **Val-de-Dunes 1046**  
 Wm campaigns with Henry in Maine vs Angevin counts,  
**1049-Married Matilda of Flanders, dau of Baldwin Significance of**  
 1052-Wm takes castles of Domfront and Alencon on Maine border  
 Alencon story  
 1053-Plot to kill Wm by Wm of Arques and count of Ponthieu-siege of Eu-  
 enemies defeated, Wm except military skills shown  
 1054-AB Mauger and French forces invade Normandy-Ct of Eu,  
 Giffard,Roger of Mortermer, Wm of Warenne but defeated at  
 Mortermer.  
 1057-Battle of Varaville, Aug 1057  
 Wm’s tactics show remarkable skill in defeating French army and  
 Angevin forces by waiting for the tide to come in and splitting enemy  
 forces  
 Fortunate departures of Wm’s enemies: deaths of Henry I and Geoffrey of  
 Anjou around the same time in 1060, leaving minors.  
 1063-Wm conquers most of Maine for his son, Robert.  
 1064-Wm invades Brittany and fights Count Conan, but gains no territory  
 a) assisted by a very special guest ?

**3 Events Leading Up to Wm’s arrival in England**

A Death of King Edward the Confessor, January 5, 1066 and buried in Westminster Abbey (not the present day abbey)

- B Harold Godwinson, Earl of Wessex, crowned king on January 6, 1066 according to rites of English tradition.
- C. Wm learns of death and claims he is the rightful heir as Edward promised him the succession while in Normandy and Harold, himself, took oath while in Normandy that Wm was the rightful heir. Wm taking what is rightfully his, and Harold was a perjurer and not entitled to the title.
- D. Wm takes counsel of his magnates and secures the blessings of the Pope and banner
- E. Ships and material assembled in Norman ports, Dives-sur-Mer, etc. All during spring and summer of 1066. How many ships? Approx 700.
- F How many in his army? Historian disagree. Planning and logistics unlike any up to that time except for some ancient naval encounters
- G Fleet sails from Dives 12-13 Sept, 1066, puts in at St. Valery due to weather.
- H Remains in St. Valery-saint relics paraded about asking for fav winds.
- I Wm ship, the *Mora*, provided by Matilda leads the way.
- J Arrive at Pevensey on 28 Sept: Story on arrival.
- K 29 Sept-occupies Hastings, defenses around Pevensey (Roman ruins).

#### 4 What was Harold doing all this time?

- A Harold calls up local fyrd in summer of 1066 along South Coast to guard against Wm arrival, but calls off the forces in Sept when nothing happens, low morale and harvest time
- B Tostig, Harold's brother tossed out as Earl of Northumbria, flees to Flanders and attempts invasion of southern England, but fails in May. Summer he returns to England in Mercia but defeated by Earls Morcar and Edwin. Scotland
- C Sept 8, 1066, Tostig and Harald, King of Norway sail up Humber River to York
- D 20 Sept 1066, Earls Morcar and Edwin attacked by Tostig & etc. And defeated by Tostig and Harald at Fulford
- E 25 Sept, Harold with assembled army march north, defeats and kills both Tostig and Harald at **battle of Stamford Bridge**
- F 1 October 1066-Harold learns news of Wm's arrival and quickly marches south, 250 miles to meet Wm in Sussex.
- G. London on 10 October 1066-assembles army
- H 13 October, reaches what was to become site of the battle hoping to catch Wm off guard.

#### 5 The Battle of Hastings

- Who Won: Wm of Normandy and his army
- Who Lost: King Harold Godwinson and his English army
- Where was it fought: Nine miles north of Hastings on a hill called Senlac
- What date: 14 October 1066
- How long: Roughly six hours, 9am to 4:30 or Teatime
- No first hand reports, after action reports made at the time
- The Norman army used cavalry, English had horses, but not used as cavalry.

#### What we do not know:

- How many troops were on each side? Estimates 6-7000 each
- How many killed and wounded: No idea: Normans burned bodies
- How many horses used or killed-No idea.

**DAY TWO****The Reign of William the Conqueror (1027-Sept 9, 1087) [1066-1087]**

- 1 Movements of William to December 25, 1066
- 2 Returns to Normandy after Christmas with “guests”
- 3 Uprisings by the English
  - 1067 Eadric The Wild in Hereford
  - Fall of 1067 Eustace of Flanders attempt to take Dover-Odo
  - Northumbrian revolts to Norman rule
    - Copsig, Earl of North. killed by rival Oswulf-Gospatric appt Earl

William returns December 1067
4. Exeter 1068-Revolts led by Harold’s mother and brothers; and Wm besieges 18 day siege-Wm pacifies SE England, Devon, Cornwall
- 5 Matilda crowned Queen of England May 1068 at Westminster
- 6 Revolts of Earls Morcar and Edwin
  - Joined by Edgar(Ath) and Gospatric
  - Wm arrives and puts down revolt and appts Robert Commines, Earl of North
  - Jan 1068 Northumbrians attack Durham and kill Commines & 900 Normans
  - Wm sacks York and builds castles there-Wm FitzOsbern (Mar 1069)
  - Sept 1069 Danes under King Svein’s brother & Ath join in march to York
    - Danes bribed to leave. Wm enters York, but Danes remain in area
- 7 **Harrying of the North (No more Mr. Nice Guy)-Significance**
- 8 1070-72 Wm puts down revolts in East Anglia (Ely) led by Hereward the Wake
  - King Svein teams up with the local rebels but fail to take Petersborough; Danes leave again (yes, bribed again) and Hereward later pardoned. Later, Earl Edwin killed by his own men; Morcar surrenders and imprisoned rest of his life. Waltheof replaces Gospatric as Earl of North; he marries Wm’s niece
  - [Most of 1072-75 in Normandy]
- 9 Scottish King Malcolm Canmore ravage Cumberland & Northumbria. Wm marches north to repel Malcolm.- **Peace of Abernethy 1072. Malcolm marries Margaret, sister of Edgar, combining Wessex and Scotland**
- 10 **Revolt of the Earls (Norman) May 1075**
  - Led by Earls Ralph de Gael of Norfolk; Earl Roger of Hereford with knowledge of plot by Walthoef. Wm’s men force Ralph to return to Brittany; other supporters captured and killed; Roger imprisoned and confiscated; Walthoef imprisoned and year later beheaded (Eng), other hanged (Norman)
- 11 Robert (Curthose) revolt against father 1078-79 at Gerberoi castle. Wm wounded in putting down the revolt, but truce reached at Easter 1080-Robt confirmed as heir to Normandy with Wm at Rouen.
- 11 King Malcolm invades north of England in Aug-Sept 1079 (Wm in Normandy from 1075-79). Murders Walcher, Earl of North. Odo and Robt march to confront Scots; reach truce. Malcolm shows homage to Robt, who builds new castle at Tyne (Newcastle).

12 Wm marches into Wales for first and last time, but returns to Normandy to confront Geoffrey of Anjou in Maine.

13 Wm arrests Odo in Jan 1082, placed in prison in Rouen, and freed at Wm's death; dies in Palermo, Sicily in 1097.

14 Death of Matilda, Nov 2, 1083

1085 Cnut IV King of Denmark prepares to invade England; Wm returns to England and creates huge army to combat, but Cnut conveniently dies and invasion called off.

Christmas 1085 at Gloucester directs survey of all land in England-Domesday Book

1086 July-Wm returns to Normandy to defend against raids into Normandy Vexin by King Philip. Wounded in battle at Mantes and carried back to Rouen where he died September 9, 1087. Burial horrors.

### **Reign of William II (Rufus) 1060-Aug 2, 1100 [Reign 1087-1100]**

Born somewhere in Normandy; thought by some to be Wm's favorite

Meaning of Rufus

Hist chroniclers very critical of his lifestyle; effeminate court and irreverence

Crowned at Westminster Abbey by AB Lanfranc

1 Robert Curthose plot to invade England

1088 Led by Odo & Robert of Mortain & Robert de Lacy in Worcestershire. Besieged in Pevensey for 6 wks and surrendered when Curthose did not follow through with help. Odo and rebels surrounded and allowed to leave-Odo to Normandy for good.

2 Rufus foments trouble in Rouen area in Jan-April 1091; Rufus invades with army and forces Curthose to recognize Rufus dominance in parts of Normandy.

**Treaty of Rouen**-Rufus to return lands in England to Curthose. Team up and force Henry from his power base in Cotentin (siege of St. Mont Michel) flees to France. Edgar Aetheling deprived of Norman lands and flees to Scotland.

3 Malcolm's invasion of North into Northumbria

Rufus and Duke Robert combine forces and confronts Malcolm (Sept 1091) Navy flounders off Tynemouth in support of army

Treaty of Abernethy is reaffirmed by Malcolm homage to WmII and Edgar returns with Rufus as hostage

1092-Rufus in Cumbria to limit that semi-in-dependent entity support of Malcolm

English settlers pour into Carlisle area to plan English presence

Nov 1093-Malcolm is killed in ambush by Earl Robert de Mowbray-turmoil in Scottish succession

4 March 1093-Rufus believes he is dying at Bristol. Confesses his sins and promises aid and relief to all he had sinned against (not really) He appts Anselm as AB

Canterbury in return for salvation.-He recovers and takes back most of his promises!

5 Mowbray Conspiracy of 1095

Earl Robert and plotters plan to overthrow Rufus and replace him with Stephen of Aumale (WC cousin)-Not supported by Duke Robert

May 1095-Rufus march army seizes castle at Newcastle and besieges Mowbray at Bamburg and is captured and returned to Windsor Castle-plotters blinded and castrated and hanged; lands confiscated; court shocked by treatment of nobles.

6 April 1096-Duke Robert gets religion and plans to go on 1<sup>st</sup> Crusade, but he needs some cash to do so in style. The Duchy of Normandy is pawned to Rufus for L10,000! Rufus meets the cost by exacting taxation on England & church-stays in Normandy until April 1097 shoring up the duchy borders with French and Maine-Henry is welcomed back and given his power base in Normandy. His performance there. Recovers much of Maine in 1099.

5. Fall 1097 Anselm has enough of Rufus's treatment of church and himself and goes into exile to Lyon and remains until after Rufus's reign.

6 May 1100, Richard, illeg son of Duke Robert dies in New Forest in hunting accident

2 August 1100-Rufus and company in New Forest; Rufus is killed by errant error shot by Wm Tirell, who flees to Normandy ACCIDENT OR MURDER?

Henry present at forest; sees that Rufus is taken to Winchester to be buried  
Religious est sees justice in manner of Rufus' death and God's punishment

Assessment of William Rufus

### **Reign of Henry I (1068-1135) [Reign: 1100-1135]**

1 Review

Thought to be born in Selby (Yorkshire) May-Sept 1068  
Referred to as Beauclerc and later Lion of Justice; knighted by WC 1086  
Left L5000 and lands of his mother; obtains lands/castles in Normandy  
Arrested by Odo July 1088 who convinces Rufus that Henry was plotting  
Review of Henry and his brothers in Normandy  
Reconciled with Rufus while Curthose on crusade

2 Coronation of Henry at Westminster Abbey on August 5, 1100

1. Coronation Charter issued-significance of
2. Marries Edith (Matilda), sister of Edgar-significance of
3. Arrests Ranulf Flambard and imprisons in Tower-dramatic escape
4. Recalls Anselm AB from exile

3 Ill-fated invasion of England by Curthose in July 1101

Meets Henry in Wiltshire-Treaty of Alton- Robt renounces claim/Henry pays L2000  
Robt supporters not to be punished-Exception in 1102 of Belleme family

4 Anselm into exile 1103 over investiture controversy-returns in Aug 1106 after agreement

5 Henry's invasion of Normandy and defeats Duke Robert (Curthose) at **battle of Tinchebrai**  
Significance of-captures major leaders and imprisons Curthose for the rest of his life (1135). England and Normandy reunited until 1204.

6 Jan 1114-Henry's daughter, Matilda (Maud) marries Henry V HRE. Age difference  
Dowry of 10,000-Henry cranks up geld and taxes to pay for it-No children

Queen Matilda dies at Westminster on May 1, 1118. Henry marries Andeliza of Louvain Jan 24, 1121. No children.

7- Two major events of 1119

- a) **Battle of Bremule:** Henry I and son William (Aetheling) defeat French King Louis VI and Wm Clito (son of Curthose)-Louis recognized Wm as future Duke
- b) June marriage of Wm the Ath to Matilda of Anjou, dau of Count Fulk of Anjou

- 8 **White Ship Disaster**, Barfleur, Normandy Nov 25, 1120--Deaths of Wm the Ath, sister and many other Norman elites-this left Henry without a male heir-ruins Anjou plans
9. **Christmas 1126 Oath** taken to recognize Henry's dau Matilda as rightful heir to throne. Difficulty in taking oath by barons, Stephen of Blois takes oath.
- 10 1127-Proposed marriage bet Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou, son of Fulk to resurrect his plan for the Angevin connection. June 10, 1128 marriage takes place in La Mans. Wm Clito dies from wound received near Bruges (6/21/1128)-Direct male line WC
- 11-March 1133-Matilda & Geoffrey have son, Henry (later Henry II); stormy marriage; Geoffrey upset abt not getting castles he was promised by Henry I
- 12-December 1, 1135-Death of Henry I at Lyons-La-Foret near Rouen from "surfeit of lamprey"-body sent back to Reading, England for burial-Major persons attend.

Assessment of:

### **Reign of King Stephen (1096/97-1154) [1035-1154]**

- 1 Early life: Stephen Count of Blois and Adela (WM dau). Father died in Crusade 1102, Theobald oldest son inherits the title; brother Henry Bishop of Winchester Stephen in 1125 married Matilda, dau of Count Eustace III Boulogne and Mary, dau of Malcolm III and sister of Queen (Matilda). Henry I gives Steph honors and friendship. Stephen misses the boat at Barfleur and saves his life. At Henry's death Steph crosses channel to London.
- 2 Becomes King: Coronation Dec 26, 1135 at Westminster-What happened to all those oaths about Matilda? The Anjou factor (Robt, D of Glou also took oath, Stephen, AB) Coronation Oath, at Easter 1136 at Hereford
- 3 Feb 1136, King David (Scot) invasion of north England bec of his niece; captures Carlisle and Newcastle-Stephen confronts; truce reached; David takes Carlisle in return for no further invasion; David's son Henry homage to Stephen and receives earldom of Huntingdon
- 4 March-April 1136-Matilda coronation at West; The Empress (Matilda) appeals to Pope to negate Stephen's kinship-Pope refuses and recognizes Stephen as King.
- 5 Spring 1138; Robert (DGlou) Matilda's sister, renounces his oath to Stephen and supports his sister's claim to throne setting off the:

### **ANARCHY ("When Christ and his saints slept")**

- A Entire country not engulfed in civil war-Thames Valley mainly and midlands  
 B Castles exchanged hands over wavering support for Steph and Empress  
 C Stephen' creates as many as 20 earls to buy favor; most take advantage of castles  
 D By 1150s, country exhausted and looks for a way out-

### **Chief Events of the period 1138-1154**

- 1 June 1139-Arrest of the Bishops, Roger of Salisbury, Alexandria, and  
 2 Oct 1139-Empress and her supporters land at Sussex at Arundel Castle (Queen Adeliza allows her safe passage). Stephen besieges Castle, but allows Empress safe passage to her brother in Bristol-infuriating Henry BisWin) and others

3 Empress:supporters: Brian Fitz-Conan at Wallingford; and Baldwin de Revers at Corfu castle (remain loyal)

#### 4 **Battle of Lincoln Castle, Feb 2, 1141**

1140-Stephen goes to meet Ranulf, Earl of Chester and brother there who appear to be loyal. Return to London to learn that Ranulf has tricked castle guards and has taken over the Castle. Stephen sieges the castle, but Chester escapes and brings his forces along with Robt DGlou to siege Stephen in turn Stephen captured and held prisoner-heroic personal fighting  
 --April 7-10, 1141, council of bishops and leading barons pronounce Stephen's reign in great jeopardy and now without authority. They reluctantly recognize Empress as rightfully sovereign. Stephen's situation at low ebb.

Summer 1141-Empress leaves Bristol area and makes her way to London claiming the title "**The Lady of the English**"-old A/S title.

The Empress' attitude and haughtily behaviour alienates the London chief citizens and they refuse her entry. Queen Matilda (the real one) brings supporters for Boulogne and Flanders and joined by Londoners to confront Empress (Aug-Sept 1141)

Sept 1141-Siege of Wolvesey near Winchester-King's forces capture the Duke of Gloucester! Stephen held at Bristol and Robt at Rochester Castle-a King for a Duke

Dec 25, 1141=Stephen re-crowned King with support of barons and AB and Bishops

Oct-Dec 1142-Empress holds up at Oxford Castle with King's forces surrounding it. Gallant escape from Oxford to Wallingford

#### **1142-44--Stalemate in England; Geoffrey of Anjou secures southern Normandy and moves on to Rouen where he is declared Duke of Normandy**

1143-47 Stalemate continues where no side is able to rout the other

1147-Aug 31, Duke Robert of Gloucester dies and Empress loses her major supporter

1148-Empress leaves England forever and takes up residence in Rouen and press claims to the Pope for Empress claims. Stephen should abdicate, he refuses if Geoffrey doesn't.

1149-22 May, Henry (later Henry II) visits Scotland be knighted by King David; Stephen hurries to Scotland, Henry withdraws to Normandy

1151 Sept 7, Geoffrey of Anjou dies, his son becomes Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou; married Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1150. which angers the French King;. Why?

1152- Stephen's fails to persuade the AB and Bishops to crown his son as heir; Pope agrees not to support the move.--Stephen retaliates against bishops  
 Queen Matilda (Stephen's wife) dies on May 1152

1153- Henry arrives in England and moves to Malmsbury and later to Wallingford where he confronts Stephen's forces across the river. Barons of both sides convince the two to meet and decide the future of England; aided by death of Eustace that year.

#### **Treaty of Winchester, November 6, 1153:**

Stephen remains as King until his death; Henry to succeed him as heir and co-king until Stephen's death. Wm, Stephen's other son allowed to keep all his lands and honors if he gives up any attempt to become King.

Stephen dies at St. Martin's Priory in Dover 25 October 1154 and is buried with wife and son at Feversham Abbey which he founded.

Henry crowned as Henry II at Westminster on December 19, 1154

Empress Matilda: Stays in Normandy rest of her life until 1167 as trusted advisor and helped oversee her son's government in Normandy [Lesson: Always listen to your mother: she advises against appt of Thomas Becket as AB!]

Buried in Rouen Cathedral after lying in Fecamp: Her tomb reads: "Great By Birth, greater by marriage, greatest in her offspring. Here lies the daughter, wife, and mother of Henry"

## DAY THREE      **Changes Brought about by the Norman Conquest**

### CHANGES IN LAND OWNERSHIP

The most far-reaching change occurred in the wholesale distribution of land from the conquered to the conquerors. Dramatic destruction of the A/S aristocracy and landowning elites. Resulting land ownership patterns by 1087 were not designed to happen as they did, but occurred as circumstances demanded.

1 Slain A/S aristocracy lands turned over to Wm's family and Norman favorites (many of whom had land in Normandy, but were turned overnight into vastly more rich than ever before.

2 Distribution of land changes illustrated by the entries from the Domesday Book

From 1066 to 1070/1. Wm hoped to win the affection of the major land holders as he saw himself as simply replacing King Edward and moving on from there. But early revolts by the surviving A/S earls to his rule hardened his attitude towards them and began systematically replacing them as they were either killed or died. London as an example.

3 Distribution depended on the advancement and of Norman forces as they proceeded to bring England and parts of Wales under Norman control.

4 Many lands were gained through *antecessors* (I.e. outright granting of lands owned by the A/S owners previous to the Conquest as successors to lands. Maybe 1/3 of land were smoothly transferred. After 1070s were handed over by admin units of "hundreds" Remaining 1/3 was simply seized by Norman lords and held.

5 Huge grants of lands to the new Norman earls to those counties on the borders of England and Wales/Scotland. These were the "marcher" earls, such as Earls of Shrewsbury, Cheshire, and the Bishop of Durham (who commanded and operated as military heads of state within their own counties with their own laws).

6 Lands that were given to close family and friends in southern England counties such as Kent and Sussex granted in huge swathes of land cutting across previous land owners in what were referred to as "*rapes*" in Sussex, and *lathes* in Kent.

7 Such persons who received large grants of lands handed out by the Conqueror were referred to as *tenants-in-chief*, or become known as the King's barons. 200 or so by 1087 controlled over 1/2 land (10 men accounted for 1/2). Wm 18%. Only 13 TIC were English names.

8 **Tenant-in-chief granted use of lands to their own vassals, and those could in turn grant use of land, becoming lords themselves. Known as *subinfeudation*. Through processes of granting fiefs, tenants could exact control over their vassals in rights exercised over who could inherit, wardships, marriage approval and fees to collect to exercise those rights. Eventually, by time of Henry II, heirs could be assured that when they inherited, the land became theirs outright.**

9 Process of granting use (not ownership) of land, or *fiefs*, provided service to the lord was rendered-mostly military. Meeting of August 1086 at Salisbury WC had all his major TIC and many under them, swear an oath that they would always obey their king and ack him as in theory, owner of all land in England. Important event which led to the concept of King ownership of all land, but granted "rights with responsibilities" to those receiving holdings.

10 Responsibilities from fiefs included military service (*knights fees*) & later *scutage*.

This, in turn changed emphasis from infantry to cavalry

11 **Normans brought primogeniture as opposed to A/S dist among all heirs.**

### **LAW AND GOVERNMENT**

1. Laws of Edward the Confessor to be observed (Wm was simply next in line to Edward)

Local laws and courts operated as under A/S conditions

Shire courts (more serious crimes) hundred courts (local misdemeanors) not tampered with  
**WC directed all marriages, wills, and legitimacy in church courts**

2 Land disputes between TIC heard in King's court

Land disputes between tenants of different lords heard in shire courts

**Honorial** or Lord's courts jurisdiction was added by Normans

3 Sheriffs were now appointed by Kings and were his rep in shire courts. Sheriff office oversee the raising of taxes. He was given the **Farm** (anything over the proscribed amount of taxes, the sheriff could keep).

4 Punishments inflicted?

Oaths and physical ordeal under A/S law continued

Norman introduction of **trial by battle**

**Murdum** crime-Norman resurrection of old Danish form of punishment

A/S system of wergeld slowly died out

[General Note: Normans generally did not kill worthy opponents-imprisoned them]

5 Concept that the King was font of all justice; concept of the King's Peace developed Curia Regia --King's court.

Sending out of special courts to see that royal justice was done --"eyre courts"

Court could hear appeals of felony convictions from shire courts.

Royal rep could sit in on shire court proceedings Beginnings of Royal justice administered by the King (Henry I reign).

### **Government and Taxes**

- 1 Growth of the King's Household Govt into specific organized divisions of labor particularly under Henry I-description of his household written down (*Establishment of the King's Household*)
  - Chancellor's office became more defined as duties
  - Military familia- knights sent by families to become trained as King's own personal bodyguard or small army
  - justiciar beginnings of single ind rather than ad hoc appt by king
- 2 Geld-only nationwide system of tax collection in Europe retained by the Normans  
1084 set at 6 shillings per hide (roughly 120 acres)
- 3 Coinage system-taken over by Normans almost intact, but no foreign coin allowed to exist. Severe punishments for debasing the coinage. About 50 mints in England all minting silver pennies. "Conducted by moneyers, usually English as they knew the trade.
- 4 The **exchequer**-Norman innovation
  - Early version probably in Normandy before invasion
  - Became an office overseen by the chief justiciar, usually a Bishop-Chancellor
  - Description of in later publication, *Dialogue of the Exchequer*. Roger FitzNeal
  - First modern accounting procedure in Europe-beginnings of a modern cohesive state
- 5 Royal Forest hunting domains** Norman introduction
  - Hated by English almost more than anything else Norman
  - Forest law prevailed and had their own courts and laws and punishments meted out
  - Royal forest could be created on the spot and trespassing was strictly enforced.
  - Lucrative to Kings from fines and outright expropriation of people-fees for rights to farm in or gather wood
- 6 **Slavery** practiced in A/S England. At the time of Conquest perhaps 10% were slaves. Under Norman rule slavery disappeared slowly. Slaves-villani (boarders/cottagers), ceorls (could hold small land lots)

[Tendency toward persons in local settings to appeal to the King's court for justice giving royal presence in local setting an opening to eventually become a centralized royal justice system which came to be seen as more impartial than local courts.

## CHANGES IN RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

**[Overall impression of Normans of English church was that it was somewhat backward, primitive, outmoded, and quaint and needed reform badly]**

Importance of Church: 1/3-1/4 land; source of revenue of kings

- 1 Appointment of Norman AB, Bishops, Abbots [1/3-1/4 land owned by church]

By end of WC reign, only one English bishop remained, Wulfstan of Worcester. AB such as Lanfranc (Cant) and Thomas of York came from WC circle of leaders in Normandy. 11 of 15 bishops were Norman by 1087.

Major personnel changes made after 1070.  
1070 only 3 Eng bishops existed

-Abbots and priors replaced gradually during the A/N period. Eng kept on as they rep continuity and knew the local areas and practices.  
Local clergy not as much change in personnel.

1075 Council of London, 13 Eng of 21 abbots; 1086 only 3. 1066-1135 over 60 foreign born abbots

AB such as Lanfranc of Cant and Thomas of York came from WC circle in Normandy such as Fecamp and Bec

## 2. Consequences of Normanization:

- Spoliation of Eng church and abbeys bef 1100 resulted in wealth and relics taken to Normandy. Eng works of art in silver and gold prized by Normans.
- Liturgical changes difficult to accept by Eng clergy-Glastonbury riot 1083
- English Saints frowned upon/Norman attitudes towards. St. Cuthbert and St. Edmund major exceptions. Normans rec money-pilgrimages.
- Norman replacements eventually impressed with Eng monks literary and artistic output--Latin translations of Eng Mont histories--Eng emphasis on histories of churches and monasteries-
- Reforms of Christianity initiated by Popes (Gregory VII) carried to England after the Conquest. They included:
  - Est. of regular church councils to insure uniformity
  - Ending practice of married Eng clergy-widespread and hard to eradicate
  - Parish priests lenient, but
  - Crack down on simony-pay for play

## 3 Monasteries

- Norman lords (TIC, etc.) options on treatment of mont;
- a Endow abbeys in Normandy with spoils of English ones
  - b Found new houses on their lands with Norman monks
  - c Found independent houses with Benedictine communities

Beginning of onrush of newer orders of monks into England accelerated.  
 1<sup>st</sup> Cluniac house at Lewes by Wm de Warrene in 1077  
 By 1100 8 cluniac houses staffed with overseas monks  
 New Norman TIC became patrons of existing English houses. Buried there for their souls  
 New orders would have come but not as quickly with Norman conquest.

## 4 English abbeys attached to cathedral-unknown to Normans

## 5 Transfer of diocese from rural to urban locations Done for military reasons as well

Sherborne to Salisbury  
 Selsey to Chichester  
 Litchfield to Chester  
 Thetford to Norwich

## 6. Increased power and auth of the archdeacons-enforcers of religious conformity brought by Conquest.

## 7. Norman Church Architecture-probably most lasting to this day.

# CHANGES IN LANGUAGE

## General Overview

1 English has approx 30-40% words derived from French (Latin & Greek)  
 Est 10,000 French words entered from 1066-1485, of which abt 7000 currently in use.  
 English still classified as Germanic language. 5,000 most commonly used words derived from Old English- Scandinavian sources.

Germanic languages: Nouns could join to form new words; usually stress on main word not prefix or suffix; use of auxiliary words to form future and other tenses; use of alliteration not rhyming to provide emphasis.  
 Eventually English became the most analytical language of all Indo-European languages.

French language before Normans brought it

10% French words are derived from Germanic roots, mostly thru Frankish  
 Examples: bleu=blao; brun=brun; batir=bastian; fleche=fliukka; epier=spehon;  
 garder=wardon or waerdon; guerre=werra;  
 Est thousand words derived from Gallic tribes=aller=ailu; batre=battu;  
 briser=baissu; moulton=molton

Norman French

Gallo-Romano speech with above influences mixed up with a few thousand Scandinavian words affecting pronunciation.

Norman French appeared to French-speaking areas of Isle de France (Paris and environs as somewhat quaint, provincial, and inelegant.

[Examples from slide]

2 Norman-French after the Conquest

Most French-speaking Normans thought English was most barbaric-sounding  
 -Became the prestige language of the realm

-English almost overnight ceased to be official language and except for monks in certain monasteries, it ceased figuratively to be a disseminated written language.

Normans did not actively try to eradicate it, but simply let it wither on the vine.

From 1066-1250 Tri-lingual society

-Latin-Church, learned discourse of univ; official writs of govt

-French-language of ruling class, literature/poetry/ courts

-English-spoken by 9/10 of the realm!

-Consequence of English going underground: growth of regional dialects unchecked by a standard written version

-Consequence of French becoming the prestige language of everyday

-Some of the first French literature in Europe developed in England before it did in France!

3 French words that eventually passed into common English usage by the 13<sup>th</sup> century

A. Government & law: constitution, bureau, mayor, representative, chamber, congress, president, tort, court, plaintiff, culprit, bailiff, etc.

B. Military: army, general, lieutenant, sergeant, corporal, captain, major, conquer, battle, retreat, attack, surrender, etc.

C. Religion: priest, cathedral, bishop, cardinal, monastery, cloister, altar

D. Cuisine: fork, table, hotel, restaurant, menu, types of food, and preparation, many of which came later in the 17-18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Ivanhoe: Anglo-Saxon raised the food whereas the Norman ate it:  
 sow/pig/ cow, calf, sheep, deer, but one eats are pork, beef, veal, mutton, and  
 venison

Not only words but well-known English phrases such as:

- a) To hold dear=tenir cher
- b) To put to death=mettre a mort
- c) Do battle, take offense, have mercy, make peace, take pains, to do justice

E. Law French was still used in English courts up to the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

- a) Chattel, assizes, charter-party, feme covert, feme sole, marche ouverts, oyer et terminer, replevin, etc.

Note: 1328 Parliament passed law that all discussion will take place in English, but many of its records were still recorded in law french for some time.

F. By late 1200s, Norman french was deemed by continental French speakers as archaic and bizarre; former Normans and English speakers wishing to learn good French would hire French tutors or send children to France.

Conclusion: For the time period 1066-1154, English did not change because of the introduction of French as the prestige language. What changes English underwent were accomplished internally such as a slow loss of declensions.

French language helped shape the loss of declensions because English slowly adopted the SVO order of French which made declensions unnecessary.

Also, the rhyming preference of French affected the composition of English and changed word order from the old Germanic version preferring alliteration rather than rhyming couplets.

[Slide-Owl and the Nightingale]

### Medieval Sources (Appendix One)

How do we know what we think we know about this period? What are the original primary sources for information about the leaders of Normandy from Rollo to William? And for the Anglo-Norman kings as a whole? Here are the major sources:

1 Dudo of St. Quentin, *De Moribus et actis primorum Normanniae Ducum* (or History of the Normans.) Dean of Church of St. Quentin; chaplain of Richard II who commissioned him to write the story of the Norman dukes to reflect well on the dynasty; became the chief source for many chronicles to follow. Somewhat unreliable in the early period of the founding of Normandy, esp with Rollo and sons.

2 William of Jumieges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, Deeds of the Norman Dukes of the Normans (1070); relies of Dudo for early period, but valuable info on either side of 1066; purpose was to defend William's claim to the British throne. Monk at Jumieges.

3 William of Poitiers: *Gesta Guillemi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum* (The History of William the Conqueror, written ca 1070). Was a knight in Wm's service, and became a cleric and Wm's own chaplain, archdeacon of Lisieux. One of few chroniclers that knew William personally.

4 Orderic Vitalis (1075-1142?) born in Shrewsbury of French father & English mother; Ecclesiastical History [1-1142]; not well known at period, but a major source for modern historians as he commented on many events, persons and places.

5 Henry of Huntingdon, (1108-1157) *Historia Anglorum, (1120-1154); English-Norman heritage*. Was archdeacon of Huntingdon. [55BC-1154]. A very good and reasonably objective account of British history during the Norman king period.

6 Wace of Bayeux (1110-74) *Roman de Brut; Roman de Rou [ca 900- 1106]* Wrote in Norman French with Channel island dialect. Born in Jersey; lived most life in Normandy. Based work on Dudo and others, but adds info not found in other sources.

7 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, began under King Alfred (871-99) and kept by several monks at different monasteries and times. Seven chronicles altogether. After 1066 written in Latin, but in English at Petersborough. [890s-1154] Very terse and from English point of view.

8 William of Malmesbury (1095-1143) *Chronicle of the Kings of England From the Earliest Period to the Reign of King Stephen*. From the earliest time thru Stephen's reign; considered by many to use the techniques of modern historical inquiry in his history. [449-1120]

9 *Vitae Edwardi Regis*, (Life of King Edward) anon, dedicated to Queen Edith, written 1065-1067, primarily about fortunes of Godwin family, and accounts of saintly quality of Edward the Confessor.

10 *Gesta Stephani (Deeds of King Stephen)* probably written by Robert, Bishop of Bath (1136-66) or associates; more lenient towards King Stephen. [1135-1154]

11 Eadmer b, ca 1104 d. 1124) of Canterbury, *History of Recent Events in England (to 1121)* also *Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury* [960-1122] Good source for church history and investiture controversy

12 John of Worcester, *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, wrote period 1124-1140, used a lost version of Anglo-Saxon chronicle

13 *Carmen de Hastingsae Proelio* (Song of the Battle of Hastings) possibly written by Bishop Guy of Amiens. Written within few years of battle and closest in time to the battle than any other. Provides info that no other source shows, but is it accurate or just poetic?

Royal charters, writs, etc. Charters indicate who was present when the King or Queen issued a charter, and also who was not; good for determining the royal advisers at a given time.

Church and monastery documents or cartularies. Useful when determining ownership of an abbey or cathedral, names mentioned, and when property was acquired and by whom. Many such documents were forgeries at the time and only modern scholarship can untangle the differences.

## NOTES ON BAYEUX TAPESTRY (Appendix 2)

### Major points about the Bayeux Tapestry

- 1 Most scholars believe the “tapestry” really embroidery on linen was made at the order of Odo, half brother of William to celebrate the victory and to be hanged at Bayeux Cathedral.
- 2 Length:230ft; Width 1.6 ft with 10 colors and 70 scenes, 18 known ind (2 women)
- 3 626 people; 202 horses; 55 dogs, 505 other animals 37 forts; 41 boats; woolen yarn
- 4 Incomplete as indications are that there were more panels at the ending showing coronation
- 5 Verses are in Latin with English and Norman french overtones.
- 6 Chronologically starts in 1063-64 with panels showing Harold being sent off by King Edward, Harold being shipwrecked off Ponthieu and turned over to William.
- 7 Harold is shown to be taking oaths presumably to recognize Wm as rightful heir to Edward.
8. Scenes of Wm starting to build his fleet for the conquest.
- 9 Battle scenes showing Norman horses, English axmen shield wall, horses falling, men getting killed. Famous scene of Wm showing himself as still alive after rumors of his death.
- 10 Odo shown wielding a club, or religious mace to rally the troops
- 11 Famous scene of what looks like an English soldier getting an arrow in the eye (Harold?\_)
- 12 Another shows a soldier being hacked to death (Harold?)

Where is it now?

At the Centre of Guillaume le Conquerant, Bayeux, France. Until early last century, it was known as the Tapisserie de Matilda

13 Chronological events and travels of the tapestry:

1475-first revealed to the world that Bayeux Cathedral possessed it

1730-Bernard de Malfaucon publishes drawings in 2 vols

1731-First English detailed account

1792-almost destroyed when it was to be used as wagon coverings

1804-Displayed in Louvre and was subject of theatrical musical; handed over to state

1816-Charles Stotherd color paintings images and pub in 1819 in London

1842-displayed in Bibliotheque Publique in Bayeux

1944 June-taken by Germans to Louvre; then French took control in Aug 1944  
 1945-Displayed again in Louvre and returned to Bayeux

14 1886 Replica made and still displayed in Reading Museum, England  
 Other replicas in Canada, Denmark, and New Zealand

Charles Dickens: "A work of very feeble amateurs"

William Stukeley "The noblest monument of English antiquity abroad" (The French were not amused)

Winston Churchill: "A story told with irresistible charm"

Heinrich Himmler: "Important for our glorious and cultured Germanic history."

Napoleon: "most memorable deeds of the French nation. . .pride and courage of our ancestors."

### **DOMESDAY BOOK (Appendix 3)**

I. How was it collected::

Kingdom divided into seven "circuits" Each including several shires, the most with five.

Commissioners appointed to conduct the survey in each circuit, each served on circuits in which they owned no land.

Given a checklist of questions to answer for each parcel of property.

Who held it in 1066; Who holds it now? How many people live there;

How much livestock, woodland or meadow; what is the tax on it; How much money does it generate.

II. Inquest in each shire court tabulated. Every landholder was called upon to give evidence before panels of local Jurors, French and English speaking reps there.

III. Once inquest were completed, commissioners and their scribes wrote up the results. Exon Domesday book: covers Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Dorset, original entries.

IV. A single scribe assigned to turning over 7 circuits returns into a single document. This is known as the Great Domesday Book

V The gathering of material took only six-seven months to complete!

V. Great Domesday Book and the Little Domesday Book (413 pages in Latin or abbreviated Latin on parchment, red ink for counties titles)

Great Domesday Book: all counties not included in little Domesday

Some info collected not make it in final summation, less detailed than the little one.

Little Domesday Book: Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk

Not include London or Winchester, or counties of Durham and Northumberland. Coverage of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and North Lancashire is confined to land of the King and the fiefs of two others; includes some border areas now in Wales but at that time A/N

#### **Statistical information about Domesday Book:**

King held 1/7 of all land

Church 1/4 of landed wealth

Tenants-in-chief: 12 of leading barons controlled nearly 1/4 of landed wealth

In 1086, Two A/S TIC still owned land: Thorkill of Arden and Coleswain of Lincoln.

13,418 ind place names

112 boroughs

60 major religious houses

300 parish churches

6,000 water mills (no windmills)

Several mints

Total value of land assessed: L73,000 per year

Population: Domesday not able to assess accurately, but is a good guide to do that:

Estimates between 1 and 1/4 to 2 million people; cf with roman times: abt 4 million

6,300 landholders 90% not TIC, Abt 1/2 held land abt L5.

East Anglia and Kent most populated: 10 per sq miles; North Eng, Dartmoor and Welsh marches only 3 per mile.

Land Use: Arable 35%; Pasture/meadow 25%; woodland, 15%, other, 25%.

Completed in 7 months times

Meeting of August 1086, WC had all his major TIC and many under them, swear an oath that they would always obey their king and ack him as in theory, owner of all land in England.

Classified Land Holders by historian W.J. Corbett shows:

Class A Barons	L750 or more (5)
Class B Barons	L450-650 (10)
Class C Barons	L200-L400 (24)
Class D Barons	L100-L200 (36) English names
Class E Barons	Less than L100 (100)

## **MILITARY ARCHITECTURE (Appendix 4)**

### **Norman military castles**

#### **Major Points:**

Not present in Anglo Saxon England (3 exceptions).

Seen by A/S as symbols of oppression and tyranny.

It is difficult to see how Wm and the Normans could have managed the country without extensive castle building.

A/S Chronicle” he had castles built and poor men hard oppressed”

Built by English labor, paid for by English taxes and dues, lived in by Frenchmen, these were the monuments of a deeply divided society. Built in towns which displaced many houses and people, and disrupted normal life.

#### **Motte and Bailey**

Fortification with a wooden or stone keep situated on a raised area of ground called a motte, with an accompanying courtyard, Bailey, protected by a ditch and palisade.

Word Motte: from Latin mota, French meant a turf bank.

Elevated earth and flattened on top on which a wooden structure was built protected with logs as in a palisade. Can be constructed rather quickly with enough manpower. Available mounds could be used and in some cases, old Bronze Age mounds were used.

Built from 10-100 feet and from 100-300 feet in diameter.

In England And Wales, 7% of mottes were higher than 33 feet

24% between 33-18 feet; 69% were less than 16 feet tall.

Some could be elaborate with walkways around the palisade walls and the keep with rooms.

Bailey: (baille, or basse-cour, referring to a low yard. Castellum was really the complex within these castles. Surrounded by a wooden fence and another ditch.

Contain: wide no of buildings, kitchen, chapel, barracks, stores, stables, etc. Bailey connected to the motte by a bridge or steps cut into the motte.

Bailey =bailiff, office in charge of; and Bailiwick-area of responsibility.

Northern Europe in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, particularly in Northern France and Low countries. Anjou seems to have been full of such castles, and it is said that the Norman learned the nature of them

Ceased to be built after 1170. Henry II caused many of the baronial castles built in Anarchy destroyed but kept those which he deemed to be royal

### **Stone Keeps**

Rochester, Tower of London , and Colchester.

Famous landmarks that once started as simple motte and bailey castles:

Windsor Castle, Durham castle, Arundel castle

## **Appendix 5 Anglo-Norman Kings Assessments:**

### **William the Conqueror**

Wm of Malms: "He was gentle to those good men who loved God, but stern beyond all measures to those who resisted his will."

- "He was of just stature, extraordinary corpulence, fierce countenance, his forehead bare of hair: of such strength of arm, that it was often matter of surprise that no one was able to draw his bow, which himself could bend when his horse was on full gallop."

-His anxiety for money is the only thing for which he can deservedly be blamed."

"Admirable, unlovable, dominant, distinct"-David C. Douglas, "avaricious and sometimes savagely cruel"

### **William II (Rufus)**

1 Importance can be seen by the very fact that Wm's becoming king prevented Robert Curthose from becoming King. Curthose was much too lazy and derelict in his duties to have continued the Norman style of governing. (Barlow)

- 2 WmII's reign continued the continuity of WmI's style and reign-consistent with Wm not tampering with A/S govt institutions
- 3 Scotland again became a more reliable client state for England; He had recovered Maine, and England remained stable.

William of Malmesbury: "he feared God but little, man not at all."

"Generous to a fault, especially to his soldiers and barons; moved fast to access property and wealth of a recently deceased bishop/abbot to have their wealth."

Henry of Hunt: (1)"The King was rightly cut off in the midst of his injustice; For he was savage beyond all men; and by the advice of evil counselors, and such he always chose, he was false to his subjects and worse to himself; he ruined his neighbors by extortion and his own people by continual levies for his armies, and endless fine and extractions. (2) "committed the most violent adulteries with impunity" (3) "the impious King, hateful alike to God and the people. . ."

When judged against other kings and princes in Europe at time, WmII is "not as bad as you might think" (Barlow)

A/S Chronicle:"He was a very harsh and severe over his land and his men. . . and very formidable; and through the counsels of evil men, that to him were always agreeable, and through his own avarice, he was ever tiring this nation with any army and with unjust contributions."

## Henry I

Orderic Vitalis: "deep wisdom, military prowess, and abundance of wealth and friends"

Malmesbury: "his political wisdom second to none among kings of our day and first among all his predecessors. . . He was of middle stature, exceeding the diminutive, but exceeded by the very tall; his hair was black, but scanty near the forehead, his eyes mildly bright; his chest brawny; his body fleshy. . ."

Huntingdon: "great in wisdom, profound I counsel, famous for his farsightedness, outstanding in arms, distinguished for his deeds, remarkable for his wealth."

A/S: "A good man he was; and there was great dread of him. No man durst do wrong with another in his time. Peace he made for man and beast. Whoso bare his burthen of gold and silver, dust no man say ought to him but good."

Respect for the King's intelligence He chose good and intelligent men for his chief advisors: Robert of Meulan earlier; Roger of Salisbury, later bishop of Salisbury, who was his chief Lt when the King was away (justiciar)

His reign was peaceful and prosperous, trade and prosperity increased under it.

"a master builder of men, personal relationships of institutions. . . frontiers to protect in Wales and Scotland a renown peace, safeguard the countryside and keep the barns full."

Hollister: "Like an architect, Henry conceived and designed a great government edifice; he laid solid foundations, cut his stones to true shapes, improved the structure to bear greater weight, and buttressed where necessary to maintain the integrity of the whole. The stones that Henry piled up. . . would prove durable. The green tree that Henry had reunited when he

joined the Norman with Old English lines bore fruit in his own reign and would blossom again, even luxuriantly, in the reign of his grandson [Henry II] p 498

### **King Stephen**

Wm of Malmesbury: "He was a man of acclivity, but imprudent: Strenuous in war; of great mind in attempting works of difficulty mild and compassionate to his enemies and affable to all. Kind as far as a promise went, but sure to disappoint in its truth and execution"

-“He was lenient to his enemies and easily appeased. . . he always managed to settle business with more loss to himself than to his opponents.”

John of Worcester: “Stephen is the king of peace. If only he were the king of firm justice.”

Henry of Huntingdon: “King Stephen possessed great boldness and a spirit that was not fearful of danger.”

Orderic Vitalis: “He judged it more prudent to make small concessions to preserve what mattered than to grasp at everything and deservedly forfeit the support of friends.”

Edmund King: “He does not speak of entitlement to the throne, rather that is had been offered to him. It was something that had happened to him, not something to which he had been born. Stephen never appears as his own man. He was the creation of others, used to further their ambitions: of his uncle, Henry I, for whom he was a counter to William Clito. . . He was acting a part. And never with real conviction.”