

THESIS

Subject Central Assemblies Under
the Norman Kings,
from 1066 to 1154.
A study in Terminology.

Name Anna Kimber Bontelle

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CENTRAL ASSEMBLIES UNDER THE NORMAN KINGS FROM 1066 to 1154.

A Study in Terminology.

A Thesis submitted to the faculty of the
Graduate School of the University of Minnesota by

Anna Kimber Boutelle

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

May 21, 1914.

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R E P O R T
of
COMMITTEE ON THESIS

THE undersigned, acting as a committee of
the Graduate School, have read the accompanying
thesis submitted by Miss Anna Boutelle
for the degree of Master of Arts.
They approve it as a thesis meeting the require-
ments of the Graduate School of the University of
Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

A. B. White
Chairman

A. C. Key
W. R. Vance

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None of these authorities are equally valuable for all of the period from 1066 to 1154, the especial value of each being noted below.

The Anglo-Saxon chronicle was continued independently in different monasteries after the death of Alfred the Great: three monasteries at Winchester, Worcester and Peterborough carried the chronicle into the Norman period, the Peterborough chronicle continuing until 1154. This is the only authority we have written in Anglo-Saxon, and is extremely valuable, not only for the information which it contains, but also for the study of terminology, with which we are here more directly concerned.

Of the Latin chronicles the work of Guy of Amiens deals with the actual conquest of England by the Normans, and the important events of the first few months of William the Conqueror's reign. William of Jumièges also gives us a valuable contemporary account of the Norman conquest. William of Poitiers has written our fullest account of the life of William the Conqueror which although not altogether trustworthy regarding English

affairs is valuable from the linguistic standpoint, as is the *Brevis Relatio de Origine Willelmi*, an account of William's life written during the reign of Henry. The date of the composition of the *Gesta Herwardi*, an account of the life and deeds of Hereward, a famous English outlaw and patriot, who flourished about 1070, and defended the island of Ely against the Normans, is not known; but it was probably written about 1150, by Richard, a monk of Ely. We also have a brief contemporary account of the death of Lanfranc, which occurred in 1087, *de Morte Lanfranci*, which is valuable.

The available material on the period from 1100 to 1154 is even more abundant. Edmer, who was the confidential adviser of Archbishop Anselm, has left us a valuable history of affairs in England until 1122, which contains many letters and other documents, and much information regarding the period which cannot be found elsewhere. Florence of Worcester's chronicle, with its continuation, is valuable for the years 1100 to 1141. William of Malmesbury's *History of the Kings*, and his *History of the Bishops of England* are contemporary for about the same period, as is the *History of England* written by William of Newburgh.

Simeon of Durham's History of the Kings is also contemporary and original for part of Henry's reign, and Henry of Huntingdon's History of the English though the account it contains is brief, is an original authority of value for the last few years of Henry's rule and for the whole of the reign of Stephen. Ordericus Vitalis' Ecclesiastical History is also valuable for the reigns of both Henry and Stephen. The authorities which are valuable for the reign of Stephen alone, are Gerva of Canterbury's Chronicon, the anonymous work entitled the Gesta Stephani, which deals with the period from 1135 to 1147. Richard of Hexham's account of Stephen, from 1135 to 1139, which contains many public documents, Aelred of Rievaulx, who has left us a very full account of the Battle of the Standard in 1138, and Robert of Torigni, whose chronicle is valuable for the last two years of Stephen's reign.

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CENTRAL ASSEMBLIES UNDER THE NORMAN KINGS FROM 1066 to 1154

A study in Terminology

Introduction

A. Importance of Constitutional development in England during the Norman Period.

The history of constitutional development in England from 1066 to 1154 is of great interest. The Norman Conquest in 1066 introduced new elements into the governmental system of England, the last important foreign contribution, it was to receive. During the period from 1066 to 1154 these new elements were merged into the existing institution of the Anglo-Saxons, and from the resulting system of government, all later English institutions developed.

The chief result of the Norman Conquest of England was the establishment of a strong kingship. William secured the throne by conquest, and he ruled England with a strong hand. His immediate successors, William Rufus and Henry I were equally despotic, but Stephen's slight claim to the throne, and his failure to secure the lasting support of

the nobles by his gifts of the crown lands and his promises of good government, threw the country into a state of turmoil and civil war, from which it did not recover until Henry II came to the throne in 1154. The governmental institutions of Stephen's reign were still, however, those of Henry I, no matter how imperfectly they functioned, and the reforms which were the inevitable result of Stephen's misrule, were not effected until after his death.

During this period of despotic government, however, assemblies, regarding whose composition and function there has been much discussion, met with the King and had some share in the government of England.

B. The National Assembly under the Norman Kings.

1. Traditional views regarding the National Assembly.

The older historians believed that there never was a time when England had not a national assembly. During the Anglo-Saxon period this assembly was the Witan, an

assembly of wise-men, exercising considerable power, and with perhaps a trace of an ancient folk moot clinging to it. After the Norman conquest there was no violent innovation, and the Witan retained its ancient form, under the title of Curia Regis, meeting three times a year at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. The Curia Regis was attended by bishops, abbots, the great officers of state, and the most important of the Norman barons assuming by Henry II's reign most of the attributes of a feudal court.

Historians of a later period had a different view. They believe that the Norman conquest introduced feudalism in its political aspects into England. As a result the duties of the citizen to the state were changed into a species of land rent. The individual served in the army, for example, because he had agreed by private contract to do so as a part of the rent of the land he held of another man. And the national assembly disappeared. The King summoned the great men of his kingdom to consult with him in the Curia Regis, but they obeyed the summons not because they were the

wise men of the land, who had attended the Witan, but because they were the vassals of the King. This Curia Regis was largely engaged in judicial work. The King, however, although submitting to the Curia Regis only such matters as he choose, did actually consult it in many points, questions both of foreign and domestic policy and the state of the kingdom in general, so that we find many instances of William I, Henry I, and Stephen acting "communi consilio baronum" with the advice of the barons. And that in course of time, the term communi consilium or concilium - terms which the traditional view regards as synonymous, - came to be applied not only to the advice given the King, but to the assembly which gave it.

2. Need of a new study of the national assembly . These conclusions leave many questions on points of detail unanswered and do not themselves inspire entire confidence because none of them are founded upon the bed-rock of an exhaustive study of all the available source materials. Philology in the broad sense - that study of language for the knowledge of history which it gives us, - has been neglected.

By this study of philology, the following questions may be more definitely answered. Can the assembly which met at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, during this period be called indifferently either Curia Regis or Concilium? Or is there some distinction in the use of these terms? If so, what difference, if any, do we find in the composition and functions of the Curia Regis and the Concilium? And are the terms concilium and consilium synonymous? ^{Is Maitland's statement} ~~As~~ to the word 'Council', it is important to remember that in the middle ages no distinction was or could be drawn between 'council' and 'counsel'; both were consilium, correct? (1)

3. Method of conducting this study.

It is from a study of the terminology of these assemblies, a subject which has been almost entirely neglected, and one on which the chronicles of the period furnish a wealth of material, that it seems possible to make important additions to our knowledge of central assemblies under the Norman Kings.

Disregarding these works which though dealing

with the history of this period are not independent sources we have some twenty chronicles and other historical works, written in different monasteries, which are contemporary and independent of each other for at least a portion of the period from 1066 to 1154. From this material every instance of the meeting of a central assembly of any sort, every instance of the use of any name ever applied to a central assembly, and every instance of the use of the word curia, curia regis or consilium in these chronicles may be collected. By carefully tabulating and comparing the instances thus secured, it is possible to gain a more accurate idea of the name, nature and function of the central assemblies under the Norman Kings than has been conveyed in the rather loose and conventionalized traditional statements.

Part I.

THE CURIA.

§1. The Curiae held on the great church festivals

1. Time and Place of Meeting.

William I, when in England wore his crown and held what the Anglo-Saxon chronicle calls a hired (2) and the Latin chronicles call a curia, on the three

great church festivals, Easter, Pentecost and Christmas. (3)

It was usual for the Christmas curia to be held at Gloucester, the one at Pentecost at Westminster and the one at Easter in Winchester, (4), although the place of meeting varied, often, from this established order. (5)

This custom of holding curiae on the great church festivals was continued by William Rufus, and by Henry I, gradually falling into disuse during the anarchy of Stephen's reign. (6)

2. Composition.

It is impossible to determine exactly who attended these three yearly curiae. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle speaks of their being held with the Witan, (7) and the language of the other chronicles varies greatly. The King, bishops and abbots (8), the chief men of the kingdom (9), the princes of the land (10), all the great men of the kingdom (11), the bishops and princes (12), the nobility of the whole kingdom (13), King David of Scotland and all the chief clergy and laity that were in England, archbishops and bishops,

abbots and earls, and thanes (14), the queen and the nobility (15), are all given by various chronicles as present at these curiae. We can conclude, then, that the composition of these assemblies was not fixed, but that it was customary for the more prominent groups of men in England to attend them.

3. Summons

We have no evidence of a general summons to one of these curiae, and only one instance of the King's attempting to compel the attendance of an individual at one of them (16).

4. Ceremonial

At the curia which lasted for several days (17), the King assumed his crown, the archbishop of Canterbury placing it upon the King's head (18), mass was said (19) and there was feasting (20) the festival being observed with great magnificance (21).

5. Business done at the Curiae

Many matters of importance to the

state and church were discussed and decided upon at these curiae. In 1088 the King dubbed his son a knight at a curia (22). In 1109 the marriage contracts of the King's daughter and the emperor were completed at a curia (23). And the shire of Shropshire was given to Stephen's wife at another (24). It was at the Christmas curia in 1127 that fidelity was sworn to Matilda (25). The question of the primacy of Canterbury over York was discussed by order of the Pope, at a curia in 1072 (26). At a curia in 1085, three bishops were chosen by the king. (27). In 1092 complaints that the mother church, Canterbury had been oppressed were made at a curia (28). A few years later at the first meeting of the curia in the new hall at Westminster, William gave Ranulf his chaplain the bishopric of Durham (29). During Stephen's reign regulations to enforce the decrees of the council of London regarding the chastity of the clergy were adopted at a curia⁽³⁰⁾ and in 1123 the bishopric of Lincoln was given to Alexander at a curia (31).

There is some reason to suppose that all this business was done after the church feast had been observed, the nobles who had kept the feast with the King remaining with

him to make complaints, or to share in the discussion of matters of importance, regarding which the King wished their opinions. Eadmer who was the confidential adviser of Anselm, who attended the curiae with him and who has given us the best and fullest account we have of the investiture controversy, speaks of matters of divers sorts being discussed according to custom after the days of the feast were over, (32) and again of the King "after the festal days of his crowning" beginning to discuss what was to be done regarding the consecration of the bishop elect of York, with the bishops and princes of the kingdom (33).

§ 2. Other uses of the words CURIA and HIRED

The words curia and hired are not only applied to these three yearly meetings, but are used with a great variety of other meanings, in the chronicles of the period. We read of the curia of a house (34), of the walls of a curia (35) and of its vaulted roof (36). Mention is made of the guard of a curia guarding it while others sleep (37), and of the restoration of the use of lights at night in the

curia by Henry I (38). There are pious references to the heavenly curia (39), and monasteries have curiae - from which the poor are sometimes excluded (40), as has Duke Robert of Normandy (41) and other optimates (42). The King travels with his curia (43), certain members of the 'hired' both nobles and attendants are accidentally drowned (44). There is but one English word which conveys these various meanings of the words curia and hired - the word court. The court of a building, a palace, the retinue of the King.

§ 3. Use of the term CURIA REGIS.

The kings curia, whether we mean one of the three great ceremonial courts, or the king's retinue, or use the term in some other way, is often referred to in the chronicles as the curia regis, and we have long been accustomed to speak of the curia regis as if the term had technical significance. But as a matter of fact the kings court is often referred to merely as the curia (45) as regis curia (46), regalis curia (47), the curia of king William (48), the curia of king Henry (49),

the curia of king Stephen (50), and, in speaking of the empress, the court of her father (51). The term curia regis is used only when the word regis is necessary to make plain the fact that the king's court, in contradistinction to any other, is meant. Thus, Helias goes to the court of the king (52), John is led to the king's court (53), and Anselm hastens there (54) as does Robert (55). Rebels are summoned to the King's court (56) and the future queen is received there (57), Albericus returns to the king's court (58), where Anselm is ordered to come to it (59), and in another instance all the primates are spoken of as at the curia regis (60). On the other hand the expression rex suam curiam tenuit, the king held his court is very common (61), and there is no instance in any chronicle of the expression rex curiam regis tenuit, the king held the curia regis, or what would be an even more common expression, had the term curia regis any technical significance, William, Stephen or Henry held the curia regis. Furthermore, the court is always called curia sua, his court, where the king is the subject of the sentence, or its construction is such that the fact that the king's court is referred to is perfectly plain.

Henry promises Stephen justice in his court (62), William wishes Malcolm of Scotland to "facere rectitudinem" in his court (63), Messengers of the king are spoken of as holding his court (64). The king orders Anselm to "facere rectitudinem" according to the decision of his court, whenever it shall please the King to summon him (65). He summons Robert to his court (66). In a letter to Henry, Paschal II speaks of 'your court' (67), and during the reign of Stephen, he compells many, seized in his court, to give up their castles (68).

These instances show that the term Curia Regis has no technical significance whatever.

§4. Judicial Function of the Curia.

The business done at the three yearly curiae we have already noted. But at other times the King's court was not a mere idle throng of attendants. Very early in the Norman period we find instances of its exercising judicial functions, and proof that this power was regarded as belonging

to the curia, that its judicial decisions were not merely the exercise of arbitrary authority. Thus the justiciars of William I summoned the rebels before the curia, where they were deprived of their lands and imprisoned (69). In 1093 William II attempted to enforce the judgment of his barons against the King of Scotland (70), and in 1097 the King ordered Anselm to be prepared "facere rectitudinem" "to do justice" according to the judgment of the curia (71). In 1130 King David of Scotland is seeking justice in Henry's curia (72) and the same year the curia exercised judicial power at Woodstock (73). Early in Stephen's reign a rebel baron was summoned before the curia (74). In 1136 Stephen promised justice to Henry, the son of the King of Scotland, the decision to be rendered in his curia (75). Simeon of Durham has left a fanciful explanation of the derivation of the word curia based on its exercise of judicial authority. He says that the word curia is derived from cruor, blood, because in the curia capitol crimes are tried (76).

PART II

CHURCH COUNCILS.

§ 1. Relation of the King to Church Councils.

Central assemblies during this period, aside from the three yearly curiae fall into two classes, church synods, and non-ecclesiastical meetings, but because of the frequent presence of both clergy and laity in both classes of assemblies, the relation of the king to the church synods, and the fact that their functions often overlapped, it is difficult at times to distinguish between them. Synods were held with the consent of the king (1), sometimes that of the bishops, abbots and princes being secured also (2).

§ 2. Summons.

They were called and presided over by a papal legate, or archbishop (3).

§ 3. Composition.

Usually the synods were composed of ecclesiastics, bishops who could not attend, sending letters or messengers to explain the reasons for their absence (4). All

chronicles giving the composition of a synod, always mention the presence of archbishops and bishops, and usually of abbots also (5) Priors and canons and those "who had to preserve and watch over Christianity" are mentioned as present in certain synods (6), as were also the lesser clergy (7). The princes and other nobles sometimes attended the synod (8), Stephen's presence (9), and that of his son Eustace is also mentioned (10). Apparently bishops and abbots always attended, bishops explaining their absences and abbots not being required to do so, and on certain occasions other persons were summoned for special reasons. Thus in 1102 Eadmer explains that Anselm requested the presence of the primates to secure their co-operation (11). The King probably had sufficient power to insist on attending if he wished to do so, and may not the throng of clergy and laity whose presence is referred to (12) have attended as an audience rather than as official members of the synod.

§ 4. Place of meeting.

The synods met at London, with one exception.

In 1137 a synod was held at Northampton by the archbishop of York (13). This meeting is mentioned by only one chronicler, and may have been composed of clergy from the diocese of York only.

§ 5. Business.

The business done at these meetings usually related to church matters, though at one, secular business was considered (14). Canons regarding the church are framed (15), bishops and abbots chosen and deposed (16), and rules for the chastity of the clergy adopted (17). At a synod in 1139 the clergy asked the King to restore certain possessions to them (18), in 1142 certain evil doers were excommunicated (19), and in 1143 the synod published the penalty the church would exact from anyone laying violent hands on a clerk (20).

§ 6. Names of Church Councils.

Several names are given to these church assemblies by various chroniclers. Synodus, sinod, concilium, concilie, colloquium and conventus. Two of these, sinod and

concilie, occur only in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle (21) and are merely the Anglo-Saxon forms of synodus and concilium, the names more commonly applied to the assemblies. Synodus and concilium seem to be used as exact synonyms, the same chronicle sometimes referring to one meeting by both names. The meetings of 1070, 1102, 1125 and 1138 are all thus called both concilium and synodus (22). When but one name is applied to one of these church assemblies, it is concilium, which is the commoner of the two (23). But one of these meetings is referred to as a colloquium. In the letter of Albericus to the prior and convent of Canterbury summoning them in 1138 to meet with him and elect an archbishop, speaks of his having summoned bishops abbots, and other clergy to a colloquium to be held at London (24), the same meeting elsewhere referred to as a synodus and a concilium. The word conventus is also used of these assemblies. Eadmer refers to the meeting of 1102 as a concilium but adds that the nobles were present at this "conventus" (25). And in a description of the meeting of 1127, in which it is

referred to as a concilium, we read that the archbishop of York showed why he was not able to be present at the "conventus" (26).

There are several references to church assemblies, where they are spoken of in a general way, and always called either concilium or synodus. Lanfranc in a letter to the bishop of Chester speaks of your synods (27). Evidently here the word is used of a meeting held by a bishop in his bishopric. But we hear of William's dictating the action of the concilium (28), and Anselm begging the king to permit them to be held (29). In 1125 the Pope, in a letter to the English bishops and clergy, asks their attendance at "synodales conventus" held by the papal legate, John of Crema. (30.)

We have one example of a meeting of clergy, called by Anselm, which does not seem to have been a regular church synod. In 1100 when Mathilda, who had taken the veil, was betrothed to Henry, Anselm called a meeting of the clergy to consider the question of her marriage (31). This meeting is referred to merely as a conventus.

The technical names for these church assemblies are then, concilium and synodus, which are synonymous. From the single instance we have of the use of the word colloquium we can draw no conclusion. Neither can we be sure of the meaning of the word conventus, though it seems likely that it is used as we use the word meeting of any assembly, without technical significance.

PART III

OTHER CENTRAL ASSEMBLIES.

§ 1. Assemblies called by the King.

During the reigns of the Norman Kings there are many central assemblies in England, which are neither church councils, nor the curiae meeting at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. These assemblies had no fixed time and place of meeting, no fixed composition, no technical name.

1. Summons..

They were summoned assemblies, and in every instance in which the manner in which they are summoned is given, they met at the call of the King. (1)

2. Relation of composition to business done at them.

Their composition varied with the business which they were called to consider, the king exercising the right to summon any group or groups of men he chose, whenever he desired their presence for any purpose, the right being often exercised very arbitrarily. Thus William Rufus compelled the bishops of England to be present at the dedic-

ation of a church (2) and in 1094 summoned the bishops and princes of England to Hastings, to bless him and bid him God Speed on his departure to Normandy (3). Assemblies at which fealty is sworn to the King are composed naturally of tenants-in-chief. In 1086 King William summoned all the land holders in England to swear fealty to him, archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, sheriffs and knights attending the meeting (4). This case has received much careful attention from historians. It is of course not a counseling body, in any sense, and merely illustrates the King's custom of summoning any group of men he choose, for any purpose. In 1116 the bishops, abbots and princes met to swear fealty to Henry's son William. They also discussed the refusal of Thurston the archbishop elect of York to make profession of obedience to Ralph of Canterbury (5). In 1126 the archbishop, bishops and princes⁽⁶⁾/or the optimates, bishops and abbots (7) swore alligiance to Matilda. Simeon of Durham's account of the same meeting, incorrectly dated in 1128, gives the composition as archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons and

the king of Scotland (8). In 1131 a meeting of princes was held at Northampton where oaths of fealty were renewed (9) and the question of the return of the King's daughter to her husband was discussed (10). Occasionally church business was done by an assembly of ecclesiastics, called by the King, as in 1070, when an assembly of bishops decided that Thomas of York must make profession of obedience before the archbishop of Canterbury (11), which was done in the presence of the nobles of England (12). The more usual composition of these assemblies which were called by the King, we find to be bishops and princes, or bishops, abbots and princes, or words of equivalent meaning. At these assemblies ecclesiastical appointments were made (13), and questions of importance to the church were discussed, such as the investiture of Anselm (14) and the submissions of York to Canterbury (15.) At an assembly of bishops and princes in 1136 Stephen made many promises to the church (16). Sometimes when archbishops were chosen at these assemblies, representatives of the church were present with the bishops and princes. This was the

case at the election of the archbishop of Canterbury in 1070 (17), again in 1114, (18), and in 1123 when William of Corbeil was chosen archbishop (19). The variation in the language of various chronicles is shown by the fact that this assembly is also described as made up of abbots, bishops and thanes (20), and also as composed of the greater men (21). The King also sometimes summoned assemblies of bishops, abbots and princes to discuss the state of the kingdom (22). Assemblies doubtless of the same composition, but described in other terms are not infrequent. Such is the assembly at Pinnevene in 1067, which was held to investigate Lanfranc's charges of injustice against bishop Odo, which is said to consist of nobles and proved men by one chronicler (23), another referring to it as an assembly of nobles and elders (24).

§ 2. Assemblies, Meeting to choose Kings.

1. Composition.

Similar assemblies met on the death of a King to choose his successor, in the case of William II referred

to as composed of bishops and nobles (25). In 1100 when William Rufus died, the chief men, after some debate, choose Henry to succeed him (26), both the Normans and English consenting to the election (27), which the Anglo-Saxon chronicles says was by the Witan (28). Stephen was crowned King before an assembly of bishops and princes (29), after his election by the elders (30), or primates, with the approval of the clergy, and people (31).

§ 3. Irregular Assemblies of Stephen's reign.

During the last part of Stephen's reign, after 1139, we find assemblies, acting on their own initiative, rather than on that of the King. In 1141 an assembly of archbishops, bishops and abbots confirmed the empress as queen of England (32). Toward the end of his reign Stephen wished his son Eustace crowned, and asked in a meeting of bishops and princes that this be done but was refused (33), the church dignitaries and princes soon after reaching an agreement regarding Henry's succeeding Stephen (34).

These assemblies, when called by the King met

where and when he wished, to consider the matters he choose to have them consider. He acted with their advice, but we have no reason to suppose that he was bound to accept it, any more than that he was bound to summon them, and not a single chronicle speaks of one of these assemblies being called "de more", no one claims the right of sharing the King's authority, and as the King summoned these assemblies when he would, he summoned to them whom he would. The nobles and prelates, attended the King's court, they kept the great church festivals with him, their good-will was invaluable. It was but natural that they should be most often summoned to consult with him. It was but natural, too that on the death of the King, they should have exercised the right of choosing his successor.

It is significant of the fact that these assemblies were not looked upon as customary, that so many of them are unnamed by the chronicles. Every church assembly is called either a synodus, or concilium, or both, but many of the assemblies called by the King, or meeting to choose a

soverign, are unnamed, and to these which are named, a very great variety of names are given.

§4. Names Given Central Assemblies.

Among these we find no instance of the use of the term synodus, which is therefore strictly confined to church assemblies.

1. Concilium, conventus, conventio, and placitum was the names of an assembly.

The term concilium is commonly used, not only as we have already seen of church assemblies, but of those called by the King for various purposes, and those meeting after the death of a king to elect his successor. In 1096 a meeting called a concilium was held at Salisbury, when William de Owe was found guilty, by wager of battle, of conspiracy against the King, and was punished together with others concerned in the plot (35). In 1114 the King called a concilium to consider the choice of a new archbishop (36). The same name is given a meeting held in 1121 at which Henry's daughter was married and at which bishops and abbots were

were chosen (37). In 1126 the assembly which swore allegiance to Mathilda is also called a concilium (38). On Henry's death, Stephen was chosen King (39) by an assembly of elders, called a concilium. The following year he held a concilium at which many things were done for the good both of the state and the Church, to which Stephen promised many rights (40). Two years later he held a concilium at which were present archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons and nobles, at which two abbots and a bishop were chosen (41).

Concilium then must be used indiscriminately of assemblies which are ecclesiastical, and of these which are really part of the machinery of government, although not yet recognized as such. While concilium is the commonest name for assemblies during this period, many other names are also applied to them with more or less frequency, - conventus, conventio, congregatio, and placitum.

In 1087 a conventus of princes considered Lanfranc's complaints against Odo (42). The meeting in August of 1097 to consider the condition of the state is also

so named (43). Anselm is persuaded to become archbishop in the presence of a conventus of nobles in 1093 (44), and two years later a conventus met at Rockingham to consider the question of his investiture (45). And the same question was under consideration in 1107 before a conventus of bishops, abbots and princes (46). A conventus also swore allegiance to William in case of Henry's death in 1116 (47). A few years later an assembly called a conventus discussed the difficulties between the archbishops of York and Canterbury (48). In 1123 a meeting of bishops, abbots and princes met at Gloucester to choose a new archbishop. In the *Actus Pontificum* this assembly is called a conventus (49), but is referred to by Simeon of Durham as a *consilium* or conference (50). We also learn that the archbishop was chosen where the king held his court on the feast of the Purification (51). - An instance of a court held on another feast than the usual ones of Easter, Christmas and Pentecost. A conventus at Northampton composed of all the chief men of England, discussed the return of the King's daughter to her husband, and at it oaths of allegiance to the King were also renewed (52).

The same name is given a meeting of magnates in 1139 (53), and to a meeting in 1152 to consider the succession (54), as well as the meeting in 1153 before which Stephen acknowledged Henry as his heir (54). That the word *conventus* has no special significance when thus used, but means simply a meeting, or assembly is evident from its other uses in the chronicles. Thus it is used of the throng of bishops present at the consecration of Gregory, Bishop of Dublin (56) and of the people who received Duke Henry at London in 1153 (57).

The term *conventio*, *congregatio*, and *placitum* are less commonly used of assemblies, but we find the following examples of their use. The meeting in 1116, to swear allegiance to William is called a *conventio* by one chronicler (58), that held at Pinnedene in 1087 is referred to in one case as a *congregatio* (59), and in 1132 the meeting usually called a *concilium*, which discussed the trouble between two bishops, is called a *placitum* by Simeon of Durham (60). This use of the word *placitum*, which usually means a plea, is interesting, the word being applied in this case to the meet-

ing at which the plea is made.

2. Incorrect use of consilium as the name of an
Assembly.

Occasionally the word consilium appears as the name of an assembly where we should expect the word concilium. Florence of Worcester thus uses the word consilium in describing a church council held by Anselm in 1102, and uses the word concilium of the same meeting, in the same passage, as though there were no distinction between the two (62). Simeon of Durham, however, whose work is not a contemporary for 1102, copies this passage, verbatim, and uses the word concilium in both cases (62). Florence of Worcester also uses the word consilium of a church council (63), in giving the statutes adopted by the assembly held by Anselm in 1108. This passage, too, is copied by Simeon of Durham, and the word consilium changed to concilium (64). Another example of the use of the word consilium as the name of a meeting of archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls and primates is found in Florence of Worcester for 1070 (65), which is

also copied and changed by Simeon of Durham (66). This passage may not be original with Florence of Worcester, whose work is not contemporary for 1070, but the source from which he obtained his material for this passage is not known. There are at least two instances in Vitalis where the word concilium is used of a church assembly, and as Vitalis' work is not copied by any later chronicles, we cannot determine whether his usage would be followed or the word changed to concilium in copying these passages (67).

We find then five instances of the word consilium used of an assembly. This usage is confined to two chroniclers, and three of the five instances are changed to concilium by a later hand. And while this use of the word consilium is unusual, the word is of very common occurrence in the chronicles of the period, there being between five and six hundred instances of its use with other meanings in the material which we find valuable for the reigns of the Norman Kings. These meanings of the word consilium as commonly used in the chronicles of the period are various,

but correspond to those of our English word counsel. The following examples are typical of its use with some of these various meanings.

There are some twenty-five cases in which it means prudence or a wise exercise of judgement, and we read of men of prudence (68), keen in judgment (69), of profound wisdom (70), of men and women of great prudence (71), of a bishop more renowned in wisdom than all the magnates of England (72), of Henry's sanctity and wisdom in spiritual as well as temporal affairs (73), of his fighting with wisdom rather than the sword (74), of a greater need of prudence than of valor (75), and that it is not wisdom, nor prudence nor sound judgment to struggle against God. (76).

Very frequently consilium means a plan, design or purpose, which may only exist in a man's mind, or which may be discussed secretly, or commonly known. Of over one hundred instances of the use of the word consilium with this meaning, the following are typical, Robert the bishop of Lincoln discourses with the King in accordance with a plan they have

made (77), Anselm tells Henry it is not a sane plan for him to become his man (78), the deep plans of William (79) and the prudent plans of Lanfranc are mentioned (80). The King uses a prudent plan (81) and in accordance with the request and design of the bishop of Norwich, Ralph continues on his way to Rome (82). Thomas changes his former plan about going to Canterbury (83). It is thought a good plan to divide the bishopric of Lincoln (84). The archbishop of Canterbury is said to use a wise plan (85). The value of the plans of Baldwin the monk to Anselm is spoken of (86). The empress, using a prudent plan meditates flight (87). King Stephen is said to have great confidence in the plans of one of his friends (88). We read in another chronicle of the plans of ministers (89), and also that it was not Stephen's plan to enter the city of Wallingford (90). Robert of Normandy lends his ear to fickle counsels (91). Before the battle of the Standard the King seemed to yield to the plans of the soldiers (92), and Walter Espec tells the English army before the battle that everything will be done in accordance with

their plans (93). When in 1138 Carham was besieged, the garrison determined to make a sally through the ranks of the enemy unless God should reveal a better plan (94). By a saner plan, King Stephen fortifies a castle (95). The bishop of Winchester tells Stephen it is a useless plan to besiege Maud in Arundel castle (96). We read too how men terrified at the obstinacy of the King began to seek a plan for their safety (97). And in 1138 the barons meeting at York, consider what plan they should adopt at this time of the invasion of England by the Scotch (98).

Consilium means advice or opinion even more commonly than it means prudence or plan. Of the four hundred cases of its occurrence with this meaning, the following are typical. William Rufus promises to observe the counsels of the church (99). The King asks his barons to give him advice (100), and by the advice of his men appoints priors for two abbeys (101). Mention is made of the advice of the bishop of Windsor (102) and of the more useful advice of the barons (103). Stephen raises the siege of Exeter by the

advice of his men (104) and at another time, having received advice of which he approves, Stephen builds a bridge of boats (105). He also acquiesces to the advice of his barons (106), who instill sane advice into his ears (107), and we learn that he ruled by the advice of Robert and Milo (108). Henry's death is ascribed to his failure to follow the advice of his physician. (109). Florence of Worcester speaks of trusting the counsel of the heart (110). Robert of Bruce, trying to avert the Battle of the Standard offers honorable advice to the King (111). Anselm in a letter to his bishops speaks of accustomed advice, and hoped for aid (112) and in writing to the Pope says that no one dared to give him either aid or advice (113). Again in a letter to the King he speaks of the counsel of God, which lasts forever (114). In writing to Thomas he says, "Since you ask my advice, I advise you not to begin any course of action which you should not begin, against the church of Canterbury (115).

Censilium is commonly used of a consultation, a conference or interchange of opinions, the following instan-

ces being found. The Normans who are besieged, after consultation, ask Bishop Wulfstan to come into the castle (116). We read in another passage of Odo holding a consultation with his allies (117). When the King wishes Anselm deposed he holds a consultation with his men, before making his request of the cardinal (118), and the King holds a consultation with the bishops before he addresses the Pope concerning the excommunication of the bishops of Normandy (119). When Eadmer desires advice he summons John the bishop of Glasgow and two monks of Canterbury to a consultation (120). In 1123 the King having had a consultation with his men, sent an army into Normandy (121). We read also of a secret consultation of the bishops (122), and of another between the monks in a monastery (123). The archbishop of York held a consultation with the inhabitants of York, to discuss the Scotch invasion in 1136 (124). When Stephen besieged Walingford and Malmesbury, there was great alarm at Worcester and the inhabitants held a consultation and committed themselves to divine guidance (125). We read of the empress holding a consultation with Milo in 1143 (126), and one with her men (127). The

archbishop, too, holds a consultation with his followers in 1148, before deposing the prior Silvester (128). Vitalis mentions a futile consultation of Robert with his supporters (129), and of a consultation of the nobles to try to make peace between Robert and his father, (130). Again he speaks of Robert de Belesme asking permission to go to a consultation with his supporters (131). In the *Gesta Herwardi* mention is made of a consultation entered upon before sending out a scout (132). And *Jumièges* speaks of a consultation between some of Robert's enemies (133).

It is evident from these examples that concilium and consilium are used with a very clear distinction in meaning. There is no instance of the word concilium being used otherwise than as the name of an assembly, while the instances in which consilium is so used are so few, compared with the hundreds of instances in which it means counsel, that it is probable that they are all errors either in transcription or edition, and that the chroniclers of the period never used concilium and consilium interchangeably.

PART IV.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS REGARDING CENTRAL ASSEMBLIES DURING THE
REIGNS OF THE NORMAN KINGS IN ENGLAND.

What are the general conclusions reached by this study of the terminology of central assemblies during the period from 1066 to 1154?

§ 1. Correct use of terms.

First on the side of language, we have seen that Curia Regis is an expression absolutely without technical significance. The word Curia is used with any one of the various meanings of the word court, and only from a very careful study of the context, and often only by comparison with other accounts, can we determine its exact meaning in a particular instance. The word concilium is used both of church and governmental assemblies, the word synodus being confined to church assemblies absolutely. And contrary to long prevailing opinion the words concilium and consilium are not synonymous, the former being used of an assembly, the

latter meaning counsel, and the chroniclers of the period having this distinction clearly in mind.

§ 2. Nature of Assemblies.

During this period the King of England was an absolute monarch, but a suzerain also, always facing the possibility of a feudal revolt. The only recognized or regular check on his authority was the judicial power exercised by his curia. This curia or court was a group of men, both laymen and ecclesiastics, in attendance upon the King. That they were all tenants-in-chief cannot be proven; probably most of those prominent enough to appear at court, bore this relation to the King. The number of men with the King of course varied greatly. At Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, when the King formally assumed his crown, a greater number of his subjects were with him than at other seasons.

As we have said, the only recognized check upon the King's authority was the judicial power exercised by the curia, but he voluntarily submitted to a further loss of authority by consulting various groups of men on matters of importance, and acting in accordance with their advice,

though not compelled to do so. On the three great church festivals he commonly consulted the curia on various matters, and whenever he desired to consult any group or groups of men, at other times, regarding any matter, he summoned them to him. These assemblies are not regarded as customary by the historians of the time, not only are they not so described, but they have neither fixed composition, regular time nor place of meeting, nor a technical name.

During the period, then, England cannot be said to have had a national assembly. For assemblies which are not recognized as part of the governmental machinery, but which are absolutely dependant on the will of the King, and which have no power of legislation, but are advisory bodies merely, the King not being bound by their advice, do not constitute a true national assembly. Some of the germs from which one may develop we can find, however. The more prominent men in the kingdom, archbishops, bishops and nobles attend court. Naturally they will be the men whose advice the King will most often seek. When only a small number of them are with him,

and matters of importance arise, he will summons others in consultation. And for the manner of summons, the classes who are to be summoned and the questions upon which they consult, to become fixed, is only a matter of time. When this fixity has been reached, England may truly be said to have a national assembly.

PART I.

THE CURIA.

1. Foot-note, p. L ~~XVI~~ in introduction to Memorando de Parlamento. Rolls Series, London, 1857.
2. This word is hyred, hird or hired. Hired being the most usual form.
3. Thrice every year he bare his crown as oft as he was in England. At Easter he bare it in Winchester, at Pentecost in Westminster, at Midwinter in Gloucester. A. S. Ch. p. 189
4. Ibid.
5. (1091) In this year King William held his court (hired) at Christmas in Westminster. A. S. Ch. p. 194.
 (1096) In this year William held his court at Christmas in Windsor. A. S. Ch. p. 200.
 (1101) In this year at Christmas king Henry held his court (hired) in Westminster. A. S. Ch. p. 205.
 (1104) In this year Henry held his court (hired) at Christmas in Westminster. A. S. Ch. p. 207.
 (1105) In this year, at the Nativity, king Henry held his

court (hired) at Windsor. A. S. Ch. p. 207.

(1106) In this year king Henry was at the Nativity in Westminster and there held his court (hired) A. S. Ch. p. 208.

(1109) In subsequente Nativitate Domini Christi regum Angliae ad curiam regis Lundoniae --- Eadmer p. 212

{1110) In this year Henry held his court (hired) at Christmas in Westminster - A. S. Ch. p. 210.

(1114) In this year king Henry held his court (hyred) at the Nativity in Windsor. A. S. Ch. p. 212.

(1127) This year king Henry held his court (hired) at Christmas in Windsor. A. S. Ch. p. 223.

(1135) --- Lundoniae urbi in Dominicae Nativitatis --- curiam suam tenuit. Worcester p. 95.

(1135) --- rex ---- a curia sua quam tenuerat apud Lundoniam. Hen. Hunt. p. 258.

6. (1140) Ubi autem ad Natale vel at Pascha fuerit, dicere non attinet, Jam quippe curiae solennes, et ornatus regii scematis ab antiqua serie descendens prorsus evanuerat Hen. Hunt. p.

267.

7. With his witan. A. S. Ch. p. 186.
And all his witan with him. A. S. Ch. p. 199.
8. (1072) --- in praesentia regis, episcoporum, abbatum diversorum
ordinum, qui congregati erant apud curiam --- Protestatio
Willelmi in Eadmer p. 252.
9. (1092) --- omnes regni primores --- Eadmer p. 29.
10. (1107) --- terrae principibus --- Eadmer p. 185.
11. (1108) -- cunctis majoribus regni --- Eadmer p. 193.
12. (1109) --- episcopis et regni principibus --- Eadmer p. 207.
(1114) --- episcopus et principes Angliae --- Eadmer p. 222.
(1115) --- omnes episcopos et principes totius regni. ---
Eadmer p. 231.
13. (1126) --- totius regni nobilitatem --- II Worcester p. 84.
14. (1127) --- where were the Scots king David, and all the
chief clergy and laity that were in England --- And there
he caused the archbishops and bishops, and abbots and earls
and all the thanes that were there --- Anglo- Saxon Chronicle
p. 223.
15. (1142) --- cum regina et nobilitate procerum --- Chron.

Gervas. Cant. p. 123.

16. (1095) ---- and the earl, Robert of Northumberland, would not come to court (hirede) and the king on that account was sorely excited against him, and sent to him, and harshly commanded, if he would be worthy of protection, that he should come to court (hirede) at Pentecost. A. S. Ch. p. 198.

17. (1085) ---- and there held his court five days. A. S. Ch. p. 186.

(1093) --- tribus diebus --- Actus Pont. p. 373.

18. (1109) ---- et magna solennitas habita est atque sublimis, Ipsa die archiepiscopus Eboracensis se loco primatis Cantuariensis regem coronaturum, et missam sperans celebraturum, ad id omnino paratum semet exhibuit. Cui episcopus Londoniensis non adquiescens coronam capiti regis imposuit, eumque per dextram induxit ecclesiae, et officium diei percelebravit. Radmer p. 212

(1109). Willelmus archiepiscopus in Angliam reversus in Nativitate Domini regem coronavit Henricum apud Windelesore ubi cum Eboracensis episcopus aequalitate Cantuariensis archiepiscopi regem vellet coronare, iudicio omnium repulsus

est. Actus. Pont. p. 382.

(1126) Ubi cum Eboracensis episcopus in aequalitate archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, regem vellet coronare, exemplo antecessorum suorum, iudicio omnium repulsus est.

II Worcester p. 84.

(1142) --- in ipsa sacra solempnitate in ecclesiam Christi a venerabili Theodbaldo ejusdem ecclesiae archiepiscopo coronatus est: ipsa etiam regina cum eo ibidem coronam auream gestabat in capite. Chron. Gervas. Cant. p. 123.

19. See Eadmer p. 212 above.

(1121) Rothbertus, quia et ipse domino regis in curia panum ac potus strenue ministiare solebat. II Worcester p. 75.

20. (1136) --- Henricus filius regis Scottiae ad curiam --- apud Lundoniam --- cum maximo honore susceptus, atque ad

mensam ipsius regis sedit --- Richard of Hexham p. 146

(1109) At cum ad mensam regis ventum esset et de loco sessionis inter eisdem episcopos dissensio mota fuisset ---

Eadmer p. 212.

21. (1136) --- curiam suam --- qua numquam fuerat splendidior in Anglia multitudine, magnitudine, auro, argento gemmis, vestibus, omnimodaque dapsilitate. Hen. Hunt. p. 259
22. --- and dubbed his son Henry a knight there --- A.S. Ch. p. 186
Et in hebdomada Pentecostes suum filium Heinricum, apud Westmonasterium ubi curiam suam tenuit --- II Worcester p. 19.
23. There were the contracts completed and the oaths sworn for the marriage of his daughter with the emperor. A. S. Ch. p. 210.
24. (1126) --- uxori suae, filiae ducis Lovannensis --- comitatum Salopesberiae dedit --- II Malmesbury p. 528.
25. And there he caused the archbishops and bishops, and abbots, and earls, and all the thanes that were there, to swear to his daughter Aethelic, who was before the wife of the emperor of Saxland, possession of England and Normandy after his day --- A. S. Ch. p. 223.
--- fecit episcopos et archiepiscopos et abbatum potentiores, nec non comites et satrapas totius Anglici regni, sub

- arotissimo illi fidelitatem hoc pacto permittere quatenus ipsi pro suis viribus obniterentus --- Jumièges p. 895
26. Ex praecepto ejusdem Alexandri papae, --- ventilata est causa de primatu, quem Lanfrancus Dorobernensis Archiepiscopus super Eboracensem ecclesiam jure suae ecclesiae proclamabat, et de ordinatibus quorundam episcoporum de quibus ad quem specialitu pertinent, certum minime constabat --- in praesentia regis, episcoporum, abbatum diversorum ordinum, qui congregati erant apud curiam in festivitate Pentecostes. Protestatio Willelmi in Eadmer p. 252.
27. (1085) --- et in Nativitate Domini curiam suam Glawornae tenuit, ubi tribus suis capellanis, Mauricio scilicet Londoniensem Willelmo Theodfordensem, Rotberto Gestrensem dedit praesulatum. II Worcester p. 18.
28. (1092) --- de communi matre regni querentur, quod viduata suo pastore tam diu et tam inaudita vexatione opprimeretur --- Eadmer p. 29.
29. (1099) --- at Pentecost held his court (hired) for the first

time, in his new building at Westminster; and there gave to Ranulf his chaplain the bishopric of Durham. A. S. Ch. p. 203.

--- ac Rannulfo, quem negotiorum totius regni exactorem constituerat, Dunholmensem episcopatum dedit --- II Worcester p. 44.

30. (1108) --- ad curiam suam --- Unde Anselmus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, et Thomas electus archiepiscopus Eboracensis --- et omnes alii Angliæ episcopi statuerunt in præsentia ejusdem gloriosi regis Henrici, assensu omnium baronum suorum, ut presbyteri, diaconi, subdiaconi caste viverint. Eadmer p. 194.

31. (1123) Soon afterwards the king went to Winchester, and was there all Easter-tide; and while he was there he gave the bishopric of Lincoln to a clerk called Alexander. A.S. Ch. p. 219.

32. (1097) Peractis igitur festivioribus diebus, diversorum negotiorum causæ in medium duci ex more coeperunt --- Eadmer p. 79.

33. (1109) Qui, transactis festiviore coronae suae diebus, coepit agere cum episcopis et regni principibus quid esset agendum de consecratione electi ecclesiae Eboracensi - Eadmer p. 207.
34. Herwardus --- per sepes et foveas extra clam ad inferiorem curiam domus descendit - Gesta Herwardi p. 385
35. --- ecclesiam Christi Cantuariensem cum omnibus officinis quae infra murum ipsius curiae sunt --- Eadmer p. 12.
36. --- in camera curiae. II Malmesbury p. 550.
37. Gislebertus --- vigelemque, qui curiam suam, aliis dormientibus, custodiebat, advocavit. Vitalis p. 649.
38. --- effoeminatos curia propellans, lucernarum usus noctibus in curia restituit, qui fuerat tempore fratris intermissus --- II Malmesbury p. 470.
39. --- cum quibus tota coelestis curia dimicant. Rievaulx p. 188.
--- Tropaeique major merces in coeleste curia. Vitalis p. 423.
40. Hospes enim fere omnes a curia eorum exclusus est. (Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, from the monastery of Christ Church)

Actus Pont. p. 387.

(1148) Solebat his diebus regina regis Stephani curiam

Sancti Augustini frequentare. I Gervas p. 139.

41. --- ad curiam ducis accessit --- Vitalis p. 585
42. --- consuetudo semel prandendi in omnium optimatum curiis---
II Malmesbury p. 483
43. (1123) --- and thence he went to Woodstock, and his bishops
and all his court (hired) with him. A. S. Ch. p. 217
(1139) --- indeque cum curia Saeresbyriam --- II Worcester
p. 122.
(1140) --- rex cum curia Raedingum venit --- II Worcester
p. 122.
44. (1120) And on the passage (from Normandy) were drowned the
king's two sons, William and Richard, and Richard earl of
Chester, and Ottuel his brother, and very many of the
king's court (hired), stewards and chamberlains and cup-
bearers. A. S. Ch. p. 216.

45. Anselmus --- progressus ad curiam --- Actus Pont. p. 372.
 --- et a curiae conspectu --- Gesta Stephani p. 127.
 --- curiam Anselmus venit --- Eadmer p. 148.
46. --- ad regis curiam --- Gesta Herwardi p. 403
 --- ad regis curiam pergens --- Gesta Herwardi p. 384.
 --- ad regis curiam -- Hen. Hunt. p. 279
47. --- regali curia --- Vitalis p. 335
 --- a regali --- curia II Worcester p. 22.
 --- totam regalem curiam --- Eadmer p. 126.
 --- cuncta regalis curiae judicia --- Eadmer p. 78.
48. --- regis Guillelmi curia -- Vitalis p. 305.
49. --- in curia Henrici regis --- Vitalis p. 622.
50. --- ad curiam regis S(tephani --- Richard of Hexham p. 178.
51. --- ad curiam sui patris --- Jumièges p. 895.
52. Helias comes ad curiam regis --- venit. Vitalis p. 730.
53. Joannes, qui ad curiam regis ductus --- Vitalis p. 431
54. (Anselm) --- ad curiam regis --- festinavit. Eadmer p. 23.
55. Rodbertus de Bellisma festinabat ad curiam regis -- Vitalis
 p. 558.

56. --- rebellantes convocant ad curiam regis --- Vitalis p. 353.
57. --- et futuram regni dominam summo cum honore --- ad curiam regis adduxerunt. II Worcester p. 75.
58. Albericus --- ad curiam regis reversus --- Richard of Hexham p. 172.
59. (Anselm) -- ad curiam regis venire mandatus --- Eadmer p. 128
60. --- omnes regni primores ad curiam regis --- Eadmer p. 29.
61. See II Worcester pp. 52, 53, 59, 84 and 100
Simeon of Durham p. 281
Hen. Hunt. p. 256.
62. Promisit illi --- juste in sua curia judicari faceret.
Richard of Hexham p. 146.
63. --- Willelmus --- in curia sua rectitudinem ei faceret,
constringere voluit. II Worcester p. 31.
64. --- nuncii regis curiam suam in ipsa festivitate apud
Windlesoram tenentes - Eadmer p. 70.
65. Praecipitque ut paratus esset de his juxta judicium curiae
suae sibimet rectitudinem facere, quodocumque sibi placeret
inde eum appellare - Eadmer p. 78

66. Deinde ad curiam suam Robertum ascersit - Vitalis p. 623.
67. (1101) Quum ergo in curia tua -- Orex --- Eadmer p. 130.
68. Plures etiam, in curia sua, --- captos, et ad redditionem
castellorum, et ad quascunque voluit conditionis, ad duxit.
II Malmesbury p. 547.
69. Non multo post conjurata rebellio per regiones Angliae
subito erupit --- Guillelmus itaque de Guarenna et Ricardus
de Benefacta, -- quos rex praecipuos Angliae justitiaros
constituerat in regni negotiis, rebellantes convocant ad
curiam regis --- Rogerius vero de Bristolie comes
Herefordensis ad curiam regis vocatus venit, et inquisitus
manifestam toti mundo proditionem negare non potuit.
Igitur secundum leges Normannorum iudicatus est, et,
amissa omni haereditate terrena, in carcere regis perpetuo
damnatus est --- et Radulfus de Guader comes Northginci
de Anglia perpetualiter exhaereditatus est. Vitalis p. 353-4.
70. --- Willelmus --- insuper etiam illum ut, secundum iudicium
tantum suorum baronum, in curia sua rectitudinem ei
faceret, constringere voluit --- II Worcester p. 31.

71. (1097) Praecipitque ut paratus esset de his juxta iudicium curiae suae sibi rectitudinem facere, quaecumque sibi placeret inde eum appellare --- Eadmer p. 78.
72. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1130, dum David rex in curia Henrici regis caute iudicium indagaret --- Vitalis p. 622.
73. --- ad Pascha apud Wodestoke ubi fuit accusatus Galfridus de Clintone, et infamatus de proditione regis falso --- Hen. Hunt. p. 252.
74. Robertus quidam de Batthentona --- Vocatus vero ad curiam tanquam de rebellio in regno excitato satisfactorus, piger quidem et subtristis advenit. ---- compulsus est et castellum regis deliberatione committere, et quaecumque possidebat in misericordiae illius dispositionem contradenda esse. --- Gesta Stephani p. 19.
75. Promisit illi quod si comitatum Northanybriae alicui dare vellet, prius calumpniam Henrici filii regis Scottiae super eo iuste in sua curia iudicari faceret. Richard of Hexham p. 146.
76. Quod in curia, quae a cruore dicitur, ibi enim sanguinem iudicia fiunt, sit electus --- Simeon of Durham p. 272.

PART II.

CHURCH COUNCILS.

1. (1102) --- tertio regni Henrici gloriosi regis Anglorum, ipse annuente, communi concensu episcoporum et abbatum, et principum totius regni --- Eadmer p. 141.
(1106) (Letter of Anselm to the King)
--- concilii quod ego cum vestro favore tenui --- Eadmer p. 176.
(1129) -- By the kings council and by his leave --- A. S. Ch. p. 226.
(1138) --- ex assensu regis Stephani --- Actus Pont. p. 384.
2. See Malm. p. 118 above.
3. (1070) --- per duos cardinales et in Angliam legatos --- Actus Pont. p. 363.
(1102) Anselmus unum celebravit concilium apud Westmonasterium --- Actus Pontificum. p. 375.
(1102) --- and the archbishop Anselm held a synod of the clergy --- A. S. Ch. p. 206.
(1102) --- in quo praesedit Anselmus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus, et primas totius Britanniae - Malm. Gesta Pont. p.118.

(1102) Cui concilio praesedit Anselmus archiepiscopus
Dorobernensis --- Eadmer p. 141.

(1125) In this same year the Pope sent from Rome to this
land a cardinal named John of Crema --- and afterwards he
held his council --- A. S. Ch. p. 222.

(1125) Deinde Willelmus archiepiscopus, et apostolicae
sedis legatus, celebravit generale concilium apud West-
monasterium --- Actus Pont. p. 382.

(1125) --- legatus (John) --- celebraVt concilium apud
Westmonasterium --- Actus Pont. p. 381.

(1127) --- Willelmus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus congre-
gavit generale concilium - II Worcester p. 85.

(1138) Albericus Hostiensis episcopus et in Angliam legatus
--- celebraVt concilium --- Actus Pont. p. 384.

(1139) --- cum Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus frater regis
jam legatus Romanae ecclesiae concilium apud Wintoniam
teneret --- Hen. Hunt. p. 266.

(1142) --- Coacto apud Londonias concilio, praesidente
Henrico Wintoniensi episcopo, et apostolicae sedis legato --
Chron. Gervas Cant. p. 122.

(1143) --- tenuit Wintoniensi episcopus, urbis Romanae legatus, concilium apud Lundoniam --- Hen. Hunt. p. 276.

(1151) Theobaldus autem Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et apostolicae sedis legatus celebravit concilium Londoniam --- Actus Pont. p. 368.

(1151) --- Theobaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus apostolicae sedis legatus, tenuit concilium generale. -- Hen. Hunt. p. 262.

4. (1125) --- ubi affuerunt episcopi XII; ceteri vel obierant, vel literas excusatorias miserant --- Actus Pont. p. 382.

(1127) Thurstanus autem , Eboracensis archiepiscopus, directis nuntiis ac literis, rationabili causa ostendit ac conventui ipsi adesse non potuisse Rannulfus vero, Dunholmen- sis episcopus, eo tendens, infirmitate correptus est, nec iter coeptum perficere potuit, sicut prior ecclesiae et clerici, quos illuc direxerat, sub testimonio veritatis attestati sunt.

II Worcester p. 85.

5. (1102) Anselmus unum celebravit concilium apud Westmonasterium, in quo affuit Gerardus Eboracensis archiepiscopus et episcopi Angliae et abbates. Actus. Pont. p. 375.

(1102) --- generale concilium episcoporum et abbatum totius

regni --- Cui concilio praesedit Anselmus archiepiscopus
Dorobernensis --- Eadmer p. 141.

(1102) --- considentibus secum archiepiscopo Eboracensi
Gerardo, Mauricio episcopo Londoniensi, (etc.)----
Eadmer p. 141.

----- episcoporum, et abbatum et principum totius regni ---
Eadmer p. 141.

(1125) --- a cardinal named John of Crema --- and afterwards
he held his council (concilie) --- with archbishops, and
with suffragan bishops, and abbots, and clergy, and laity.
A. S. Ch. p. 222.

(1125) --- archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, totiusque
regni nobilibus --- Actus Pont. p. 381

(1125) --- Johannes de Crema --- cum Willelmo Cantwariensi
et Turstano Eboracensi archiepiscopis, et cum episcopis
diversorum provinciarum et abbatibus et cum numero cleri
et populi multitudine --- II Worcester p. 81.

(1127) Willelmus Dorubernensis archiepiscopus congregavit
generale concilium omnium episcoporum et abbatum, quarumque

religios arum personarum totius Angliae ---II Worcester
P. 85.

(1129) --- Bishops and abbots and archdeacons, and all
the priors, monks and canons --- and all who had to pre-
serve and watch over Christianity. A. S. Ch. p. 226.

(1129) --- Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Turstanus
Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Alexander Lincolniensis episcopus
(etc.) --- Hen. Hunt. p. 250.

(1138) --- Albericus, Ostiensis episcopus et praedicti
domini papae in Angliam et Scottiam legatus, cum episcopis
--- et abbatibus, cum innumera cleri et populi multitudine
II Worcester p. 114.

(1138) Igitur Turstinum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, et
omnes episcopos atque abbates, ac priores canonicorum per
totam Angliam summoneri fecerunt --- cum S(tephano) rege
Angliae --- Richard of Hexham p. 172.

(1138) --- Jeremias prior Cantuariensis ecclesiae cum
aliquibus ex conventa a rege vocatus, praesente legato
simul et rege nonnullis primoribus et episcopis Angliae---
Chron. Gervas Cant. p. 109.

(1138) Deinde vocati sunt monachi Cantuarienses in praesentia regis et legati ut sibi et Anglicanae ecclesiae pastorem eligerunt --- Actus Pont. p. 384.

(1138) (Letter of Albericus to the prior of Canterbury) --- quod episcopos et abbates omnes caeterasque religiosas hujus regni personas --- Chron. Gervas Cant. p. 106

(1139) --- Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus frater regis jam legatus Romanae ecclesiae --- ipse et Theobaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et omnes episcopi --- Hen. Hunt. p. 266

(1142) --- Henrico Wintoniensi episcopo, et apostolicae sedis legato, cum venerabili Theobaldo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo considentibus episcopis Angliae et abbatibus plurimis --- Chron. Gervas Cant. p. 122

6. (1129) A. S. Ch. p. 226 above.

(1139) Richard of Hexham p. 172 above.

7. (1102) A. S. Ch. p. 222 above.

(1125) II Worcester p. 81 above.

(1127) II Worcester p. 85 above.

(1138) II Worcester p. 114 above.

(1138) Chron. Gervas. Cant. p. 106 above.

8. (1102) Eadmer p. 141 above.
 (1125) Actus Pont. p. 381 above.
 (1138) Chron. Gervas Cant. p. 109 above.
9. (1138) Chron. Gervas Cant. p. 109 above.
 (1138) Actus Pont. p. 384 above.
 (1151) ---ubi rex Stephans affuit --- Actus Pont. p. 388.
10. (1151) --- ubi rex Stephanus et filius suus Eustachius et Angliae proceres interfuerunt. --- Hent. Hunt. p. 382.
11. (1102) Huic conventui affuerunt, Anselmo archiepiscopo potente a rege, primates regni, quatinus quicquid ejusdem concilii auctoritate decerneretur, utriusque ordinis concordie cura et sollicitudine ratum, servaretur. Eadmer p. 142.
12. (1102) A. S. Ch. p. 222 above.
 (1125) II Worcester p. 81 above.
 (1138) II Worcester p. 114.
13. (1137) Eboracensis archiepiscopus Thurstanus, cum Saeresbyriensi episcopo Rogerio, et quibusdam aliis episcopo et regni primoribus, concilium tenuerunt apud Worthantoniam in plurimorum audientiam. II Worcester p. 99.

14. (1127) Acta sunt ibi de negotiis saecularibus nonnulla --- auctoritate regia et potestate concessit et confirmavit statuta concilii --- *VI Worcester* p. 88.
15. (1102) In quo inter alia quae promulgavit capitula -- *Actus Pont.* p. 375.
- (1102) --- and they there set forth many canons that appertain to Christianity -- *A. S. Ch.* p. 206.
- (1102) --- multa ecclesiasticae disciplinae necessaria servari Anselmus instituit --- *Eadmer* p. 141.
- (1125) --- promulgata sunt haec capitula *II Worcester* p. 81.
- (1125) --- and commanded there the same laws that archbishop Anselm had commanded --- *A. S. Ch.* p. 222.
- (1138) ---promulgata sunt haec capitula, et ab omnibus confirmata --- *Rich. of Hex.* p. 172.
- (1138) --- de ecclesiasticis causis --- tractare coeperunt --- *Richard of Hexham* p. 172.
- (1138) (Letter of Albericus to the prior of Canterbury) --- de caeteris etiam ecclesiasticis atque apostolicis negotiis divino praesente auxilio tractemus --- *Chron. Gervas Cant.* p. 106.

16. (1070) --- Stigandus depositus est. Actus Pont. p. 363.
- (1070) --- et illic Stigandum pridem reprobatum anathemate deposuerunt. Vitalis p. 322.
- (1085) and afterwards the archbishop and clergy had a synod three days. There were Maurice chosen bishop of London, and William to Norfolk, and Robert to Cheshire. They were all the kings clerks. A. S. Ch. p. 186.
- (1102) --- certis de causis deposuit Widonem abbatem de Persore, Wimundun de Tavistock, Alduinum de Ramesia, Godricum electum de Burgo, Hamonem de Cernel, Egelricum de Mideltone, Ricardum de Heli, Robertum de Sancto Eadmundo et illum de Mucheleneia. --- Actus Pont. p. 375.
- (1102) --- and many there, both French and English, lost their staves and authority which they had unjustly acquired --- A. S. Ch. p. 206.
- (1102) Primum itaque ex auctoritate sanctorum patrum symoniacae haeresis surreptio in eodem concilio damnata est. In qua culpa inventi depositi sunt Guido abbas de Perscore, et Wimindus de Tavestoc, et Baldwinus de Rammesei,

et alii nondum sacraei remoti ab abbatiis, scilicet Godricus de Burgo, Haimo de Cernel, Aegelicus de Middletune.

Absque simonia vero remoti sunt de abbatiis, pro sua quisque causa, Ricardus de Heli et Robertus de Sancto Edmundo, et qui erat apud Micelenei --- Eadmer p. 142.

(1138) --- elegit Theobaldum abbatem Beccensem ad regimen sanctae Cantuariensis ecclesiae --- Chron. Gervas. Cant. p. 109.

(1138) In hoc autem concilio tractatum est de archiepiscopo ad Cantuariensem ecclesiam eligendo --- Tandem vero post proximam Epiphaniam haec causa finem habuit, cum Beccensis coenobii abbas, nomine Teobaldus, electus praefatae ecclesiae archipraesul, a supradicto Alberico consecratus est. In eodem autem concilio depositus est abbas de Cruland, et prior ecclesiae sancti Albani martyris, nomine Godefridus, in loco ejus restitutes, et abbatae quae est juxta Hastings, quae dicitur Ad Bellum, abbas nomine Adam electus est --- Richard of Hexham p. 175.

17. (1129) When it all came forth, it was all about arch-
deacons wives, and about priests wives --- A. S. Ch. p. 226.
(1129) -- de uxoribus sacerdotum prohibendi --- Hen. Hunt.
p. 250.
(1129) --- Concesserunt namque regi justitiam de uxoribus
sacerdotum --- Hen. Hunt. p. 250.
18. (1139) --- poscentes ut episcopis praedictis possessiones
suas redderet ut omnia in eos commissa regi benigne con-
donarent. Hen. Hunt. p. 266.
(1139) --- statutum est ut omnia per Angliam oppida,
castella, munitiones quaeque, in quibus secularia solent
exerceri negotia, regis et baronum suorum juri cedant ---
II Worcester p. 116.
19. (1142) --- in talium actores, praeceptores, executores, sed
et in castellorum fundatores, monachorum vel clericorum
spoliatores caeterosque malefactores, sententia excommuni-
cationis publice ac solempniter prolata est --- Chron.
Gervas Cant. p. 122.
20. In quo sancitum est, ne aliquis qui clerico violenter manus
ingessent ab alio possit absolviquam ab ipso papa, et in

praesentia ipsius. Hen. Hunt. p. 276.

21. (1102) --- and the archbishop Anselm held a 'sinod' of the clergy.--- A. S. Ch. p. 206.
- (1125) --- And, afterwards he held his 'concilie' in London --- A. S. Ch. p. 222.
22. (1070) --- concilium celebratum est --- Actus Pont. p. 363.
- (1070) Maxima vero ac utilissima a synodus Windresoris celebrata est.----- Rex et cardinales eidem concilio praesederunt --- Vitalis p. 322.
- (1102) --- held a sinod of the clergy --- A. S. Ch. p. 206.
- (1102) --- celebratum est generale concilium --- Eadmer p. 141.
- (1102) --- Anselmus unum celebrauit concilium --- Actus Pont. p. 375.
- (1125) --- celebravit concilium apud Westmonasterium --- Actus. Pont. p. 381.
- (1125) --- celebravit generale concilium --- Actus Pont. p. 382.
- (1125) Celebrata est synodus Lundoniae --- II Worcester p. 81.

- (1138) --- celebrata est synodus --- Richard of Hexham
p. 172.
- (1138) --- ad generale concilium --- Richard of Hexham
p. 172
- (1138) --- celebrata est synodus -- II Worcester p. 114.
- (1138) --- celebravit concilium --- Actus Pont. p. 384.
23. (1127) --- congregavit generale concilium -- II Worcester
p. 85.
- (1129) --- Tenuit igitur concilium maximum -- Hen. Hunt.
p. 250.
- (1137) --- concilium tenuerunt --- II Worcester p. 99.
- (1139) --- concilium apud Wintoniam teneret -- Hen. Hunt.
p. 266.
- (1139) Fuit post hoc habitum in Anglia --- concilium ---
Gesta Stephani p. 51.
- (1139) Habito postmodum concilio -- II Worcester p. 116.
- (1142) --- coacto apud Londoniam concilio --- Chron.
Gervas Cant. p. 122.
- (1143) --- interfuit concilio Londoniae -- Hen. Hunt. p. 276.

- (1151) --- tenuit concilium generale --- Hen. Hunt. p. 282.
- (1151) --- celebravit concilium Londoniam --- Actus Pont.
p. 388.
24. (1138) --- quod episcopis et abbates omnes ceterasque
religiosas hujus regni personas, apostolica auctoritate
convocavimus ad colloquium quod Lundoniae --- Chron.
Gervas Cant. p. 106.
25. (1102) --- Huic conventui affuerunt, --- primates regni ---
Eadmer p. 141.
26. (1127) --- Thurstanus autem, Eboracensis archiepiscopus ---
rationabili causa ostendit se conventui ipsi adesse non
potuisse ---- II Worcester p. 85.
27. (1066) Miminisse debet fraternitas vestra, quia contra
morem antecessorum nostrorum atque vestrorum vobis con-
cessimus, eisque imperavimus, quatinus ad vestras synodos
irent, et ea quae ad Christianae religionis notatiam
prodesse possunt sine interpellatione vel discussione
aliqua a vobis audirent --- Nos vero presbyteris nostris
qui extra Cantiam constitui sunt omnino praecepimus ne

ad vestram vel ad alicujus episcopi synodum amplius eant ---
Eadmer p. 21.

28. Primatem quoque regni sui, archiepiscopum dico Cantuariensem seu Dorobernensem, si coacto generali episcoporum concilio praesideret, non sinebat quicquam statuere aut prohibere, nisi quae suae voluntati accommoda et a se primo essent ordinata --- Eadmer p. 10.

29. "Jube", ait, "si placet, concilia ex antiquo usu renovari"
--- "Generale nempe concilium episcoporum ex quo rex factus fuisti non fuit in Anglia celebratum, nec retroactis pluribus annis."---Eadmer p. 48.

Procedente tempore cum Anselmus regem adloqueretur de concilio celebrando, ut horrenda vitia passim oborta extirparet, indignatus rex vehementer novum in Anselmum exercuit furorem --- Actus Pont. p. 374.

30. (1125) Rogamus ergo vos, et monemus atque praecipimus, ut eum tanquam sancti Petri vicarium reverenter suscipiatis, humiliter audiatis, atque ad ipsius vocationem synodales cum eo conventus sollemniter celebretis quatenus

per ipsius et vestram industriam in regno vestro quae
corrigenda sunt corrigantur, quae firmanda sunt sancto
inspirante Spiritu firmentur --- Simeon of Durham p. 277.

31. (1100) Differt Anselmus sententiam ferre et causam iudicio
religiosarum personarum regni determinandam pronuntiat.
Statuto itaque die coeunt ad nutum illius episcopi, abbates,
nobiles quique ac religiosi ordinis viri in villa Sancti
Andreas de Hovecestria quae Lambetha vocatur quo et ipsum
praesentis negotii tunc tenor adduxerat. --- Remoto
itaque a conventu solo patre, ecclesia Angliae quae
convenerat in unum de proferenda sententia tractat ----
Eadmer p. 122.

PART III:

OTHER CENTRAL ASSEMBLIES.

1. (1070) --- rex --- ad praesentiam suam convocavit utrumque cum episcopis Angliae --- Actus Pont. p. 365.
- (1070) --- convocavit rex multitudinem nobilium Angliae --- Act. Pont. p. 366.
- (1086) --- nec multo post mandavit ut archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, comites, barones, vicecomites, cum suis militibus, die kalendarum Augustarum sibi occurrerent Searesbyriae --- II Worcester p. 19.
- (1087) --- Unde praecepit rex quatinus, adunatis primoribus et probis viris non solum de comitatu Cantiae, sed et de aliis comitatibus Angliae --- Eadmer p. 17.
- (1087) --- quae ex praecepto regis facta est. --- Actus Pont. p. 369.
- (1092) At rex Willelmus junior --- totius fere Angliae episcopis mandavit, ut, in unum convenientes, --- II Worcester p. 30.

(1094) --- ex praecepto regis omnes fere episcopi una cum principibus Angliae ad Hastings convenerunt --- Eadmer p. 47.

(1097) --- In sequenti autem mense Augusto, cum de statu regni acturus rex episcopos, abbates, et quosque regni proceres in unum praecepti sui sanctione egisset --- Eadmer p. 80.

(1100) Interim rex Anglorum Henricus majores natu Angliae congregavit Lundoniae --- II Worcester p. 48

(1114) --- rex Henricus --- episcopos et principes Angliae in unum apud Windlesoram fecit venire --- Eadmer p. 222.

(1115) Eodem anno Henricus rex jussit omnes episcopos et principes totius regni ad curiam suam sub uno venire --- Eadmer p. 231.

(1116) --- cogente eos illius sanctione regis Henrici --- Eadmer p. 237.

(1121) --- rex --- quos omnes in Epiphania Domini sub uno Lundoniae congregavit --- Eadmer p. 290.

(1123) Factus est conventus episcoporum, abbatum ac procerum

ex praecepto regis ---- Actus Pont. p. 380.

(1123) --- the king sent his writ over all England, and bade his bishops, and his abbots and all his thanes that they should come to his "gewitenagemot" on Candlemas day, at Gloucester to meet him. A. S. Ch. p. 218.

(1136) Edicto per Angliam promulgato, summos ecclesiarum duces cum primis populi ad concilium Londonias convocavit --- Gesta Stephani p. 17.

(1136) Igitur Stephanus --- episcopos et proceres sui regni regali edicto in unum convenire praecepit --- Richard of Hexham p. 148.

(1138) --- he held a "gadering" at Oxford. A. S. Ch. p. 230.

(1138) Rex Anglorum Stephanus --- tenuit concilium Northamptoniae --- II Worcester p. 105.

(1138) Rex interim, coactis in unum comitibus optimisque regni sui proceribus, coepit cum eis de belli ratione tractare --- Rievaulx p. 188.

(1153) Factum est autem ut mense Novembri, in fine mensis, ex praecepto regis et ducis convenirent apud Wintoniam

praesules et principes regni --- I Gervas p. 156.

2. (1092) At rex Willelmus junior --- totius fere Angliae episcopis mandavit, ut in unum convenientes, septenis idibus Maii ecclesiam dedicarent. --- II Worcester p. 30.
3. (1094) --- fere episcopi una cum principibus Angliae ad Hastings convenerunt, ipsum regem in Normanniam transfretare volentem sua benedictione et concursu prosecuturi --- Eadmer p. 47
4. (1086) Nec multo post mandavit ut archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, comites, barones, vicecomites, cum suis militibus, die kalendarum Augustarum sibi occurrerent Searesbyriae; quo cum venissent, milites illorum sibi fidelitatem contra omnes homines jurare coegit. II Worcester p. 19.
 (1086) --- and there his witan came to him, and all the landholders that were of account over all England, be they the men of what man they might; and they all submitted to him, and were his men, and swore to him oaths of fealty, that they would be faithful to him against all other men.
 A. S. Ch. p. 186.

5. (1116) --- factus est conventus episcoporum abbatum et principum totius regni --- omnes principes facti sunt homines ipsius Willelmi, fide et sacramento confirmati --- Eadmer p. 237.

(1116) Conventio optimatum et baronum totius Angliae apud Selesbyriam, XIV kalend, Aprilis facta est, qui in praesentia regis Heinrici homagium filio suo Willelmo fecerunt, et fidelitatem ei juraverunt. Habita est ibi causa de querela, quae inter archiepiscopum Canteuariensem Radulfum et electum pontificem Eboracensem Thurstanum per integrum annum versata fuerat. II Worcester p. 68.

6. (1126) --- Willelmi archiepiscopus et ecclesiae Romanae legatus, caeterique Angliae regionis episcopi omnes, cum terrae principibus ~~terras~~ ipsius, fide et sacramento sponderunt filiae regis --- II Worcester p. 85.

7. (1126) --- omnes totius Angliae optimates, episcopos etiam et abbates, sacramento adigit et obstrinxit, ut si ipse sine herede masculino decederet, Matildem filiam suam quondam imperatricem incunctanter et sine ulla retractione

dominam susciperent --- II Malmesbury p. 528.

8. (1128) --- ubi in Circumcisione Domini, jubente illo, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, rexque Scottorum David, comites et barones totius Angliae juraverunt, ut filiae suae imperatrici fide servata regnum Angliae haereditario jure post eum servarent, nisi ipse moriens filium de legitimo matrimonio sui haeredem relinqueret. Simeon of Durham. p. 281.
9. (1131) --- habitoque non parvo procerum conventu apud Northampton, priscam fidem apud eos qui dederant novavit, ab his qui non dederant accepit --- II Malmesbury p. 534.
10. (1131) Fuit igitur in Nativitate Sanctae Mariae magnum placitum apud Northampton: in quo, congregati omnibus Angliae deliberatum est quod filia sua redderetur viro suo, scilicet consuli Andegavensi --- Henry Hunt. p. 252.
11. (1070) --- ad praesentiam suam convocavit utrumque cum episcopis Angliae: ubi partis utriusque rationibus auditis, decretum est tandem ut Thomas Cantuariam rediret, et inter sacrandum debitam ecclesiae Cantuariensi et Lanfranco

faceret professionem --- Actus Pont. p. 365.

12. (1070) --- multitudinem nobilium Angliae --- Thomas debitam et absolutam Cantuaninsi ecclesiae et Lanfranco fecit professionem --- Actus Pont. p. 366.

13. (1102) Post haec, in festivitate S. Michalis, rex fuit Lundoniae apud Westmonasterium, et cum eo omnes principes regni sui, ecclesiastici et secularis ordinis: ubi duos de clericis duobus episcopatibus investivit, Rogerium videlicet cancellarium episcopatu Searesbyriensi, et Rogerium larderarium suum pontificatu Herefordensi --- II Worcester p. 51.

(1102) At St. Michaels mass, the king was at Westminster, and all the chief men in this land, both ordained and lay --- A. S. Ch. p. 206.

(1121) --- quos omnes in Epiphania Domini sub uno Lundoniae congregavit, decrevit sibi in uxorem Atheleidam filiam ducis Lotharingiae --- Eadmer p. 290.

(1121) Concilio totius Angliae ante purificationem Sanctae Mariae apud Winderesoram adunato, Henricus rex filiam

Godefridi ducis Levaniae Adelinam matrimonio sibi junxit.
 Dum haec ita administrantur, et conventu principum qui, ut
 praelibavimus, factus fuerat nondum soluto, magnus sermo
 habitus est de discidio quod eousque versabatur inter
 Radulfum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et Thurstanum Ebor-
 acensem --- Eadmer p. 291.

Ricardus capellanus regis ad Herefordensis, et Rodbertus
 Peccatos alius capellanus ad Coventrensium ecclesiae praesul-
 atum eligitur, Herbertus elemosynarius Westmonasterii
 Sancti Petri (in abbatem) ejusdem loci eligitur ---
 Simeon of Durham p. 259.

Post festum autem sancti Michaelis, comitantibus archiepis-
 copis, episcopis, abbatibus, et pene totius Angliae
 primatibus, venit Wintoniam, ibique filio sororis suae
 Henrico --- Wintoniensis ecclesiae dedit episcopatum ---
 Datus est et episcopatus Coventrensium, qui et Cestrensium,
 Rogerio nepoti Goffridi Dedintun --- Simeon of Durham
 p. 283.

(1138) Rex --- tenuit concilium Northamptoniae, cui

praesidebant Eboracensis archiepiscopus Thurstanus, episcopi, abbates, comites, barones, nobiles quique per Angliam. In quo etiam concilio, quorundam electione, Exoniensi ecclesiae, jam pastorali cura destitutae de medio facti praesulia, Willelmi de Warawast, archidiaconus, nomine Rotbertus, pontificali jure praeficitur Duae etiam datae sunt abbatiae, una Wincelcumbae cuidam Cluniacensi monacho, ut ferunt, regis propinquo, nomine Rotberto Eboraci cuidam monacho---
II Worcester p. 105.

14. (1095) --- episcopis, abbatibus, cunctisque regni principibus una coeuntibus --- Eadmer p. 53.

(1107) In Kalendis ergo Augusti conventus episcoporum, abbatum et procerum regni Lundoniae in palatio regis factus est, et per tres continuos dies, absente Anselmo, inter regem et episcopos satis actum de ecclesiarum investituris --- Eadmer p. 186-7.

15. --- coepit Anselmus --- exigere a Berardo archiepiscopo Eboracensi professionem de sua subjectione --- sua manu imposita manui Anselmi, interposita fide sua pollicitus

est, se eandem subjectionem et oboedientiam ipsi et successoribus ejus in archiepiscopatu exhibiturum, quam Herefordensi ecclesiae ab eo sacrandus antistes illi promiserat. --- Eadmer p. 187.

16. (1136) Igitur Stephanus --- episcopos et proceres sui regni regali edicto in unum convenire praecepit --- Richard of Hexham p. 148

(1136) Edicto per Angliam promulgato, summos ecclesiarum duectores cum primis populi ad concilium Londonias conscivit --- ecclesiamque columnis sedendi ordine dispositis, vulgo etiam confuse et permixtim, ut solet, ubique se ingerente, plura regno et ecclesiae profutura fuerunt et utiliter ostensa, et salubriter pertractata --- cum imploraverunt quatinus suae ecclesiae libertati redderet, sui eam juris compotem efficeret, illius instituta legibus secularium praeponi, illius decreta nulla ratione praevalente pateretur remitti --- Quaecumque postularent gratuito eis indulgens, ecclesiae libertatem fixam et inviolabilem esse, illius statuta rata et inconcussa, ejus ministros, cufuscum que

professionis essent vel ordinis, omni reverentia honorandos esse praecepit. Et istis quidem tali modo peroratis, in una omnium pace et concordia concilium est solutum --- Gesta Stephani p. 17 ff.

17. (1070) Lanfrancus --- Cantuariensem ecclesiam suscepit regendam; eligentibus cum senioribus ejusdem ecclesiae cum episcopis et principibus, clero et populo Angliae --- Actus Pont. p. 365.
18. (1114) --- episcopos et principes Angliae in unum apud Windlesoram fecit venire, eorum consilium in constituendo pontifice Cantuariensi volens habere --- et prior ac nonnulli fratres Cantuariensis --- Sic electus in pontificatum Cantuariensem Radulfus Rofensis episcopus est --- Eadmer p. 223.
19. (1123) Vir eximiae religionis Willelmus canonicus S. Osgithae de cice, ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem Glawornae, ubi in Purificatione S. Mariae rex tenuit suam curiam, eligitus --- II Worcester p. 77
- (1123) Factus est conventus episcoporum abbatum ac procerum ex praeepto regis apud Glocestriam pro substituendo

pontifice in locum defuncti, Jussu quoque regis quidam
 ex monachis Cantuariensibus venerunt illuc, patrem sibi
 electui, sive suscepturi --- Petierunt inducias --- Cum
 igitur monachi monachum et episcopi clericum peterent in
 tandem eximia religionis et prudentiae Willelmus ---
 Actus Pont. p. 380.

20. And bade his bishops, and his abbots and all his thanes,
 that they should come to his council (genitenagemot) on
 Candlemas day at Gloucester to meet him --- When they were
 there gathered, the king bade them that they should choose
 them an archbishop of Canterbury --- Then they choose a
 clerk, who was named William of Corbeil. A. S. Ch. p. 218.
21. --- apud Glawornam in purificatione sanctae Mariae curiam
 suam rex teneret, ex praecepto regis initur a majoribus
 Angliae consilium de constituendo ad ecclesiam Cantuariensem
 archiepiscopo --- Simeon of Durham p. 268.
22. (1097) In sequenti antem mense Augusto, cum de statu regni
 acturus rex episcopos, abbates, et quosque regni proceres
 in unum --- Eadmer p. 80.

23. --- adunatis primoribus et probis viris non solum de comitatu Cantiae, sed et de aliis comitatibus Angliae, querelae Lanfranci in medium ducerentur --- Eadmer p. 17.
24. In congregatione illa famosa nobilium Angliae et seniorum --- Actus Pont. o. 369.
25. (1087) --- episcopis et primoribus Angliae --- Actus Pont. p. 369.
26. (1100) --- in regem electus est, aliquantis tamen ante controversiis inter proceres agitatis atque sopitis --- II Malmesbury p. 470.
27. (1100) --- annuentibus cunctis Francis et Anglis --- Jumièges p. 886.
 ---- annuentibus cunctis Francis et Anglis coronam regni Angliae suscepit --- Brevis Relatio p. 12.
28. (1100) --- those of the witan who were nigh at hand, choose his brother Henry for king. A. S. Ch. p. 204.
29. (1135) --- convocatis episcopis et proceribus Angliae coronavit Stephanum --- Actus Pont. p. 383.
30. (1135) Majores natu, consultuque quique provectiores, concilium coegere, deque regni statu --- ad regem eligendum

unanimiter conspirarere. Gesta Stephani p. 4.

31. --- a primoribus regni, cum favore cleri ac populi, Stephanus comes Bononiae electus --- Richard of Hexham p. 144.
32. (1141) ---- occurrunt illi cum gloria et pompa magna praesules pene totius Angliae, barones multi, principes plurimi, milites innumeri, abbates cum suis diversi, ---- datus ejus dominio corona regni Angliae. II Conon Worcester p. 130.
33. (1152) Anno XVII rex Stephanus Eustachium filium suum regio diademate proposuit insignire, Postulans igitur ab archiepiscopo praedicto et caeteris episcopis, quos ibidem congregaveret, ut eum in regem ungerent, et benedictione sua confirmarent, repulsam passus est. Hen. Hunt. p. 283.
34. Archbishop and the wise men went betwixt them and made this agreement; That the king should be lord and king while he lived; and after his day Henry should be king; and he should hold him as a father, and he him as a son, and peace and concord should be betwixt them and in all England. This and the other compacts which they made, the king, and the court and the bishops, and all the powerful men,

swore to observe. A. S. Ch. p. 235.

35. (1096) Octavis Epiphaniae apud Searesbyriam celebrato concilio, Willelmi de Owe in duellio victi oculos eruere et testiculos abscidere, et dapiferum illius Willelmum de Alderi, filium amitae illius, traditionis conscium, jussit rex suspendi: comitem vero Odonena de Campania, praedicti scilicet Stephani patrem, Philippum Rogeri Scrobberbyriensis comitis filium, et quosdam alios traditionis participes in custodiam posuit. II Worcester p. 39.
36. (1114) — ut cum poneret archiepiscopum --- concilium Windlesoris coegit --- Malm Gesta Pont. p. 125.
37. (1121) Concilio totius Angliae ante purificationem Sanctae Mariae apud Winderesoram adunato, Henricus rex filiam Godefridi ducis Levaniae Adelinam matrimonio sibi junxit. Ricardus capellanus regis ad Herefordensis, et Rodbertus Peccator alius capellanus ad Conventrensium ecclesiae praesulatum eligitur, Hubertus elemosynarius Westmonasterii Sancti Petri (in abbatem) ejusdem loci eligitur, Edmerus, Cantuariensis ecclesiae monachus, praecedenti anno electus ad episcopatum ecclesiae Sancti Andreae gentis Scottorum

deposita intentione regendi episcopatum, reuestitur, ad locum suum - Simeon of Durham p. 259.

38. (1126) ---- in eodem concilio omnes totius Angliae optimates, episcopos etiam et abbates, sacramento adegit et obstrinxit, ut --- Matildem filiam suam quondam imperatricem incurtantu et sine ulla retractione dominam suscipere --- Juraverunt ergo cuncti, quicumque in eodem concilio alicujus viderentur esse momenti ---- II Malmesbury p. 528.

39. (1135) Majores igitur natu, consultuque quique proveciores, concilium coegere, deque regni statu, pro arbitrio suo, utilia in commune providentes, ad regem eligendum unanimiter conspiravere. - Gesta Stephani p. 4.

40. (1136) ---- Stephanus ----- episcopos et proceres --- cum quibus hoc generale concilium celebravit. Richard of Hexham p. 148.

----- Edicto per Angliam promulgato, summus ecclesiarum ductores cum primis populi ad concilium Londonias conscribit.

----- plura regno et ecclesiae propetma fuerunt et utiliter ostensa, et salubriter pertracta ---- Quaecumque postularent gratuito eis indulgens, ecclesiae libertatem fixam et

inviolabilem esse, illius statuta rata et inconcussa ejus ministros, cujuscumque professionis essent vel ordinis, omni reverentia honorandos esse praecepit. Et istis quidem tali modo peroratis, in una omnium pace et concordia concilium est solutum. Gesta Stephani p. 17.

41. Rex Anglorum Stephanus, in octavis Paschae, quod erat IV idus Apriles tenuit concilium Northamptoniae, cui praesidebant Eboracensis archiepiscopus Thurstanus, episcopi, abbates, comites, barones, nobiles quique per Angliam. In quo etiam concilio, quorundam electione. Exoniensi ecclesiae, jam pastorali cura destitutae, de medio facti praesulis, Willelmi de Warawast, archidiaconus, nomine Robertus pontificali jure praeficitur. Duae etiam datae sunt abbatae, una Wincelcumbae cuidam Cluniacensi monacho, ut ferunt, regis propinquo, nomine Roberto, altera Eboraci cuidam monacho --- II Worcester p. 105.
42. (1087) Disposito itaque apud Pinnedene principum conventus ----- Eadmer p. 17.
43. (1097) In sequenti autem mense Augusto, cum de statu regni acturus rex episcopos, abbates, et quosque regni proceres

- in unum --- conventus soluto ---- Eadmer p. 60
44. Virum (Anselm) ad se Wintoniae, adunato ibi conventu nobilium, venire fecit --- primatum ecclesiae Anglorum suscipere suasit atque persuasit --- Eadmer p. 41.
45. (1095) Fit itaque conventus omnium Dominico die in ecclesia quae est in ipso castro sita ab hora prima, rege et suis secretius in Anselmum per institutionem pontificis ante mortem suam consuleret pro voto consuluit --- Eadmer p. 54.
46. In Kalendis ergo Augusti conventus episcoporum, abbatum et procerum regni Londoniae in palatio regis factus est, --- inter regem et episcopos satis actum de ecclesiarum investituris ---- Eadmer p. 186
47. Post haec XIII kal. Aprilis factus est conventus episcoporum abbatum et principum totius regni apud Serberiam, cogente eos illuc sanctione regis Henrici ---- Igitur, agita regis voluntate, mox ad nutum ejus omnes principes facti sunt homines ipsius Willelmi, fide et sacramento confirmati --- Eadmer p. 237.

48. (1121) --- conventu principum --- magnus sermo habitus est de discidio quod eousque versabatur inter Radulfum archiepiscopum et Thurstanum Eboracensem --- Eadmer p. 291.
(1121) Haec querimonia facta Eboraci, mediis ferme Quadragesima, replicatur paulo post in ebdomada Paschali feria IV idus Aprilis Dunelmi, coram magno conventu principalium virorum ---- Simeon of Durham p. 261.
49. (1123) Factus est conventus episcoporum, abbatum ac procerum ex praecepto regis apud Glocestriam pro substituendo pontifice in locum defuncti --- Actus Pont. p. 380.
50. (1123) apud Glawornam in purificatione Sanctae Mariae curiam suam rex teneret, ex praecepto regis initur a majoribus Angliae consilium de constituendo ad ecclesiam Cantuariensem archiepiscopo ---- Simeon of Durham p. 268
51. (1123) ---- ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem Glawornae, ubi in Purificatione S. Mariae rex tenuit curiam suam, eligitus ---- II Worcester p. 77.
Simeon of Durham p. 268 above.
52. (1131) --- habitoque non parvo procerum conventu apud Northamptonam, priscam fidem apud eos qui dederant novavit,

at his qui non dederant accepit --- II Malmesbury p. 534.
 Fuit igitur in Nativitate Sanctae Mariae magnum placitum
 apud Nordhantune; in quo, congregatis omnibus principibus
 Angliae deliberatum est quod filia sua redderet viro suo,
 scilicet consuli Andegavensi, eam requirenti. Hen. Hunt.
 p. 252.

53. (1139) Apud Oxenefordum circa octavum kalendas Julii facto
 conventu magnatum --- II Malmesbury p. 548.
54. (1152) --- de successione regni sollicitus esset --- convocato
 episcoporum et procerum conventu --- Actus Pont. p. 388.
55. (1153) --- Rex pariter recognovit in conventu episcoporum et
 comitum et reliquorum optimatum hereditarium jus, quod dux
 Henricus habebat in regno Angliae --- Tourigi p. 177.
56. (1121) --- in conventus episcoporum et numerosae multitudinis
 populi, qui ad ejus consecrationem convenerant --- Eadmer
 p. 298.
57. (1153) Exinde rex ducem Londonias secum duxit, nec ibi
 minori gaudio ab innumerabilis conventu plebis, procession-
 ibus luculentissimus, ut tantum decebat visum, susceptus

- est. Hen. Hunt. p. 289.
58. (1116) Conventio optimatum et baronum tótius Angliae apud Selesbyriam, XIV kalend, Aprilis facta est, qui in praesentia regis Heinrichi homagium filio suo Willelmo fecerunt, et fidelitatem ei juraverunt II Worcester p. 68.
59. (1087) In congregatione illa famosa nobilium Angliae et seniorum, quae ex praecepto regis facta est apud Pinindene --- Actus Pont. p. 369
60. (1132) Post Pascha fuit magnum placitum apud Londoniam, ubi --- discordia episcopi Sancti Davidis et episcopi Glamorgensis de finibus parachianum suarum, tractatum est. Hen. Hunt p. 253.
61. (1102) --- ubi etiam Anselmus archiepiscopus tenuit magnum concilium de his quae ad Christianitatem pertinent, considerantibus secum archiepiscopo Eboracensi Gerardo --- In hoc consilio plures abbates, Francigeni et Angli, sunt depositi et honoribus privati quos injuste acquisierunt, aut in eis inhoneste vixerunt, scilicet --- II Worcester p. 51.
62. (1102) Simeon of Durham p. 235.

63. (1108) --- Statutum est ut prebyteri --- Illi vero presbyteri, diaconi, subdiaconi, qui post interdictum Lundoniensis consilii foeminas suas tenuerunt --- II Worcester p. 58.
64. Simeon of Durham. p. 240.
65. (1070) --- et in consilio, in loco qui vocatur Pedreda celebrato, coram rege ac Doruberniae archiepiscopo Landfranco, et episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, et primatibus totius Angliae. ----- II Worcester p. 8.
66. Simeon of Durham p. 194.
67. Sedunensis igitur episcopus, postquam Stigandus, ut jam dictum est, deposuit, Lanfrancum ad regimen pontificale invitavit, et in consilio episcoporum ac abbatum Normanniae petitionem Ecclesiae Dei denuntiavit. Vitalis p. 327.
- (1106) --- In medio Octobri rex Lexovium, venit, cunctos optimates Neustriae ~~dux~~ convocavit, et utilissimum Ecclesiae Dei consilium tenuit. Vitalis p. 816.
68. --- qui erant sanioris et profundioris consilii --- Gesta Stephani p. 124.
69. Tunc Hugo arma pro senio non ferebat, sed sapientia consilio-

- que acutas, eminebat. Vitalis p. 605.
70. (Henry) --- nam et consilio profundissimus. Hen. Hunt. p. 255.
Henricus --- erat namque vir consilii --- Richard of Hexham
p. 140.
71. --- quia sapientissima erat et in necessitate magni consilii
--- Gesta Herwardi p. 398.
Eustachius filius Johannis --- vir --- in secularibus
negotiis magni consilii --- Rievaulx p. 191.
72. (Henry, bishop of Windsor) --- omnibus Angliae magnatibus
consilio et prudentia praestantior --- Gesta Stephani p. 73.
73. Illum (Henry) etiam sanctitate et consilio tam spirituali
quam saeculari --- Jumièges p. 900
74. --- libentius bellabat consilio quam gladio --- II Malmesbury
p. 488.
75. Nunc consilio non minus opus est quam virtute. Rievaulx
p. 197.
76. Sed, ut scriptum est, non est sapientia, non est prudentia,
non est consilium contra Dominum --- Gesta Stephani p. 52.

77. Robertus Bloet Lincolniensis episcopus, cum seorsum a caeteris rex et ipse incolumis equitantes colloquerentur consilio --- Simeon of Durham p. 268.
78. Horum igitur quae cum salute et honestate mea nequeas transgredi me transgressorem fieri, non videtur esse sani consilio --- Eadmer p. 131.
79. (William) ---- et gesta ejus ac varios et praeclaros eventus ac intima et profunda consilia --- Vitalis p. 305.
80. ---- Lanfrancus ---- consiliisque ac gubernatione rerum mundialium aegre prudentissimum --- Actus Pont. p. 364.
81. --- rex --- prudenti usus consilio --- Eadmer p. 295.
82. --- ad petitionem et consilium ejus pater noster coepto sese itineri reddidit --- Eadmer p. 242.
83. Supra memoratus Thomas inter ista, mutata priori consilio, Cantuariam --- venire non potuit --- Eadmer p. 203.
84. ---- ad utilitatem ecclesiae visum consilium est episcopatum praefatum in duos dividere --- Eadmer p. 196.
85. ---- consilium habitum est ut apud Heli constitueretur episcopus --- Malm. Gesta Pont. p. 325.

85. Quod archiepiscopus Cantuariensis intelligens sapienti consilio usus est. Eadmer p. 95.
86. ---- Balduinum monachum, in quo pars major consiliorum Anselmi pendeat --- Eadmer p. 67.
87. Imperatrix autem --- prudenti et necessario usa consilio fugam meditata est --- Chron. Gervas Cant. p. 124.
88. Hujus consilii rex maxime confidens --- Chron. Gervas Cant. p. 105.
89. Sed haec qui recte judicare volet, consiliis ministrorum imputabit --- II Malmesbury p. 495.
90. --- sed cum intra civitatem aggredi consilium non fuit. --- II Malmesbury. p. 593.
91. --- et propter consilia levia, quibus nimium aurem accomodabat - Jumièges p. 888.
92. --- sum rex militum magis consiliis adquiescere videretur-- Rievaulx p. 190
93. --- vestris consiliis omnia tractabuntur -- Rievaulx p. 188.
94. --- et per medios hastes irumpere, seque quamdiu possent defendere cogitaverant, nisi Deus interim eis aliud con-

- silium providisset --- Richard of Hexham p. 171.
95. --- saniori consilio, in ipso hostium conspectu castellum
offirmavit --- Gesta Stephani p. 51.
96. Cumque animadvertisset regem ad obsidionem ingerendam
animum offirmasse inutile id et inacceptum tam sibi quam
regno ait esse consilium --- Gesta Stephani p. 56.
97. Territi vero tanta obstinatione regis, salutis suae con-
siliium in dagere coeperunt --- Vitalis p. 793.
98. Igitur barones illius provinciae --- et quid consilii
in hac tempestate habere deberent --- Richard of Hexham
p. 160.
99. --- atque consiliis ejus per omnia et in omnibus obtemper-
aturum. Eadmer p. 25.
100. Egregie proceres, verba mea diligenter audite, et salubre
consilium mihi, quaeso, tribute -- Vitalis p. 529.
101. Ibi consilio suorum duas abbatias --- propriis pastoribus
investivit. II Worcester o. 122 .
102. --- Wintoniensis episcopi consilio persuasus --- Gesta
Stephani p. 26.

103. --- cum utiliori baronum praeventus consilio --- Gesta Stephani p. 57.
104. Consilio tandem suorum, soluta obsidione. Gesta Stephani p. 53.
105. Datoque tandem consilio et approbato -- Gesta Stephani p. 62.
106. Sano suorum adquevit consilio --- Gesta Stephani p. 111.
107. Barones --- sanum regis auribus instillarunt consilium --- Gesta Stephani p. 110.
108. --- mortu fratre suo comite Roberto et Milone constabulario, quorum maxime consilio regebatur. Gesta Stephani p. 75.
109. Cum autem medicus hoc (carnes murenarum) somedi prohiberet, non adquevit rex salubri consilio --- Hen. Hunt. p. 254.
110. --- ille sui cordis consilio ~~in~~prae - meditatus credens --- II Worcester p. 69.
111. --- O rex, fidelis tuus, daturus nunc consilium tibi honorabile --- Rievaulx p. 192.
112. --- multos, cum nil consueti consilii aut sperati auxilii per me habere potuerint. --- Eadmer p. 37.

113. --- nullus enim aut consilium aut auxilium mihi ad haec audebat dare --- Eadmer p. 93.
114. --- et oro Dominum, cujus consilium manet in aeternum. Eadmer p. 177.
115. Praeterea, quia consilium petitis, consulo vobis ut non incipiatis aliquid quod non debetis contra ecclesiam Cantuariensem. Eadmer p. 203.
116. (1088) Normanni interiore ineuntes consilium, rogant ipsum episcopum ut ab ecclesia transiret in castellum, tutiores se affirmantes de ejus praesentia. ---- II Worcester p. 25.
117. Fama volans dicti pervenit Odonis ad aures, et cum sociis inito consilio, relinquens Roveceastiam, cum paucis adiit castrum fratris sui Rotberti Moutunensis comitis -- II Worcester p. 23.
118. (1095) Attamen immutabile considerans quod factum fuerat consilio cum suis inito, quaerebat qualiter --- Eadmer p. 69.
119. Rex ad haec consilio cum episcopis habito quid super his et quibusdam aliis --- papae responderet --- Eadmer p. 234.
120. --- Ad haec ille vocato in consilium suum Johanne episcopo

Glaschonenſi et duobus monachis Cantuarienſibus quos tunc temporis ſecum habebat --- Eadmer p. 284.

121. Rex ---- habito cum ſuis apud Edeſtoc -- conſilio --- filium ſuum nothum Rodbertum et comitem Ceſtrenſem Ranulfum cum multa militari manu tranſmiſit in Normanniam propter locorum cuſtodia --- Simeon of Durham p. 268.
122. (1136) Conticuerunt ad haec epiſcopi, et, conſilio inter ſe ſecum habito, haec tandem monachis retulerunt -- Chron. Gervas Cant. p. 98.
123. Qui, habito cum fratribus conſilio juſſit ut obices (vaſorum) quae vinum habebant, adveſperante die criſmate circumlinirentur --- Chron. Gervas Cant. p. 102.
124. Archiepiſcopus vero Eboraceniſis Turſtanus conſilio habito cum Eboraceniſibus, Scotticis conatibus viriliter reſiſtere propoſiut --- Chron. Gervas Cant. p. 105.
125. (1138) Talia audientes terrentus cives Wigornenſes: quid facto opus ſit conſulunt. Quo habito conſilio, ad Dei ſummi patris, et ad beatiffimae ſuae genetricis aſylum miſeriae confugiunt, et ſub patrociniſſimo conſeſſorum ſancti Oſwaldi et beati Wlſtani, civitatis ejuſdem praesulum, ſe

- et sua divinae tuitioni committunt --- II Worcester p. 118.
126. Porro fugiens domina per Oxenefordiam venit ad Glavorniam, ubi cum Milone ex-constabulario consilio inito, statim cum eodem ad Oxenefordensem revertitus urbem ----II Worcester p. 132.
127. Domina imperatrix, Henrici regis filia --- habito cum suis consilio ---- Ciricestrensem adiit civitatem --- II Worcester p. 130.
128. Archiepiscopus igitur, habito cum suis consilio, Silvestrum priorem ab officio prioratum deposuit, et Willelmum secretarium ab introitu chori suspendit --- Gervas. I p. 139.
129. Rodbertus autem --- Hic itaque primis cum complicibus suis futile consilium iniit --- Vitalis p. 623
130. Regreso rege Rothomagum, providi proceres inierunt consilium qualiter pacificarent patrem et filium. Ad hoc itaque consilium Rogerius comes Scrobesburniensis, Hugo de Grentemaisnilio, Rogerius de Bellomonte cum filiis suis Rodberto et Henrico, alique plures adfuerunt, regique

dixerunt --- Vitalis p. 412.

131. Cumque Robertus (de Belismo) licentiam, ut moris est, eundi ad consilium cum suis postulasset --- Vitalis p. 791.
132. Qua de re inierunt consilium, aliquem ullo modo foras ad explorandum mittere debere --- Gesta Herwardi p. 385.
133. Interea Cenomannenses advertentes ducem Robertum tot perturbationibus in Northmannia occupatum, consilium ineunt cum Helia Joannis de Fleca --- Jumièges p. 883.