

**1042-1052- Emma Anglorum Regina - Vita Operaque [Ex Hist Notrhmann Script]
Migne - Patrologia Latina - Volumen 141: Col 1373 - 1397**

[1373]

**ANNO DOMINI MXLV.
EMMAE REGINAE ANGLORUM, RICHARDI I DUCIS NORTHMANNORUM FILIAE,
ENCOMIUM, INCERTO AUCTORE, SED COAETANEO.
(Edidit DUCHESNE, *Historiae Northmannorum Scriptores antiqui*, pag. 163.)**

ADMONITIO PRAEVIA. (*Histoire littéraire de la France*, tom. VII, pag. 574.)

Un écrivain, qui ne nous est connu que par sa qualité de moine de Saint-Bertin, nous a laissé un ouvrage intitulé *Eloge d'Emma*, reine d'Angleterre, fille de Richard Ier, duc de Normandie; titre aussi pompeux qu'insuffisant pour exprimer la nature de l'ouvrage et en donner une juste idée. C'est effectivement moins l'éloge de cette princesse que l'histoire de Canut le Grand, roi de Danemark et d'Angleterre, qu'elle épousa en secondes nocces, et d'Harald, fils et successeur de ce roi. Il est divisé en deux livres, dont le premier, qui est fort court, contient l'histoire abrégée de Suein, roi de Danemark, père de Canut, et les commencements de celle de ce dernier. L'autre livre, qui est plus prolixe, est employé à décrire le règne de Canut et les révolutions dont il fut suivi en Angleterre sous Harald et après sa mort, lorsqu'Edouard, fils du roi Ethelrède et de la reine Emma, parvint à la couronne. Cet événement arriva en 1042, et notre auteur n'a pas poussé son Histoire plus loin. Il décrit en finissant la bonne intelligence et l'union qui régnaient entre ce prince et Canut II, son frère utérin, roi de Danemark: ce qui montre que l'historien n'entreprit d'écrire que quelque temps après l'époque qu'on vient de marquer. Mais il est certain qu'il l'exécuta avant l'année 1052, qui est la date de la mort d'Emma, à qui l'écrit est dédié par une Epître détachée du corps de l'ouvrage, et suivie d'un Avertissement ou Sommaire de toute l'Histoire

Cet ouvrage, que Duchesne a donné au public sur un manuscrit de la bibliothèque Cottonienne, paraît peu connu, puisqu'il n'y a encore que cette édition. Il aurait assurément mérité de trouver place dans les recueils des historiens d'Angleterre et de Danemark qu'on a imprimés depuis un siècle ou environ. Outre quantité de traits propres à illustrer l'histoire de ces deux royaumes, qui s'y lisent, ce qu'il contient doit passer pour très-avéré. C'est la production d'un auteur non-seulement contemporain, mais qui avait encore en singulière recommandation la vérité de l'histoire, comme il s'en explique lui-même. D'ailleurs le style en est fort bon pour le siècle où l'ouvrage a été fait. Il est même fleuri en plusieurs endroits, et animé jusqu'au point qu'il retient quelque chose du style poétique.

PROLOGUS. [1373B]

Salus tibi sit a Domino Jesu Christo, o regina, quae omnibus in hoc sexu positis praestas morum [1374B] elegantia. Ego servus tuus nobilitati tuae digna factis meis exhibere nequeo, quoque pacto verbis saltem [1375A] illi placere nescio. Quod enim cujuslibet periti eloquentis de te virtus tua praeeminet, omnibus a quibus cognosceris ipso solis jubare clarius lucet. Te igitur erga me adeo bene meritam magni facio, ut morti intrepidus occumberem, si in rem tibi provenire crederem. Qua ex re mihi etiam, ut praecipis, memoriam rerum gestarum, rerum, inquam, tuo tuorumque honori attinentium litteris posteritati mandare gestio; sed ad hoc faciendum me mihi sufficere posse dubito. Hoc enim in Historia proprium exigitur ut nullo erroris diverticulo a recto veritatis tramite declinetur; quoniam cum quis alicujus gesta scribens, veritati falsa quaedam seu errando, sive (ut saepe fit) ornatus gratia interserit, profecto unius tantum comperta admistione mendacii auditor facta [1375B] velut infecta ducit. Unde historicis magnopere cavendum esse censeo ne, veritati quibusdam falso interpositis contraeundo, nomen etiam perdat quod videtur habere ex officio. Res enim veritati, veritas quoque fidem facit rei. Haec mecum aliaque hujusmodi reputante, rubor animum vehementer excruciat; [1376A] cum pariter considero quam pessime in talibus sese humana consuetudo habeat. Videns enim aliquis quempiam pro exprimenda rei veritate verbis indulgentem, vanae loquacitatis eum mordaciter redarguit; alium vero quem dixi blasphemiam fugientem et aequo modestiorem in narratione, cum operta denudare debeat, aperta oculuisse dicit. Tali itaque angustia circumseptus, ab invidentibus loquax dici timeo, si, neglecta venustate dictaminis, Historiam scripturus multiplici narratione usus fuero. Quoniam vero, quin scripturus sim evadere me non posse video, unum horum quae proponam eligendum esse autumnio, scilicet aut variis judiciis hominum subjacere, aut de his quae mihi a te, domina regina, praecepta sunt, praeipientem negligendo conticescere. [1376B] Malo itaque a quibusdam de loquacitate redargui, quam veritatem maxime memorabilis rei per me omnibus occultari. Quocirca jubentem dominam

magni pendens, hanc mihi elegi viam, excusabiles deinceps occasiones posthabens, hinc narrationis contextionem faciam.

ARGUMENTUM. [1375] [1375C]

Fortasse, o lector, ambiges, meque scriptorem erroris aut inscitiae redargues, cur in hujus libelli capite actus laudesque Sueini serenissimi regis promulgaverim, cum in suprascripta epistola ipsum codicellum laudi hujus dominae me sponderim facturum. Quod ita esse ipse fatebere, meque ab ejus laudibus nusquam accipies deviare, si prima mediis, atque si extrema sagaci more conferas primis. Atque ut ad hoc intuendum nulla erroris impediatis nebula, a similibus atque a penitus veris hoc tibi habeas theoremata. Aeneida, conscriptam a Virgilio quis poterit inficiari ubique laudibus respondere Octaviani, cum pene nihil aut plane parum ejus mentio videatur nominatim interseri? Animadvertite igitur laudem suo generi ascriptam ipsius decori [1375D] claritudinis, claritatisque in omnibus nobilitate gloriam. Quis autem hic neget laudibus reginae hunc per omnia respondere codicem, cum non modo ad ejus gloriam scribatur, verum etiam ejus maximam videatur obtinere partem? Id tibi si probabile non videtur, evidenti alterius rei indicio approbetur. Nosti quoniam, ubicunque gyraveris circulum, primo omnium procul dubio principium facies esse punctum, sicque rotato continuatim orbe reducetur circulus, quo reducto ad suum principium ejus figurae continuatur ambitus. Simili igitur continuatione laus reginae claret in primis, in mediis viget, in ultimis invenitur, omnemque prorsus codicis [1376C] summam complectitur. Quod esse mecum sentiens sic collige. Sueinus rex Danorum, virtute armisque pollens et consilio, Anglicum regnum vi suo subjugavit imperio, moriensque ejusdem regni Cnutonem filium successorem esse constituit. Hic postmodum eisdem Anglis contra se sentientibus, atque acriter vim instrumenti vi quoque repugnantibus, multa confecit bella; et fortasse vix aut nunquam bellandi adesset finis, nisi tandem hujus nobilissimae reginae jugali copula potiretur, favente gratia Salvatoris. Vivens adhuc de hac eadem regina suscepto filio, Hardecnut scilicet, quidquid suae parebat ditioni tradidit. Qui, defuncto patre, Anglicis absens erat. Regnum siquidem Danorum procuraturus ierat. Quae absentia imperii sui fines invadendi injusto pervasori [1376D] locum dedit. Qui accepto regno, fratrem regis nefandissima prodicione interemit. Sed divina ultio subsecuta, impiumque percutiens, regnum cui debebatur restituit. Hardecnut itaque, recepto regno, maternis per omnia parens consiliis, divitias ampliando regnum imperialiter obtinuit. Usus quin etiam egregia liberalitate fratri, utpote decebat, secum regni decus atque divitias impertivit. His enim animadversis, o lector, vigilique, imo etiam perspicaci oculo mentis perscrutato textu, intellige hujus libelli seriem per omnia reginae Emmae laudibus respondere.

LIBER PRIMUS. [1375] [1375D]

Regem Danorum Sueinum, inquam, veridica comperi relatione omnium sui temporis regum ferme [1376D] fortunatissimum exstitisse, adeo ut (quod raro contingere solet) principiis felicibus, secundum Deum [1377A] et saeculum, multo felicior responderet exitus. Hic denique a nobilissimis, quod primum est inter homines, duxit originem, magnumque sibi decus secundum saeculum peperit imperii quod administrabat regimen. Tantam deinde illi gratiam divina concessit virtus, ut etiam puerulus intimo affectu diligeretur ab omnibus, tantum patri proprio invisus, nulla hoc promerente puerili culpa, sed sola turbante invidia. Qui factus juvenis, in amore quotidie crescebat populi, unde magis magisque invidia augebatur patri; adeo ut eum a patria non jam clanculum, sed palam vellet expellere, jurejurandoque asserens eum post se regnaturum non esse. Unde dolens exercitus, relicto patre, haerebat filio et eum defensabat sedulo. Hujus rei gratia congregiuntur [1377B] in praelio, in quo vulneratus fugatusque pater ad Sclavos fugit, et non multo post ibi obiit, et Suein ejus solium quiete tenuit. Quam strenue vero prudenterque interim saecularia disposuerit negotia, paucis libet ad memoriam reducere, quatenus his interpositis facilius sit gradatim per haec ad subsequenda descendere. Denique cum nullo hostium incursu trepidus pacem in securitate ageret, periculi semper velut instantis metuens in castris vivebat, quod hostibus, si adessent, nullatenus fortasse resisteret, nihilque suis quae bello necessaria forent praeparando patiebatur remitti, scilicet ne per otium, ut assolet, viriles emollirentur animi. Nullum tamen adeo difficile invenire poterat negotium ad quod invitos impulsisset milites, quos multa liberali munificentia [1377C] sibi fecerat obnoxios et fideles. Atque, ut scias quantus suorum fuerit in praecordiis affectus, pro certo affirmare valeam quod nullus formidine mortis periculum refugeret, ejusque pro fidelitate hostibus innumeris solus, armatis etiam, manibus nudis imperterritus occurreret, si euntibus tantum regale praemonstraretur signum. At ne me credat aliquis haec falsa fingendo alicujus amoris gratia compilare, recte animadvertenti in subsequentibus patebit utrum vera dixerim an minime. Omnibus enim liquet procul dubio quoniam humanitatis ita sese habeat consuetudo, ut plerumque ex rebus prospere redeuntibus mentes quorumdam plus aequo exagitet cogitationum aestus, atque ex nimia in otio [1377D] licentia aggrediuntur aliqui quod vix cogitare, nedum facere, audent in adversitate positi. Ita etiam praelibati regis militibus, cum incompositae pacis diuturnitate cuncta cessissent prospere, firma sui pro

benefactis domini fretis stabilitate, eadem ipsi agitati placuit studere terram Anglicam invadendo sorte bellica imperii sui finibus adjicere. «Turchil, inquit, princeps militiae tuae, domine rex, licentia a te accepta, abiit ut fratrem suum inibi interfectum ulcisceretur, et, magnam partem exercitus tui abducens, vicisse se gaudet; et nunc meridianam partem provinciae victor obtinet, ac mavult ibi exsul degens, amicusque factus Anglorum, quos tua manu vicit gloriari, quam exercitum reducens tibi subdi, tibi que victoriam ascribi. Et nunc fraudamur sociis [1378A] et quadraginta puppibus quas secum duxit onustas de Danorum bellatoribus primis. Non tam grave dominus noster patiatu[r] dispendum, sed abiens cupientem ducat exercitum, et illi Turchil contumacem acquiremus cum suis satellitibus, eis quoque foederatos Anglos cum omnibus eorum possessionibus. Scimus enim diu eos non posse resistere, quia nostrates viri ad nos transibunt facile. Quod si eos velle contigerit, rex duci suo Danisque parcens, eos honoribus ampliabit. Si autem noluerit, quem despexere sentient. Hac illaque patria privati inter primos hostes regis poenas luent.»

Hujus rei adhortationem rex ubi audiit, primum secum mirari non mediocriter coepit, quia quod ipso diu dissimulanti celantique in mentem venerat, [1378B] itidem militibus cogitationem ejus ignorantibus animo sederat. Accersito itaque Cnutone filio suo majore, quid sibi super hoc negotii videretur, orsus est inquirere. Inquisitus autem ille a patre, metuens ne redargueretur si placito contraireret techna socordiae, non tantum terram adeundam esse approbat, verum etiam instigat hortaturque ne mora ulla incoeptum detineat. Ergo rex consulto optimatum firmatus, militumque benevolentia fisus, classem numerosam jussit parari et universam militiam Danorum undique moneri, ut statuto die armata adesset et regis sententiam audiens, quaeque imperarentur devotissime expleret. Cursores mox provinciae ex jussu domini sui cunctam pergyrant regionem, quietam quoque commonefaciunt gentem, [1378C] ne quis ex tanto exercitu deesset, quin omnis bellator terrae aut iram regis incurreret, aut jussioni ejus advolaret. Quid ergo? Absque contradictione adunantur, instructique armis bellicis gregatim regi suo praesentantur, ostentantes se paratos ad periculum et ad mortem, si tantum domini sui queant perficere voluntatem. Rex autem videns populum innumerabilem, voce praeconaria jussit suam patefieri voluntatem, se velle scilicet classem adversum Anglos armare, ditionique suae omnem hanc patriam ferro dolisque subijcere. Quod ubi omnibus visum esset laudabile, elegit primum qui regnum suum deberent custodire, ne, dum alienum incaute appeteret, illud quod securus tenebat amitteret et intentus in utroque neutri imperaret. Habebat enim filios duos [1378D] bonae indolis, ex quibus primogenitum suo junxit comitatui, natu vero minorem praefecit universi regni dominatui, adjuncta ei copia militari, paucisque primatum qui puerulum sagaciter instituerent et qui huic consiliis armisque pro muro essent.

Omnibus ergo rite dispositis, recensuit comites expeditionis, relictoque minore filio suo in sede, adiit navigium vallatus armato milite.

Nec mora, concurrunt undique ad littora, circumfertur passim armorum seges multigena. Aggregati tandem turratas ascendunt puppes, aeratis rostris duces singulos videntibus discriminantes. Hinc enim erat cernere leones auro fusiles in puppibus, hinc autem volucres in summis malis venientes austres [1379A] suis signantes versibus, aut dracones varios minantes incendia de naribus. Illinc homines de solido auro argentove rutilos, vivis quodammodo non impares, atque illinc tauros erectis sursum collis, protensisque cruribus, mugitus cursusque viventium simulantes. Videres quoque delphinos electro fusos, veteremque rememorantes fabulam de eodem metallo centauros. Ejusdem praeterea caelaturae multa tibi dicerem insignia, si non monstrorum, quae sculpta inerant, me laterent nomina. Sed quid nunc tibi latera carinarum memorem, non modo ornatitiis depicta coloribus, verum etiam aureis argenteisque aspera signis? Regia quoque puppis tanto pulchritudine sui caeteris praestabat, quanto rex suae dignitatis honore milites antecedebat. De qua [1379B] melius est ut sileam, quam pro magnitudine sui pauca dicam. Tali itaque freti classe, dato signo repente gaudentes abeunt, atque, ut jussi erant, pars ante, pars retro, aequatis tamen rostris, regiae puppi se circumferunt. Hic videres crebris tonsis verberata late spumare caerulea, metallique repercussum fulgore solem duplices radios extendere in aera. Quid plura? Tandem quo intendebant animi appropriabant finibus, cum finitimos mari patrienses ejus rei sinister commovit nuntius. Nec mora, quo regia classis anchoras fixit, incolae ejus loci concurrunt ad portam, potentiori se frustra parati defendere intrandi aditum. Denique relictis navibus regii milites ad terram exeunt, et pedestri pugnae intrepidi sese accingunt. Hostes primo duriter contra resistentes [1379C] dimicant, postea vero periculi formidine versi in fugam, sauciandi occidendi que copiam persequentibus [1380A] praestant. Ita rex ex affectu primo praelio usus, adjacentem regionem invadit, fuis fugatisque hostibus. Tunc tali successu factus audentior, ad naves redit et reliquos portus, qui plures eam terram cingunt, eadem ratione invadit. Postremo universam patriam tanto labore perdomuit, ut, si quis omnem historiam ejus ad plenum percurrere velit, non modicum auditores fatigabit et sibimet injurius erit, dum, ut voluit, omnia perstringere minime valebit. At ego, haec alteri narranda relinquens, tangendo transire percipio et ad alia festinando, stylum applicabo ad Sueini obitum, ut festivi regis Cnutonis regni elucidare queam exordium. Namque ubi jam saepedictus rex tota Anglorum patria est inthronisatus, et ubi jam pene illi nemo restitit, paucis [1380B] supervixit tempore, sed tamen illud tantillum gloriose. Praesciens

igitur dissolutionem sui corporis imminere, filium suum Cnutonem, quem secum habuit, advocat, sese viam universae carnis ingrediendum indicat. Cui dum multa de regni gubernaculo, multaque hortaretur de Christianitatis studio, Deo gratias, illi virorum dignissimo sceptrum commisit regale. Hujus rei facto maxime Dani, quibus legitime praeesse debuit, favent, eumque patre adhuc vivente regem super se constitui gaudent. Hoc ita facto, pater orat filium ut, si quando nativitatis suae rediret ad terram, corpus paternum reportaret secum, neve pateretur se alienigenam in externis tumulari terris. Noverat enim quia pro invasione regni illis exosus erat populis. Nec multo post postrema [1380C] naturae debita, animam remittendo coelestibus, terrae autem reddendo membra.

LIBER SECUNDUS. [1379] [1379C]

Mortuo patre, Cnuto regni parat retinere sceptrum, sed ad hoc minime sufficere potuit, deficiente copia fidelium. Angli siquidem, memores quod pater ejus injuste suos invasisset fines, ad expellendum eum, ut pote qui juvenis erat, omni regni pariter collegerunt vires. Quo comperto rex, clam per fideles amicos reperto honoris sui consilio, classim sibi praeparari jubet; non quod asperos [1379D] eventus belli metuendo fugeret, sed ut fratrem suum Haraldum, regem scilicet Danorum, super tali negotio consuleret. Paterna itaque classe repetita, instauratoque remige, ventis marique regalia commisit carbasa, sed tamen non omnem militiam secum reduxit, quae cum patre suo secumque patriam introivit. Nam Thurchil, quem principem militiae praediximus, terra quod esset optima inspecto, maluit conversari vitam fertili patria, cum patriensibus pace confecta, quam velut expulsus demum redire ad propria. Et, ut aiunt quidam, hoc non facit despiciendo dominum, sed uti, cum resumptis viribus fratrisque auxilio repedaret ad debellandum regnum, aut optimates regni consilio suo ad deditionem flecteret, aut si id parum processisset, dimicantes [1380C] contra dominum hostes incautos a tergo caederet. Cujus rei patet veritas ex eo quod secum maximam partem militum retinuit, quodque rex non amplius quam sexaginta naves secum abire permisit.

Prospero itaque cursu rex natales ad fines [pervenit. ED. P.] cum mirarentur omnes solitarium reditum ejus, quantum ad regem, patri antea fideles. Haraldi [1380D] regis subito complevit volitans fama palatia, fratrem ejus majorem, Cnutonem scilicet, sua advenisse littora. Miratur rex omnisque pariter exercitus, atque adhuc nescii duos ipsius praesagibant casus. Igitur a latere regis milites diriguntur delecti, paratique in occursum transmittuntur equi. Fraternalis siquidem amor fratris eum movebat inservire decori. Cumque tandem honorifice, utpote regem decet, fraterna subintraret limina, frater ipse in primo aditu occurrit, mutuoque brachiorum connexionem pressis corporibus, sibi invicem pia quam saepe defigunt oscula. Collum utriusque partim pro amore, partimque pro patris morte fusae madefecere lacrymae; quibus vix extinctis multo refocillantur affamine. Ubi dum quisque fortunam fratris inquiveret, propriam [1381A] quoque patefaceret; Cnuto, qui natu major fuerat, sic Haraldum fratrem alloquitur: «Adveni, frater, partim causa tui amoris, partim vero ut declinarem improvisam temeritatem barbarici furoris; non tamen metuens bellorum, quae meae repetam gloriae, sed ut tuo consultu edoctus, praesidioque suffultus, redeam certus victoriae. Est autem primum, quod mihi facies, si non gloriae meae invides, ut divides mecum regnum Danorum, meam scilicet haereditatem, quam solus tenes, deinde regnum Anglorum, si communi opera poterimus nostrae haereditati adjicere. Unum horum quodcumque elegeris feliciter teneto, et ego aliud similiter tenebo. Hujus rei gratia tecum hiemabo, ut tempus tuo sufficiat consilio et, ut expedit, reparentur naves et [1381B] exercitus, ne deficiant necessaria, dum pugnae ingruerit tempus. Thurchil noster, nos relinquendo, ut patrem, in terra resedit et magnam partem navium nostrarum retinuit et, ut reor, nobis adversarius erit, sed tamen non praevalebit.»

Haraldus rex, audito quod noluit, his fratrem verbis exceptit: «Gaudeo, frater, de tuo adventu, habeoque gratias tibi quod me visitasti; sed est grave auditu quod loqueris de divisione regni. Haereditatem quam mihi pater, te laudante, tradidit, gubernio; tu vero hanc majorem si amisisti doleo, teque juvare paratus regnum meum partiri non sustinebo.» Hoc Cnuto audiens, fratremque recte locutum tacite perpendens: «Hoc tempore de hoc [1381C] sileamus, inquit. Deus enim rectius fortasse hoc solus ordinavit.» Talibus aliisque diversis sermonibus colloquentes, conviviisque regalibus convivantes, aliquanto tempore simul manserunt, et naves meliorantes exercitum restauraverunt. Pariter vero Sclavoniam adierunt, et matrem suam, quae illic morabatur, reduxerunt.

Interea quaedam matronarum Anglicarum navim sibi fecit parari, et assumpto corpore Sueini regis sua in patria sepulti, illoque aromatibus condito, palliisque velato, mare adiit, et prospero cursu appulsa ad portus Danorum pervenit. Mittens ergo utrisque fratribus nuntium, mandat corpus adesse paternum, ut hoc maturent suscipere, tumuloque quod sibi praeparaverat locare. Illi hilares adsunt, [1381D] honorifice corpus suscipiunt, honorificentiusque illud in monasterio in honore sanctae Trinitatis ab eodem rege constructo, in sepulcro quod sibi paraverat recondunt. Quo perfecto, jamque appropiante sole aestivo accelerat Cnuto,

redintegrato exercitu, redire, suasque injurias vindicare. At illi circa littora deambulanti subito apparescunt carbasa non multa in medio mari. Nam Turchil memor quod Sueino fecerat, et quod tunc in terra Anglica absque licentia domini sui Cnutonis inconsulte remanserat, cum novem navibus earumque exercitu dominum suum requisivit, ut ei patefaceret quia non contra ejus salutem se recedente remanserit. Qui veniens non praesumpsit littora injussus subire, sed ejectis anchoris, praemissisque nuntiis, poscit se portus subintrare [1382A] licere. Quod ubi concessum est, ascendit, misericordiamque domini sui quaesivit, et illi multo labore conciliatus, dat fidei sacramentum se illi deinceps fideliter servituum. Cum quo mense plus integro moratur, et ut ad Anglos redeat hortatur, dicens eum leviter illos posse superare, quorum fines longe lateque notificarentur utrisque. Praesertim aiebat se triginta naves in Anglorum patria cum exercitu fidissimo reliquisse, qui venientes susciperent honorifice, lucerentque per fines totius patriae. Tunc rex valedicens matri et fratri, curvi littoris repetiit confinia, qua jam adunaverat ducentarum navium speciosa spectacula. Nam hic erat tanta armorum copia, ut una earum navium, si omnibus reliquis defecissent, sufficeret abundantissime [1382B] tela. Erant autem ibi scutorum tanta genera, ut crederes adesse omnium populorum agmina. Tantus quoque decor inerat puppibus, ut intuitium hebetatis luminibus, flammae magis quam igneae viderentur a longe aspicientibus. Si quando enim sol illis jubar immiscuit radiorum, hinc resplenduit fulgor armorum, illinc vero flamma dependentium clypeorum. Ardebat aurum in rostris, fulgebat quoque argentum in variis navium figuris. Tantus siquidem classis erat apparatus, ut, si quam gentem ejus vellet expugnare Dominus, naves tantum adversarios terrerent, priusquam earum bellatores pugnam ullam capesserent. Nam quis contrariorum leones auri fulgore terribiles, quis metallinos [metallicos?] [1382C] homines aureo fronte minaces, quis dracones obryzo ardentes, quis tauros radiantibus auro cornibus necem intentantes in puppibus aspiceret, et nullo metu regem tantae copiae formidaret? Praeterea, in tanta expeditione nullus inveniebatur servus, nullus ex servo libertus, nullus ignobilis, nullus senili aetate debilis. Omnes enim erant nobiles, omnes plenae aetatis robore valentes, omnes cuiusvis pugnae satis habiles, omnes tantae velocitatis, ut despectui eis essent equitantium pernicitates.

Talis itaque milities fastuosis scansis ratibus intrat pelagus, solutis a littore anchoris et funibus, talique verrit impetu fluctus, ut alatis puppibus hanc supervolare undas putares, vix tanto mari rudentibus. Regalis autem navis reliquis erat honor et intentio, [1382D] quia nulla aliis inerat optio, nisi tantum ut regis sui fasces ampliarent toto studio. Exspectabili itaque ordine, flatu secundo, Sandhuich, qui est omnium Anglorum portuum famosissimus, sunt appulsi, ejectisque anchoris, baculis exploratores se dedunt littori, et citissime finitima tellure explorata, ad nota recurrunt navigia, regique edicunt adesse resistentium parata millia. Patrienses enim regi Danisque ferventissime rebellare ardentes, quas sibi ad luctam sufficere credebant, adunaverant phalanges, conglobatique in unum conspirati advolitabant, dextris nobilium morituri. Tunc Turchil tempus intuens instare quo fidelitatem suam domino suo valebat patefacere: «Ego, inquit, hoc certamen domino meo accurabo cum meis evincere, nec regem meum [1383A] ad bellandum, utpote juvenem ferventissimum, huic misceri patiar pugnae. Nam si victor fuero, regi ipsi triumphabo; si autem cecidero, sive tergum dedero, non Anglis gloriae erit adeo; quia rex supererit, qui et praelium restaurabit et fortasse victor meas injurias vindicabit.» Hoc dictum cum sanae mentis esse videretur omnibus, annuente rege ascendit cum suis e navibus, dirigens aciem contra Anglorum impetum, qui tunc in loco Scorastan dicto fuerat congregatus. Quadraginta denique navium et eo amplius, Danorum exercitus ascenderat, sed adhuc hic numerus medietati hostium minime par fuerat. At dux eorum magis fisus virtute quam multitudine, omnes rumpens morulas, classica insonuit, gradiens in prima fronte, et, mente semper Dei auxilium exorans, [1383B] quaeque obvia metebat mucronis acie. Angli vero in primis fortiores dira caede Danos obruncarunt, in tantum ut pene victoriam adepti adversarios fugere cogerent, si non ducis alloquio retenti memoresque virtutis fugam erubescerent. Namque memorabat ille abesse diffugium, in terra scilicet hostes, et a littore longe remotas puppes; ideoque, si non vincerent, quod pariter occumbere deberent. Unde illi animosiores effecti, in praelio illico manifestant quam periculosa sit desperatio. Enimvero de refugio fugae desperati tanta in hostes debacchati sunt insania, ut non tantum mortuorum aspiceres corpora cadentia, verum etiam vivorum ictus declinantia. Tandem ergo potiti optata victoria, suorum quae reperire poterant, tumulabant membra. Ab adversariis [1383C] quoque diripientes spolia, revertuntur, et ad jacentem regionem invadendam accinguntur. Hoc primum decus Thurchil armis Cnutonis auxit, et magnam partem patriae pro hoc postmodum promeruit.

At tunc ad dominum regressus, ei et sociis suos indicat eventus, facitque eos spoliis quae attulit ardentiores ad pugnam, manubiis laetus et palmae successibus. Quo exemplo Eric quidam dux et princeps provinciae quae Northwega dicitur, incitatus (nam et is Cnutonis regis intererat officialibus, jamdiu illi subditus, vir armis strenuus, omni honorificentia dignus), accepta licentia, cum suis est egressus, et partem terrae aggressus spolia diripuit, [1383D] vicis invadendo destruxit, occurrentes sibi hostes domuit, et multos ex eis captivavit, tandemque victoriosus ad socios cum spoliis redit. Quo reverso, rex parcens patriae, prohibuit ultra eam praedari, sed jussit civitatem Londoniam metropolim terrae obsidione teneri, quia in ea confugerant optimates et pars exercitus et maximum (ut est populosissima) vulgus. Et quia hoc pedites equitesque

nequibant explere (undique enim mari quodammodo non pari vallantur flumine), turritis puppibus eam coangustare fecit, et firmissima vallatione tenuit. Deus itaque, qui omnes homines vult magis salvare quam perdere, intuens has gentes tanto periculo laborare, cum principem qui interius civitate praesidebat, educens e corpore, junxit quieti sempiternae, ut, eo defuncto, **[1384A]** liber Cnutoni ingressus pateret et utrique populo confecta pace paulisper respirare copia esset. Quod et factum est. Nam cives, suo honorifice sepulto principe, inuitoque salubri consilio, elegerunt internuntios mittere, et regi placita mandare, videlicet ut dexteram illis daret et civitatem pacifice susciperet. Hoc ubi Cnutoni satis videretur probabile facto, foedus firmatum est, ingressui ejus die constituto. At pars interioris exercitus sprevere statutum civium, latenterque, nocte illa cujus sequenti die ingressus est rex, cum filio defuncti principis egressi sunt civitatem, ut experirentur rursus collecta innumerabili manu si forte a tinibus suis valerent arcere ingressum regem. Nec quieverunt, quousque omnes pene Anglos sibi magis **[1384B]** adhuc acclives quam Cnutoni conglobarent. Cnuto autem civitatem intravit et in solio regni resedit, sed tamen Londonienses non sibi adhuc esse fideles credidit. Unde et navium stipendia illa aestate restaurare fecit, ne, si forte exercitus adversariorum civitatem oppugnaret, ipse ab interioribus hostibus exterioribus traditus interiret. Quod cavens, rursus ad tempus ut prudens cessit et, ascensis ratibus ac civitate relicta, insulam Scepei dictam cum suis petiit, ibique hiemans pacifice eventum rei exspectavit.

Edmundus itaque (sic enim juvenis qui exercitum collegerat dictus est), recedente Cnutone, cum populo non mediocri, sed innumerabili veniens, civitatem pompaticè ingreditur, et mox eum universi **[1384C]** sequuntur, obtemperant, et favent, et virum fortem fieri suadent, dicentes quod eum magis quam Danorum principem eligerent. Erat quoque ejus partis comes primus Edricus, consiliis pollens, sed tamen dolositate versipellis, quem sibi ad aures posuerat Edmundus in omnibus negotiis. Fertur autem ipse juvenis illo tempore domino Cnutoni recedenti singularem pugnam obtulisse, sed rex sapiens dicitur sic respondisse: «Ego tempus luctae praestolabor congrue, dum non casum suspectus, certus fuero victoriae. Tu vero, qui aves ducllum in hieme, cave ne deficias etiam aptiori tempore.» Sic rex, ut dictum est, in Scepei quod est dictum Latine Insula ovium, ut poterat, hiemavit. Edmundus autem **[1384D]** in Londonia, dimisso exercitu, ultimam hiemem duxit.

Recedenti vero brumali tempore, tota Quadragesima rursus militiam adunavit, et mox post Paschales dies regem et Danos a finibus Anglorum deturbare paravit, et veniens cum innumerabili multitudine, eos subito cogitavit invadere. At sermo non latuit Danos, qui puppibus posthabitis petunt arida, aptantes se excipere quaeque obvia. Erat namque eis vexillum miri portenti, quod, licet credam posse esse incredibile lectori, tamen, quia verum est, verae inseram lectioni. Enimvero, dum esset simplicissimo candidissimoque intextum serico, nullius figurae in eo inserta esset imago, tempore belli semper in eo videbatur corvus, ac si intextus, in victoria suorum **[1385A]** quasi hians ore, excutiensque alas, instabilisque pedibus et suis devictis quietissimus, totoque corpore demissus. Quod requirens Turchil auctor primi praelii: «Pugnemus, inquit, viriliter socii, nihil enim nobis erit periculi. Hoc denique testatur instabilis corvus praesagientis vexilli.» Quo audito, equi audentiores effecti, ferratisque induviis indurati, occurrunt Anglis in Aesceneduno loco, quod nos Latini montem fraxinorum possimus interpretari. Ibi quoque nondum congressione facta, Edric, quem primum comitum Edmundi diximus, haec suis intulit affamina: «Fugiamus, o socii, vitamque subtrahamus morti imminenti, alioquin occumbemus illico. Danorum enim duritiam nosco.» Et velato vexillo quod dextra gestabat, dans tergum hostibus, **[1385B]** magnam partem militum bello fraudabat. Et, ut quidam aiunt, hoc non causa egit timoris, sed dolositatis, ut postea claruit, quia hoc eum clam Danis promisisse, nescio quo pro beneficio, assertio multorum dicit. Tunc Edmundus hoc intuitus et undique angustiatus: «O Angli, inquit, aut hodie bellabitis, aut omnes una in deditionem ibitis. Pugnate igitur pro libertate et patria, viri cordati. Hi quippe qui fugiunt, utpote formidolosi, si non abirent, essent impedimento exercitui.» Et haec dicens, in medios ingreditur hostes, circumquaque caedens Danos, nobiles hoc exemplo suos reddens ad bellandum proniores. Commissum est ergo praelium pedestre gravissimum, dum Dani licet pauciores nescii cedere, magis eligerent interneconem quam fugae **[1385C]** periculum. Resistunt itaque viriliter et praelium hora diei nona coeptum ducunt in vesperam, se gladiis haud sponte opposcentes, sed gladium aculeis voluntarius [valentius] alios urgentes Cadunt utriusque partis armati, plus tamen ejus quae erat numero eminentiori. At ubi jam advesperante noctis adessent tempora, vincit amor victoriae tenebrarum incommoda, quia neque horrebant tenebras, instante cura majore, neque etiam nocti dignabantur cedere, in hostem tantum dum ardebant praevalere. Et nisi luna clarescens ipsum monstraret hostem, caederet quisque suum commilitonem, ut inimicum resistentem, nullusque utriusque partis superviveret, nisi quem fuga salvasset. Interea coeperunt Angli fatigari, **[1385D]** paulatimque fugam meditari, dum intuentur Danos in hoc conspiratos quatenus aut vincerent aut usque ad unum omnes una perirent. Videbantur enim iis tunc numerosiores et in tam diutina conflictatione fortiores. Fortiores namque eos aestimabant vera suspitione, quia jam stimulis ferri commoniti, casuque suorum turbati, magis videbantur saevire quam bellare. Unde Angli, terga vertentes, hac et illac fugitant absque mora, semper ante adversarium cadentes, adduntque decus Cnutonis et victoriae, decorato Edmundo fugiente principe. Qui licet devictus valentioribus cedens recederet, tamen adhuc non

penitus desperans, tutis se commisit locis, ut demum, fortiori multitudine collecta, iterum experiretur si quid forte sibi boni succedere posset. **[1386A]** At Dani fugientes non longe sunt persecuti, quia incogniti [*f.*, incognitis. ED. P.] locorum noctis obscuritate sunt retenti. Angli vero loci non inscii, cito a manibus hostium sunt elapsi, eos relinquentes ad spolia, seseque dantes ad inhonesta refugia.

Tunc victores sua laeti victoria, transacta jam nocte plus media, pernocrant quod supererat inter mortuorum cadavera. Non autem in nocte spolia dirimunt, sed interim suos requirunt, seseque adunantes ut securiores esse possent, simul omnes uno in loco perstiterunt. Illucescente vero jam mane, suorum agnoscunt multos in praelio cecidisse, quorum cadavera ut poterant tumulavere. Ab adversariorum quoque membris abradunt spolia, bestiis et avibus eorum relinquentes morticina, et ad naves **[1386B]** redeunt, Londoniamque repetentes, saniora sibi quaerunt consilia. Similiter et Angli suo cum principe sibi consulunt et super hoc negotii Dei auxilium quaerunt, ut qui totiens armis sunt devicti, saltem aliquo consilio valerent remanere suffulti. Jam etiam Edricus, qui antea a bello recessit profugus, ad dominum suum et ad socios rediit et susceptus est, quia vir boni consilii fuit. Is surgens in medio agmine, omnes tali allocutus est sermone; «Licet omnibus pene vobis sim invisus, quia bello cessi, tamen si vestris sederet animis dictis parere mei consilii, victoriosiores effici meo consultu possetis, quam si totius terrae his viris resisteretis armis. Satis enim Danorum victorias expertus, frustra nos reniti omnino scio, et ob hoc me subtraxi a praelio, **[1386C]** ut vobis postmodum prodessem consilio, non ut vos aestimatis, percussus timore aliquo. Dum enim scirem necesse esse me fugere, quid satius fuit, aut vulneratum, aut sanum recedere? Est procul dubio certa victoria interdum ab fortiori hoste elabi fuga, cui nequit resisti per arma. Omnes enim qui adsumus, proh dolor! fugimus. Sed ne hic casus vobis eveniat ulterius, dextras Danis demus, ut, ipsos foederatos habentes, fugam periculumque bellorum sic saltem declinemus. Attamen hoc aliter nequit fieri, nisi divisione regni nostri. Et melius esse iudico, ut medietatem regni rex noster cum pace habeat, quam totum pariter invitus amittat.» Placuit sermo optimatibus, et, licet invitus, hoc tamen annuit Edmundus; **[1386D]** electisque internuntiis, praemittit ad naves Cnutonis, qui dextras Danis dent et accipiant ab eis. Quos ubi primum Dani venientes intuentur, exploratores eos esse suspicantur, sed postquam propius eos vident accedere, accersitis eis quidnam quaesierunt orsi sunt rogare. Discentes vero ab eis pro conficienda pace eos venire, laetantes eos sistunt conspectibus regis. Erant enim obnixae optantes prospera pacis, jam lassae bellorum et continuatione navigationis. Tunc missi, rege pacifice salutato: «Miserunt nos, inquit, ad te, o rex, princeps noster et procerum nostrorum multitudo, ut consentias eis de pace, et datis nobis dextris et obsidibus, a nobis itidem recipias cum regni medietate. Dominare in boreali parte cum quiete; e regione autem **[1387A]** sit noster Edmundus in finibus meridianae plagae. Hujus rei gratia ad te sumus legati, tu vero bene faciens placito consenti. Alioquin, licet simus semel et iterum a vobis bello deturbati, adhuc tamen majori violentia roborabimur vobiscum bellaturi.» Quibus rex non temere respondit; sed, ipsis amotis, consilium a suis quaesivit, et sic eis postmodum pacifice consensit. Audierat enim a suis quod multi suorum defecissent, nec erat qui locum morientium suppleret, cum longe remoti a propria patria essent; Anglorum quoque quanquam per plurimi interficerentur, numerus eorum non adeo minuebatur, quia in propriis positus semper qui morientis locum restauraret inveniebatur. Revocatis itaque internuntiis: «Vestris, inquit rex, o juvenes, legationibus **[1387B]** consentio, et, uti dixistis, media mihi libere erit regio. Sed tamen vectigal etiam suae partis vester rex, quicumque ille fuerit, exercitui dabit meo. Hoc enim illi debeo, ideoque aliter pactum non laudo.»

Foedere itaque firmato, obsides dantur ab utraque parte, et sic exercitus solutus bellorum importunitate, optata laetus potitur pace. Verumtamen Deus memor suae antiquae doctrinae, scilicet omne regnum in seipsum divisum diu permanere non posse, non longo post tempore Edmundum eduxit e corpore, Anglorum misertus imperii, ne forte si uterque superviveret, neuter regnaret secure et regnum diatim adnihilaretur renovata contentione. Defunctus autem regius juvenis regio tumulatur sepulcro, defletus diu multumque a patriensi populo, cui Deus **[1387C]** omne gaudium tribuat in coelesti solio. Cujus rei gratia eum Deus jussit obire, mox deinde patuit, quia universa regio illico Cnutonem sibi regem elegit, et cui ante omni conamine restitit, tum sponte sua se illi et omnia sua subdidit.

Ergo miseratione divina monarchiam regni Cnuto vir strenuus suscepit, et nobiliter duces et comites suos disposuit, et fine tenus deinceps regnum Anglorum pacifice tenuit. Erat autem adhuc primaeva aetate florens, sed tamen indicibili prudentia pollens. Unde contigit ut eos quos antea Edmundo sine dolo fideliter militare audierat, diligeret, et eos quos subdolos scierat atque tempore belli in utraque parte fraudulenta tergiversatione pendentes odio haberet; adeo ut multos principum quadam die occidere pro **[1387D]** hujusmodi dolo juberet. Inter quos Edricus qui a bello fugerat, cum praemia pro hoc ipso a rege postularet, ac si hoc pro ejus victoria fecisset; rex subtristis: «Qui dominum, inquit, tuum decepisti fraude, mihi ne poteris fidelis esse? Rependam tibi condigna praemia, sed ea ne deinceps tibi placeat fallacia.» Et Erico duce suo vocato. «Huic, ait, quod debemus persolvito, videlicet, ne nos decipiat, occidito.» Ille vero nil moratus, bipennem extulit, eique ictu valido caput amputavit, ut hoc exemplo discant milites regibus suis esse fideles, non infideles.

Omnibus itaque rite dispositis, nil regi defuit absque nobilissima conjugē, quam ubique sibi jussit [1388A] inquirere, ut inventam hanc legaliter acquireret et adeptam imperii sui consortem faceret. Igitur per regna et per urbes discurritur et regalis sponsa perquiritur, sed longe lateque quaesita, vix tandem digna reperitur. Inventa est vero haec imperialis sponsa in confinitate Galliae et praecipue in Northmannensi regione, stirpe et opibus ditissima, sed tamen pulcritudinis et prudentiae delectamine omnium ejus temporum mulierum praestantissima, utpote regina famosa. Propter hujusmodi insignia multum appetebatur a rege et pro hoc praecipue quod erat oriunda ex victrici gente, quae sibi partem Galliae vindicaverat, invitis Francigenis et eorum principe. Quid multis immoror? mittuntur proci ad dominam, mittuntur dona regalia, mittuntur etiam [1388B] verba precatoria. Sed abnegat illa se unquam Cnutonis sponsam fieri, nisi illi jurejurando affirmaret quod nunquam alterius conjugis filium post se regnare faceret, nisi ejus, si forte illi Deus ex eo filium dedisset. Dicebatur enim ab alia quadam rex filios habuisse. Unde illa suis prudenter providens, scivit ipsi sagaci animo profutura praeordinare. Placuit ergo regi verbum virginis, et jurejurando facto, virgini placuit voluntas regis. Et sic, Deo gratias, domina Emma mulierum nobilissima fit conjux regis fortissimi Cnutonis. Laetatur Gallia, laetatur etiam Anglorum patria, dum tantum decus transvehitur per aequora. Laetatur, inquam, Gallia, tantam tanto regi dignam se enixam. Anglorum vero laetatur patria, talem se recepisse in oppida. O res millenis [1388C] millies parata votis, vixque tandem effecta, auspicante gratia Salvatoris! Hoc erat quod utrobique vehementer jamdudum desideraverat exercitus, scilicet ut tanta tanto digna etiam digno maritali convinculata jugo, bellicos sedaret motus. Quid enim majus ac desiderabilius esse posset in votis, quam damnosos ingratosque labores belli placida finiri tranquillitate pacis, cum pares paribus vi corporis virtuteque animi concurrerent? cumque nunc hi, nunc vero illi, alternante casu belli, non sine magno detrimento sui, vincerent?

Verum, ubi divina dispensatione, multisque alterutrum diu habitis internuntiis, maritali se tandem copula placuit confederari, difficile creditu est quanta repente in utrisque alteri de altero exorta sit [1388D] magnitudo gaudii. Gaudebat enim rex nobilissimis insperato se usum thalamis; haec autem hinc praestantissima virtute conjugis, hinc etiam spe gratulabunda accendebatur futurae prolis. Inaestimabiliter quoque uterque gaudebat exercitus, opes suas communibus sperans augendas viribus, ut rei postmodum probavit exitus. Quamplures enim populi domiti bello, gentesque complures longe distantes vita, moribus, etiam et lingua, aeternaliter regi regiaeque posteritati annua compulsi sunt solvere vectigalia. Sed quid mirum, si tantus talisque rex repugnantes sibi dimicando devinceret? cum quamplurimos partim liberali largitione, partim patrocini gratia imperio suo ultroneos submitteret? profecto non [1389A] mirum. Quoniam illic divina aspirat gratia, ubi justitiae probitatisque aequa libratur trutina.

Sed quid multis immoror? gaudium magnum in conjugatione tantorum dixi fuisse, multo autem amplius dico, suscepta masculae prolis opportunitate. Non multo post siquidem, Salvatoris annuente gratia, filium peperit nobilissima regina. Cujus cum uterque parens intima, atque ut ita dicam, singulari gauderet dilectione, alios vero liberales filios educandos direxerunt Northmanniae, istum hic retinentes, sibi utpote futurum haeredem regni. Itaque dilectissimum pignus, uti mos est catholicis, sacro abluunt fonte baptismatis, imponuntque ei vocabulum quodammodo obtinens indicium futurae virtutis. Vocatur siquidem Hardecnuto, nomen patris referens [1389B] cum additamento. Cujus si etymologia teutonice perquiratur, profecto quis quantusve fuerit dignoscitur. Harde quidem, *velox* vel *fortis*, quod utrumque, multoque majus his, in eo uno cognosci potuit, quippe qui omnes sui temporis viros omnium virtutum praestantia anteivit. Omnes igitur ejus virtutes enumerare nequeo. Quapropter, ne longius a proposito exorbitem, supra repetam, historiaeque sequar ordinem.

Adulto denique puero, de quo sermo agitur, pater adhuc in omni felicitate degens, omne regnum suae ditioni subjectum sacramento devinxit, eumque postmodum ad obtinendam monarchiam regni Danorum cum delectis militibus misit. Cum autem rex Cnuto solum imprimis Danorum obtineret regimen [1389C] quinque regnorum, scilicet Danomarchiae, Angliae, Britanniae, Scotiae, Northwegae, vindicato dominio, imperator exstitit. Amicus vero et familiaris factus est viris ecclesiasticis, adeo ut episcopis videretur coepiscopus pro exhibitione totius religionis, monachis quoque non saecularis, sed coenobialis pro continentia humillimae devotionis. Defensabat sedulo pupillos et viduas, sustentabat orphanos et advenas, leges oppressit iniquas, earumque sequaces; justitiam et aequitatem extulit et coluit, ecclesias extruxit et honoravit, sacerdotes et clerum dignitatibus ampliavit, parem et unanimitatem omnibus suis indixit; ut de eo illud Maronicum dici posset, nisi extra catholicam fidem hoc fuisset. [1389D]

*Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane.
Divisum imperium cum Jove Caesar habet.*

Deo omnibus modis placita studuit, ideoque quidquid boni agendum esse didicerat non negligentiae sed operationi committebat. Quae enim ecclesia adhuc ejus non laetatur bonis? Sed ut sileam quae in suo regno

positis egerit, hujus animam quotidie benedicit Italia, bonis perfrui deprecatur Gallia, et magis omnibus hanc in coelo cum Christo gaudere orat Flandria. Has enim provincias transiens Romam petiit, et, ut multis liquet, tanta hoc in itinere misericordiarum opera exhibuit, ut si quis haec describere omnia voluerit, licet innumerabilia ex his fecerit volumina, tandem deficiens fatebitur se vix etiam cucurrisse per minima. Nam quid singulis in [1390A] locis fecerit sileo. Verumtamen ut credibilia fiant quae assero, quid in una urbe sancti Audomari fecerit dicam pro exemplo, quod etiam oculis meis me vidisse recordor.

Ingressus monasteria et susceptus cum magna honorificentia, humiliter incedebat et mira cum reverentia in terram defixus lumina et ubertim fundens lacrymarum, ut ita dicam, flumina, tota intentione sanctorum expetiit suffragia. At ubi ad hoc perventum est ut oblationibus regiis sacra vellet cumulare altaria; ohe! quoties primum pavimento lacrymosa infixit oscula! quotiens illud pectus venerabile propria puniebant verbera! qualia dabat suspiria! quoties precabatur ut sibi non indignaretur superna clementia! Tandem a suis ei imminente [1390B] [immerenti] sua porrigebatur oblatio non mediocris, nec quae aliquo clauderetur in marsupio, sed ingens allata est palleali extento in gremio, quam ipse rex suis manibus altari imposuit, largitor hilaris monitu apostolico. Altari autem cur dico? cum vidisse me meminerim eum omnes angulos monasteriorum circuisse, nullumque altare, licet exiguum, praeteriisse, cui non munera daret et dulcia oscula infingeret. Deinde adsunt pauperes, munerantur etiam ipsi protinus singulatim omnes. Haec et alia his mirificentiora a domino Cnutone gesta vidi ego vester vernula, sancte Audomare, sancte Bertine, cum fierent vestris in coenobiis. Pro quibus bonis tantum regem impetrare vivere in coelestibus habitaculis, ut vestri famuli canonici et monachi sint [1390C] orantes orationibus quotidianis.

Discant igitur reges et principes hujus domini imitari actiones, qui, ut valeret scandere sublimia, sese humiliavit in infima, et ut posset adipisci coelestia, hilariter largitus est terrestria. Non enim fuerat oblitus propriae conditionis, quod moriturus erat in mundo et relicturus quaeque possunt concupisci in saeculo. Et ob has divitias quas secum nequivit moriens auferre, vivens Deo et sanctis ejus locis partitus est honorifice; ne forte si avaritiae studeret, omnibus invisus viveret, nullusque esset qui ejus animae aliquid boni oraret, et alius ei succederet, qui in ejus regno largius viveret et de ejus parcitate indignaretur. Verum hoc ne fieret satis cavet, et suis [1390D] posteris bonum exemplum largitatis totiusque bonitatis reliquit, quod et ipsi adhuc, Deo gratias, servant optime, pollentes in regni moderamine et in virtutum decore.

Tantus itaque rex postquam Roma est reversus et in proprio aliquantis per demoratus, omnibus bene dispositis transiit ad Dominum, coronandus in parte dextera ab ipso Domino auctore omnium. Turbabantur itaque ejus obitu omnes qui audierant, maximeque ejus solio deservierant, quorum maxima pars cuperet ei commori, si hoc [non. ED. P.] displiceret divinae dispositioni. Lugebat domina Emma ejus regina cum parentibus, ululabant pauperes cum potentibus; flebant episcopi et clerici cum monachis et sanctimonialibus. Sed quantum lugebatur in mundo, tantum laetetur [1391A] in coeli palatio. Isti flebant hoc quod perdiderant, illi gratulentur de ejus anima quam suscipiant. Isti sepelierunt corpus exanime, illi spiritum deducant in sublime laetandum in aeterna requie. Pro ejus transitu soli flebant terreni, sed pro ejus spiritu interveniant cum terrenis etiam cives coelici. Ut ejus gloria crescat quotidie, oremus Deum intente. Et quia hoc promeruit sua bonitate, quotidie clamemus: Anima Cnutonis requiescat in pace, amen.

Mortuo Cnutone rege, honorificeque sepulto in monasterio in honore sancti Petri constructo, domina regina Emma sola remansit in regno, dolens de domini sui morte amara, et sollicita pro filiorum absentia. Namque unus eorum, Hardecnuto scilicet, quem pater regem Danorum constituit, suo morabatur [1391B] in regno, duo vero alii in Northmanniae finibus ad nutriendum traditi, cum propinquo suo degebant Roberto. Unde factum est ut quidam Anglorum, pietatem regis sui jam defuncti obliti, mallent regnum suum dedecorare quam ornare, relinquentes nobiles filios insignis reginae Emmae, et eligentes sibi in regem quemdam Haraldum, qui esse filium falsa aestimatione asseritur cujusdam ejusdem regis Cnutonis concubinae. Plurimorum vero assertio eundem Haraldum perhibet furtim fuisse subreptum parturienti ancillae, impositum autem camerae languentis concubinae. Quod veracius credi potest. Qui electus, metuensque futuri, advocat mox archiepiscopum Aelnotum, virum omni [1391C] virtute et sapientia praeditum, imperatque et orat se benedici in regem, sibique tradi cum corona regale suae custodiae commissum sceptrum et se duci ab eodem, quia ab alio non fas fuerat, in sublime regni solium. Abnegat archiepiscopus, sub jurejurando asserens se neminem alium in regem (filiis Emmae reginae viventibus) laudare vel benedicere. «Hos meae fidei Cnuto commisit; his fidem debeo, et his fidelitatem servabo. Sceptrum et coronam sacro altari impono, et hoc tibi nec denego, nec trado; sed episcopis omnibus, ne quis eorum ea tollat tibi tradat, teve benedicat, apostolica auctoritate interdicto. Tu vero, si praesumis, quod Deo mensaeque ejus commisi invadito.» Quid miser ageret, quo se verteret, ignorabat. Intendebat minas, et nihil [1391D] profecit. Expendebat munera, et nil lucratus doluit; quoniam vir apostolicus nec valebat minis dejici, nec muneribus flecti. Tandem desperatus abscessit, et episcopalem benedictionem adeo sprexit, ut non solum ipsam odiret benedictionem, verum etiam universam fugeret Christianitatis religionem. Namque dum alii

ecclesiam christiano more missam audire subintrarent, ipse aut saltus canibus ad venandum cinxit, aut quibuslibet aliis vilissimis rebus sese occupavit, ut tantum declinare posset quod odivit. Quod Angli videntes dolebant, sed quia hunc sibi regem elegerant, hunc erubuerunt dejicere, ideoque disposuerunt hunc sibi regem fine tenus esse. Domina autem regina Emma exitum rei exspectabat, et aliquantisper sollicita auxilium Dei [1392A] quotidie exorabat. At ille clam, quia nondum palam audebat, reginae insidias moliebatur, sed ut illi noceret a nemine permittebatur. Unde ille cum suis iniquo excogitato consilio, natos dominae suae volebat interficere, ut sic securus deinceps in peccatis vivens posset regnare. Verumtamen nullum in hoc omnimodis effectum acciperet, nisi, fraudulentorum dolo adjutus, hoc quod narrabimus adinveniret. Namque dolo reperto, fecit epistolam in persona reginae ad filios ejusdem, qui in Northmannia morabantur, componere, cujus etiam exemplar non piget nobis subnectere.

Emma tantum nomine regina filiis Edwardo et Alfrido materna impertit salutamina. Dum domini nostri regis obitum separatim plangimus, filii charissimi, [1392B] dumque diatim magis magisque regno haereditatis vestrae privamini, miror quid captetis consilii, dum sciatis intermissionis vestrae dilatione, invasoris vestri imperii fieri cotidie soliditatem. Is enim incessanter vicos et urbes circuit, et sibi amicos principes muneribus, minis et precibus facit. Sed unum e vobis super se mallent regnare quam istius qui non eis imperat, teneri ditione. Unde, rogo, unus vestrum ad me velociter et private veniat, ut salubre a me consilium accipiat, et sciat quo pacto hoc negotium quod volo fieri debeat. Per praesentem quoque internuntium quid super his facturis estis remandate. Valete, cordis mei viscera.

Hac fraude jussu Haraldi tyranni composita, regiis adolescentulis est directa per pellaces cursores, [1392C] eisque ex parte matris ignarae oblata et honorifice ab eis, ut munus genitricis suscepta. Legunt dolos ejus nescii, et, proh dolor! nimis falsitati creduli, inconsulte remandant genitrici unum eorum ad eam esse venturum, constituuntque ei diem et tempus et locum. Regressi itaque legatarii intimant Dei inimicis quae sibi responsa reddita sint a juvenibus nobilissimis. Hinc illi praestolabantur ejus adventum, et quid de eo facerent ad suum invenerunt detrimentum. Statuto igitur die, Alfridus minor natu, laudante fratre, elegit sibi commilitones, et, arripiens iter, Flandriae venit in fines. Quo paululum cum marchione Balduino moratus, et ab eo rogatus ut aliquam partem suae militiae secum duceret [1392D] propter insidias hostium. Sed tantum Bononiensium paucos assumpsit, et ascensis puppibus more transfretavit. At ubi littori venit contiguus, mox ab adversariis est agnitus. Qui occurrentes volebant eum aggredi, sed statim ille agnoscens jussit naves a littore illo repelli. Alia autem ascendens in statione, matrem parabat adire, aestimans se omnem insidiarum pestem evasisse. Verum ubi jam erat proximus, illi comes Godvinus est obvius factus, et eum in sua suscepit fide, ejusque fit mox miles cum sacramenti affirmatione. Et devians eum a Londonia, induxit eum in villa Sildefordia nuncupata, inibique milites ejus vicenos et duodenos, decenosque singula duxit per hospitia, paucis relictis cum juvene, qui ejus servitio deberent insistere. [1393A] Et largitus est eis abundanter cibaria et pocula et ipse ad sua recessit hospitia, mane rediturus, ut domino suo serviret cum debita honorificentia. Sed postquam manducaverant et biberant, et lectos, utpote fessi, libenter ascenderant; ecce complices Haraldi infandissimi tyranni adsunt et singula hospitia invadunt, arma innocentum virorum furtivi tollunt, et eos manicis ferreis et compedibus arctant, et ut crucientur in crastinum servant. Mane autem facto adducuntur insontes in medio et non auditi damnantur scelerose. Nam, omnium exarmatis vinctisque post tergum manibus, atrocissimis traditi sunt carnificibus, quibus etiam jussum est ut nemini parcerent, nisi quem sors decima offerret. Tunc tortores vinctos ordinatim sedere fecerunt et [1393B] satis supraque eis insultantes, illius interfectoris Thebaeae legionis exemplo usi sunt, qui decimavit primum innocentes multo his mitius. Ille enim rex paganissimus, Christianorum novem pepercit, occiso decimo. Ille licet paganus Christianos trucidaret, patulo tamen in campo eos nexibus non irretitos decollari jussit, ut gloriosos milites. At isti licet nomine Christiani, actu tamen paganissimi, lanceolarum suarum ictus non merentes heroas catenatos mactabant ut sues. Unde hujuscemodi tortores canibus deteriores digne omnia dicunt saecula, qui non militiae violentia, sed fraudium suarum ins diis tot militum honesta damnaverunt corpora. Quosdam, ut dictum est, perimebant, quosdam vero suae servituti [1393C] mancipabant. Alios caeca cupidine capti vendebant, nonnullos autem arctatos vinculis majori irrisioni reservabant. Sed divina miseratio non defuit innocentibus in tanto discrimine consistentibus, quia multos ipsi vidimus, quos ex illa derisione eripuit coelitus, sine adminiculo hominis ruptis manicarum compedumque obicibus.

Ergo quia militum agones succinctim transcurrimus, superest ut et eorum principis, gloriosi scilicet Alfridi martyrium narrando seriem locutionis abbreviemus; ne forte, si singulatim omnia quae ei acta sunt perstringere voluerimus, multis ubique praecipue dominae reginae dolorem multiplicemus. Qua in re, rogo te, domina, ne requiras amplius quam hoc quod tibi parcendo breviter dicturi sumus. [1393D] Possent enim multa dici, si non tuo parceremus dolori. Est quippe nullus dolor major matri quam videre vel audire mortem dilectissimi filii. Captus est igitur regius juvenis clam suo in hospitio eductusque in insula Heli dicta; a milite primum irrisus est iniquissimo; deinde contemptibiliores eliguntur, ut horum ab insania flendus juvenis dijudicaretur. Qui iudices constituti, decreverunt illi debere oculos utrique [oculos utrosque] ad contemptum

primum erui. Quod postquam parant perficere, duo illi super brachia ponuntur, qui interim tenerent illa et unus super pectus, unusque super crura, ut sic facilius illi inferretur poena. Quid hoc in dolore detineor? [1394A] Mihi ipsi scribenti tremit calamus, dum horreo quae juvenis passus est beatissimus. Evadam ergo brevius tantae calamitatis miseriam, finemque hujus martyrii fine tenus perstringam. Namque est ab impiis tentus, effossis etiam luminibus impiissime est occisus. Qua nece perfecta, relinquunt corpus examine quod fideles Christi monachi scilicet ejusdem insulae Heli rapientes, sepelierunt honorifice. In loco autem sepulcri ejus multa fiunt miracula, ut quidam aiunt, qui etiam se haec vidisse saepissime dicunt. Et merito: innocenter enim fuit martyrisatus, ideoque dignum est ut per eum innocentium exerceatur virtus. Gaudeat igitur Emma regina de tanto intercessore, quia quem in terris habuit filium, nunc habet in coelis patronum. [1394B]

At regina, tanti sceleris novitate percussa, quid facto opus sit mente considerat tacita. Animus igitur ejus diversus huc illucque rapitur et se amplius tantae perfidiae credere cunctatur; quippe quae perempti filii inconsolabiliter confundebatur moerore, verum multo amplius ex ejusdem consolabatur certa requie. Hinc duplici, ut diximus,angebatur causa, necis videlicet filii miserabili moestitia, tum vero reliquae suae vitae dignitatisque diffidentia. Sed fortassis hic mihi quilibet clamabit, quem livor hujusce dominae lividum onerosumque reddit: Cur eadem nece mori refutabat, quae sub hac proditione necatum filium aeterna requie frui nullatenus dubitabat? Ad quod destruendum, tali responsione censeo utendum: Quoniam si persecutor Christianae [1394C] religionis fideique adesset, non vitae discrimen subire fugeret. Caeterum, nefarium et execrabile cunctis orthodoxis videretur si, ambitione terreni imperii, talis famae matrona vita privaretur; neque profecto emori, fortunis tantae dominae honestus exitus haberetur^[1]. Haec et his similia ante oculos ponens, et illud authenticum Dominicae exhortationis praeceptum suis fortunis conducibile censens, quo videlicet electis insinuat. *Quoniam si persecuti vos fuerint in una civitate, fugite in aliam*; pro suo casu spes satis honestas reliquae dignitatis conservandae exsequitur, et tandem gratia superni respectus consilio solerti utitur. Exteras nationes petere sibi utile credit, quod sagaci ratione fine tenus perducit. Tamen quas petit non externas sibi experta est fore, [1394D] quis [quibus] immorans haud secus ac suis colitur decentissime. Igitur pro re atque tempore, quam plurimos potest sibi fidos optimates congregat, his praesentibus secreta cordis sui enucleat. A quibus etiam inuito dominae probato consilio, commeatus classium eorum apparatur exsilio. Itaque prosperis usi flatibus transfretant, et cuidam stationi haud longe a castello Brugensi distanti sese applicant. Hoc castellum Flandrensibus colonis incolitur, quod tum frequentia negotiatorum, tum affluentia omnium quae prima mortales ducunt, famosissimum habetur. Hic equidem a marchione ejusdem provinciae Balduino magni et invictissimi principis filio, ejusque [1395A] conjuge Athalo, quae interpretatur *nobilissima*, Francorum regis Roberti et reginae Constantiae filia honorifice, uti se dignum erat, recipitur. A quibus etiam in praedicto oppido domus regali sumptui apta eidem reginae tribuitur, caeterum obsonium benigne offertur. Quae partim illa cum gratiarum actione suscipit, partimque sese non indigere quodammodo ostendit.

In tanta igitur posita securitate, legatos suo filio mittit Edwardo postulatum ne versus se pigritaretur venire. Quibus ille obaudiens equum conscendit, et ad matrem usque pervenit. Sed ubi eis copia data est mutuo loquendi, filius se matris fortunas edocet miserari, sed nullomodo posse auxiliari, cum Anglici optimates nullum ei fecerint jusjurandum; [1395B] quae res indicabat a fratre auxilium expetendum. His ita gestis, Edwardus Northmanniam revehitur, et mens reginae quid sibi foret agendum, etiam nunc cunctatur. Post cujus reditum, nuntios Hardecnutoni filio suo legat, qui tunc temporis regimen Danorum obtinebat, per quos sui doloris novitatem aperit et ut ad se venire quantocius maturet petit. Cujus aures ut tanti sceleris horror incussit, primo omnium mens ejus intolerabili obtusa dolore in consulendo fatiscit. Ardebat enim animo, fratris injurias ultum ire, imo etiam matris legationi parere. Hinc utrique rei praevidens, quam maximas potest navium militumque [copias, ED. P.] parat, quorum amplio numerum quodam maris in anfractu collocaat, qui si inter eundem sibi copia pugnandi, seu etiam [1395C] necessitas repugnandi accideret, praesidio adventaret. Caeterum, non amplius decem navibus se comitantibus ad matrem proficiscitur, quae non minima doloris anxietate fatigabatur. Dum igitur prospero cursui intenti non modo certatim spumas salis aere ruebant^[2], verum etiam suppara velorum secundis flatibus attollebant, ut maris facies non unquam certa, sed semper mobilitate flatuum dubitanda habetur et infida, repente foeda tempestas ventorum nubiumque a tergo glomeratur, et ponti superficies jam supervenientibus austris turbatur. Itaque quod in tam atroci negotio solet fieri, anchorae de proris jactae arenis affiguntur fundi. Quae res tametsi tum illis fuerit importuna, tamen non absque Dei nutu cuncta disponentis esse creditur acta, ut postmodum [1395D] rei probavit eventus, membris omnium placidae quieti somni cedentibus. Nam postera nocte, eodem Hardecnutone in stratu quiescente, divinitus quaedam ostenditur visio, quae eum confortans et consolans, forti jubet esse animo. Hortatur praeterea ne ab incoepto desisteret, quia paucorum dierum intervallo injustus regni invasor, Haraldus scilicet occideret, et regnum patriis viribus domitum sibi justo haeredi justissima successione incolume rediret. Evigilans igitur somniator talibus indiciis certior fit et Deo omnipotenti tantae consolationis causa gratias reddidit, simulque futura nullatenus dubitat, quae sibi memorata visio praedixerat. Denique [1396A] maris ira pacata, omnique tempestate sedata, prosperis flatibus sinus pandit velorum; sicque

secundo usus cursu, ad Brugensem sese applicuit portum. Hic anchoris rudibusque navibus affixis, et nautis qui eas servarent expeditis, recta se via cum delectis ad hospitium dirigit matris. Qualis ergo moeror, qualisque laetitia in ejus adventu fuerit exorta, nulla tibi unquam explicabit pagina. Dolor haud modicus habebatur, dum in vultu ejus faciem perempti fratris mater quadam imaginatione contemplaretur. Item gaudium magno gaudebat, dum superstitem salvum adesse sibi videbat. Unde viscera divinae misericordiae se sciebat respicere, cum nondum tali frustraretur solamine. Nec longo post filio cum matre morante et memoratae visionis promissa [1396B] exspectante, nuntii laeta ferentes nuntia adventant, qui videlicet Haraldum mortuum nuntiant; qui etiam referunt Anglicos ei principes nolle adversari, sed multimodis jubilationibus sibi conlaetari. Unde regnum haereditario jure sibi debitum non dedignetur repetere et suae dignitati, eorumque saluti juxta in medium consulere.

His Hardecnuto materque animati repetere statuunt oras aviti regni. Cujus rei fama ut populares impulit aures, mox cuncta dolore et luctu compleri cerneret. Dolebant enim divites ejus recessione, cujus semper amabili fruebantur colloquutione. Dolebant pauperes ejus recessione, cujus diutinis largitionibus ab egestatis defensabantur onere. Dolebant viduae cum orphanis quos illa extractos sacro fonte [1396C] baptismatis non modicis ditaverat. Quibus igitur hanc laudibus efferam nescio, quae ibidem nunquam abfuit renascentibus in Christo. Hic ejus fides patet laudanda, hic bonitas omnimodis celebranda. Quod si pro singulis ejus benefactis parem disserere, prius me tempus quam rem credo deserere. Unde ad seriem nostrae locutionis propero redire.

Dum reginae filiique ejus reditus apparatus, omne littus planctu gemituque confunditur, omnes dextrae coelo attollebantur infensae. Flebant igitur a se discedere illam, quam toto exsilio tempore ut civem videre suam. Nulli divitum gravis hospita, nulli pauperum in quolibet onerosa. Omnes igitur natale solum mutare putares, cunctas secum exteras petere velle diceret regiones. Sic toto plangebatur [1396D] littore, sic ab omni plorabatur populo astante. Licet ei quodammodo congauderent pristinum gradum repetere dignitatis, non tamen eam matronae siccis dimittere poterant oculis. Tandem vincit amor patriae, et, omnibus viritim osculatis et flebili eis dicto vale, cum filio suisque altum petit mare, non absque magna lacrymarum utrimque fusa ubertate. Igitur principes Anglici parum praevenisse fidentes legatione, antequam ab illis transfretaretur obvii sunt facti, optimum factu rati ut et regi reginaeque satisfacerent, et se devotos eorum dominationi subderent. His Hardecnuto cum matre certus factus et transmarini littoris tandem portum nactus, a cunctis [1397A] incolis ejusdem terrae gloriosissime recipitur, sicque divini muneris gratia regnum sibi debitum redditur. His ita peractis et omnibus suis in pacis tranquillitate compositis, fraterno correptus amore nuntios mittit ad Edwardum, rogans ut, veniens, secum obtineret regnum. Qui fratris jussioni obediens Anglicas partes advehitur, et [1398A] mater amboque filii regni paratis commodis nulla lite intercedente utuntur. Hic fides habetur regni sociis, hic inviolabile viget foedus materni fraternique amoris. Haec illis omnia praestitit, qui unanimes in domo habitare facit Jesus Christus, Dominus omnium; cui in Trinitate manenti immarcescibile floret imperium, Amen.

EX CHRONICIS TH. RUDBURNI, DE EMMA REGINA. [1397]

Duxit Etelredus hanc et postea Cnutus.
Edwardum sanctum parit haec et Hardecnutum.
Quattuor hos reges haec vidit scepra gerentes.
Anglorum regum fuit haec sic mater et uxor.

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1042-1052 - Emma Anglorum Regina - Vita Operaque [Ex Hist Notrhmann Script]
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«Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia, ibi Deus (Ambrosius) ... Amici Veri Ecclesiae Traditionalisti Sunt.» Divus Pius X Papa: «*Notre Charge Apostolique*»