

## Section II.1

### The Battle of Hastings and Its Aftermath

**A:** The Bayeux Tapestry (excerpts: sections 34–5, 37–61, 63–73)

**B:** William of Malmesbury, *A History of the English Kings* (*Gesta regum Anglorum*) (excerpt: 3.241–2)

**C:** Orderic Vitalis, *An Ecclesiastical History* (*Historia ecclesiastica*) (excerpt: 2.230–2)

For more-or-less contemporary accounts of the Battle of Hastings, compare ASChr s.a. 1066 (OE); Guy of Amiens, *Carmen de Hastingae proelio*, also referred to as *Carmen Widonis* (verse, c.1067/8, which has been likened to the OE poem *The Battle of Maldon*); William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum* (c.1070); William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi ducis Normannorum et regis Anglorum* (c.1075); and in the twelfth century: William of Malmesbury, *A History of the English Kings*; Orderic Vitalis, *An Ecclesiastical History*; Gaimar, *L'Estoire des Englais* (AN, 1139); Wace, *Roman de Rou* (AN, 1160).

### Further Reading

Brown, R. Allen (1981) 'The Battle of Hastings', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3: 1–21.

Gransden, A. (1974) 'Historians of the Norman Conquest' in \*Gransden (1974).

### A: The Bayeux Tapestry (excerpts: sections 34–5, 37–61, 63–73)

**Date:** ?before 1080.

**Work:** The Bayeux Tapestry, one of the most well-known cultural artefacts in Britain, is an embroidered linen strip about 68 m in length and 50 cm in height, probably made before 1080 for Odo of Bayeux, the half-brother of William the Conqueror. Although it has been preserved for many centuries in Bayeux in Normandy, it is likely to have been made in England, as English needlework was renowned already at this time: William of Poitiers in the *Gesta Guillelmi* (2.42) writes, *Anglicae nationis feminae multum acu et auri textura egregie* ('the English women were outstanding at needlework and weaving with gold'). However, there is no contemporary mention of this masterpiece. It is of interest not only as an exquisite work of art but also as a historical source, with both images and words, to set beside the relevant writings of contemporary authors. The 'tapestry' gives

a pictorial account, in scenes like those in a comic strip, with brief explanatory captions added above and around the pictures, of the relations between Harold of England and William of Normandy, culminating in the Battle of Hastings on 14 October 1066, which William of Malmesbury describes succinctly as *dies fatalis Angliae ... pro novorum dominorum commutatione* ('a fatal day for England ... as the country exchanged its old masters for new ones') (GR 3.245).

**Linguistic points:** The text uses both present and perfect tense. It contains non-classical forms such as *caballus* and *parabolare*, Latin words that underlie Romance forms such as 'cheval' and 'parler'. There are also examples of unusual semantics or syntax, e.g. *fodere* as 'to build by digging', *alloqui* with accusative or dative, and possible occasional confusion of active and passive forms of the verb, as with *dux iussit naves edificare* and *ut cibum raperentur*. While *narrare* does exist with the sense 'to inform', it is rare to find it taking a direct object of the person informed, as here. As often in ML the spelling is not always consistent. The names are mostly uninflected. Some names occur in an OE form, as in Pevenesae, Gyrð and Hestenga, but the influence of French vernacular may be detectable, as in the form Edward for Eadward. The words *at* and *castra* are definitely OE: the latter may be a suffix to 'Hestenga' or may stand alone, as a label for the castle in the picture. The nature of the Latin used on the tapestry has attracted little attention, apart from the discussion by Ian Short from the viewpoint of an AN specialist, as to whether the 'author' was a native English- or French-speaker: Short claims that the choice of Latin words, and even the syntax, indicate that French is the underlying vernacular. Note that the Normans are referred to as *Franci* on the Bayeux Tapestry, rather than *Normanni*. The *DMLBS* shows how both these terms had a range of meanings which could be confusing: *Francus* could mean Frankish, French or Norman, while *Nor(th)mannus* could apply to Scandinavians or Normans.

## TEXT II.1A

[34–5] HIC WILLELM DUX IUSSIT NAVES EDIFICARE.

[37] HIC TRAHUNT<sup>ur</sup> NAVES AD MARE.

[38–9] ISTI PORTANT ARMAS AD NAVES ET HIC TRAHUNT CARRUM CUM VINO ET ARMIS.

[39–42] HIC WILLELM DUX IN MAGNO NAVIGIO MARE TRANSIVIT ET VENIT AD PEVENESÆ.

[43–4] HIC EXEUNT CABALLI DE NAVIBUS

[44–5] ET HIC MILITES FESTINAVERUNT HESTINGA UT CIBUM RAPERENTUR (...)

[46–8] HIC EST WADARD: HIC COQUITUR CARO ET HIC MINISTRAYERUNT MINISTRI. HIC FECERUNT PRANDIUM ET HIC EPISCOPUS CIBUM ET POTUM BENEDICIT. ODO EP[ISCOPU]S, ROTBERT, WILLELM.

[49] ISTE IUSSIT UT FODERETUR CASTELLUM<sup>1</sup> AT HESTENGA CEASTRA.<sup>2</sup>

[50–1] HIC NUNCIATUM EST WILLELM<sup>o</sup> DE HAROLD[O]. HIC DOMUS INCENDITUR.

[51–2] HIC MILITES EXIERUNT DE HESTENGA

[52–4] ET VENERUNT AD PRELIUM CONTRA HAROLDUM REGE[M].

[54–5] HIC WILLELM DUX INTERROGAT VITAL SI VIDISSET EXERCITU[M] HAROLDI.

[56–7] ISTE NUNTIAT HAROLDUM REGE[M] DE EXERCITU WILELMI DUCIS.

[57–61] HIC WILLELM DUX ALLOQUITUR SUIS MILITIBUS UT PREPARARENT SE VIRILITER ET SAPIENTER AD PRELIUM CONTRA ANGLORUM EXERCITU[M].

[63–5] HIC CECIDERUNT LEWINE ET GYRÐ FRATRES HAROLDI REGIS.

[65–6] HIC CECIDERUNT SIMUL ANGLI ET FRANCI IN PRELIO.

[67–8] HIC ODO EP[ISCOPU]S BACULU[M] TENENS CONFORTAT PUEROS (...)

[68–70] HIC FRANCI PUGNANT ET CECIDERUNT QUI ERANT CUM HAROLDO.<sup>3</sup>

[71] HIC HAROLD REX INTERFECTUS EST

[72–3] ET FUGA VERTERUNT ANGLI.

### Translation (of the above inscriptions)

*Here Duke William ordered (them) to build ships. Here ships are hauled to the sea. These men are carrying arms to the ships and here they pull a wagon with wine and arms. Here Duke William crossed the sea in a large ship and came to Pevensey. Here the horses leave the ships and here the soldiers have hurried to Hastings to seize food. (...) This man has given orders that a fortification be thrown up at Hastings. The castle. Here a report is given to William about Harold. Here a house is burned. Here the soldiers left Hastings and came to the battle against King Harold. Here Duke William asks Vital whether he has seen Harold's army. This man tells King Harold about Duke William's army. Here Duke William addresses his soldiers, so that they might prepare themselves bravely and wisely for the battle against the*

1 This castle with motte, the fifth to be depicted on the Tapestry, is one that still exists, in a ruined state, at Hastings; note the variant spelling Hestenga.

2 This could be part of the place name of Hastings, or a label for the castle, as with the word *Ecclesia* on the scene with Bosham church.

3 Cf. *DB* f. 50a with the reference to two people at Tytherley, Hants.: *duo ex his qui tenuerunt occisi fuerunt in Bello de Hastings*: 'two of those who held, were killed in the Battle of Hastings.'

*army of the English. Here were killed Lewine and Gyrth, King Harold's brothers. Here the English and French fell at the same time in battle. Here Bishop Odo holding a staff encourages the young men. (...) Here the French fight and those who were with Harold have fallen. Here King Harold has been killed and the English have turned in flight.*

## Primary Sources

Wilson, D. M. (1985) *The Bayeux Tapestry*, London. With colour plates of the complete tapestry and, on pp. 172–3, the Latin inscriptions, numbered 1–73 (as followed in the excerpt above).

## Further Reading

Bouet, P., Levy, B. and Neveux, F. (ed.) (2004) *La Tapisserie de Bayeux: l'art de broder l'histoire*, Caen.

Brilliant, R. (1991) 'A stripped narrative for their eyes and ears', *Word and Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Imagery* 7.2: 98–126.

Carson Pastan, E. and White, S. (2015) *The Bayeux Tapestry and its contexts: a reassessment*, Woodbridge.

Owen-Crocker, G. R. (2006) 'The embroidered word: text in the Bayeux Tapestry' in *\*Medieval clothing and textiles* (2005–), vol. 2.

Short, Ian (2001) 'The language of the Bayeux Tapestry inscription' in *Anglo-Norman studies XXIII: proceedings of the Battle conference*, ed. J. Gillingham, Woodbridge, 267–80, including complete text of inscriptions.

## **B: William of Malmesbury, *A History of the English Kings (Gesta regum Anglorum)* (excerpt: 3.241–2)**

**Date:** 1125–35.

The OMT edition lists the many MSS, grouped into four versions of the text. The number witnesses to William's immediate popularity and influence.

**Author:** William (c.1090–c.1142) was a monk at Malmesbury who wrote a number of historical works, drawing on Norman and English historiography and biography. His major works were *A History of the English Kings (GR)*, dealing with British history from the coming of the Saxons to 1120, and *A History of the English Bishops (GP)* – referred to by Antonia Gransden as 'a guidebook for pilgrims' – from 597–1125, both of which were influenced by Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.

William's writings display his phenomenally wide-ranging familiarity with earlier Latin literature, including many writings from the classical period, both prose and verse, as is clear from the list compiled by R. M. Thomson, cited below. He can be regarded as one of the greatest writers of Latin from any period: not because he slavishly follows classical models but because he confidently employs his vast vocabulary, including multiple senses of the same word, and his stylistic acumen to produce a text that is imaginative, concise and clear. William makes use of topography, charters, manuscripts, monuments (as in his work on the antiquity of the church at Glastonbury) and oral accounts as sources, while writing in an engaging and readable manner. He also wrote a commentary on the Old Testament book Lamentations, and Lives of English and Irish saints.

**Work:** In the *GR* William rejected the annalistic form of history used by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and instead wrote a continuous narrative, seeking to edify as well as please while he filled in the historiographical gap between Bede and his own day with anecdotes and descriptions of individuals and national characteristics. In its treatment of the English and Normans William is quite even-handed, reflecting his mixed Norman and English parentage, but he does display admiration for the Normans' military skill in his description of the battle of Hastings when he blames the English defeat on their characteristically rash behaviour (3.245). William's account of the battle shows that he knew William of Poitiers' version, and it is possible he had seen the Bayeux Tapestry in Normandy. The excerpt below includes the earliest mention of the medieval French epic *La Chanson de Roland*, the oldest copy of which survives in the twelfth-century part of MS Digby 23, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

**Linguistic points:** William was not only a skilful historian but a writer of Latin that is usually pellucid. He has a very extensive classical vocabulary, and is particularly notable for his ability to use a range of senses of classical words, some very rare. He avoids Grecisms or neologisms, and only rarely does he use a post-classical word deriving from Germanic, as for example *tunna* (*GR* 4.373). It is, however, interesting to note that he does use the word *werra* for 'war', which only entered BML in the late eleventh century via French (and entered English, in the form *werre*, in the twelfth century): in *GR* 4.310 he writes *belle scis actitare guerram, qui hostibus prebes aquae copiam* ('that's a fine way to wage war, to give your enemy plenty of water'), where he may be playing on the assonance with the usual phrase for 'to wage war' – *bellum gerere*. His many classical and occasional patristic allusions are elegantly embedded in the text. William's aim was to make the information accessible to many (*ut quod a multis scribitur a multis legatur*, *GR* Book 4, pref.) and variations of style were a conscious means to achieve the necessary readability. The phrase *levi negotio* is a favourite of this author. The spelling used here is that of the OMT text, which follows the orthography of William himself in the holograph MS of the *GP*, Oxford MS Magdalen

College lat. 172, dated no later than 1125, where t replaces c before i followed by a vowel, as in *fatiunt* below.

## TEXT II.1B

### *The battle of Hastings*

[3.241] ita utrimque animosi duces disponunt acies, patrio quisque ritu. Angli, ut accepimus, totam noctem insomnem cantibus potibusque<sup>4</sup> ducentes, mane incunctanter in hostem procedunt; pedites omnes cum bipennibus, conserta ante se scutorum testudine, impenetrabilem cuneum fatiunt; quod profecto illis ea die saluti fuissent, nisi Normanni simulata fuga more suo confertos manipulos laxassent. rex ipse pedes iuxta vexillum stabat cum fratribus ut, in commune periculo aequato, nemo de fuga cogitaret. vexillum illud post victoriam papae misit Willelmus, quod erat in hominis pugnantis figura, auro et lapidibus arte sumptuosa intextum.

[3.242] contra Normanni, nocte tota confessioni peccatorum vacantes, mane Dominico corpori communicarent. pedites cum arcubus et sagittis primam frontem muniunt, equites retro divisim alii consistunt. comes vultu serenus et clara voce suae parti utpote iustiori Deum affuturum pronuntians, arma poposcit; moxque ministrorum tumultu lorica inversam indutus, casum risu correxit, 'Vertetur', inquit, 'fortitudo comitatus mei in regnum.' tunc cantilena Rollandi inchoata, ut martium viri exemplum pugnatorum accenderet, in clamore Dei auxilio prelium consertum bellatumque acriter, neutris in multam diei horam cedentibus. quo comperto, Willelmus innuit suis ut ficta fuga campo se subtraherent. hoc commento Anglorum cuneus solutus, quasi palantes hostes a tergo cesurus, exitium sibi maturavit; Normanni enim, conversis ordinibus reversi, dispersos adoriuntur et in fugam cogunt. ita ingenio circumventi pulchram mortem pro patriae ultione meruere nec tamen ultioni suae defuere, quin crebro consistentes de insequentibus insignes cladis acervos facerent. nam occupato tumulo Normannos, calore successus acriter ad superiora nitentes, in vallem deiciunt, levique negotio in subiectos tela torquentes, lapides rotantes, omnes ad unum fundunt. item fossatum quoddam preruptum compendiario et noto sibi transitu evadentes, tot ibi inimicorum conculcavere ut cumulo cadaverum planities campi aequarent. valuit haec vicissitudo, modo illis modo istis vincentibus, quantum Haroldi vita moram fecit; at ubi iactu sagittae violato cerebro procubuit, fuga Anglorum perhennis in noctem fuit.

4 Wace in his Anglo-Norman *Roman de Rou* mentions the English drinking on the night before the battle, and the English toasts 'weisseil' and 'drincheheil', for which cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB* 100 (Section II.12).

### **Translation:** William of Malmesbury, *A History of the English Kings*

[3.241] *And so the spirited leaders on both sides drew up their forces, each according to his own country's practice. The English, as we have learned, spent the whole night singing and drinking, getting no sleep at all, and in the morning they marched on the enemy without hesitation. All the foot soldiers with their battle axes formed an impenetrable wedge formation, holding their shields in front of them in a closely fitted screen; this would have saved them that day if the Normans had not pretended to retreat and managed to loosen the serried unit in their customary manner. King Harold, on foot, stood next to the banner beside his brother soldiers so that if they all shared the same danger no one would consider fleeing. After the victory William sent that banner to the pope: it had a picture of a warrior on it and was richly woven with gold and jewels.*

[3.242] *Opposite them, the Normans, after spending the whole night confessing their sins, in the morning took part in the Eucharist. Their foot soldiers, with bows and arrows, protected the front line, while horsemen took their stand behind them, formed into units on each flank. The duke (of Normandy), with a calm expression and a clear voice, announced that God would be on his side because it was more just. He then called for his weapons; when he put on his chain mail the wrong way round, because his squires got muddled, he put it right with a laugh, saying, 'Let's hope the strength of my dukedom is turned into a kingdom!' Then William began to sing the Song of Roland so that the example of a heroic warrior might fire them as they went into battle; calling on God's help, they joined battle and fought fiercely, and for much of the day neither side would give way. When William learned of this he indicated to his men that they should pretend to flee and withdraw from the battlefield. As a result of this deception, the English soldiers, who had broken up their wedge formation so that they could cut the scattering enemy down from behind, hastened their own destruction; for the Normans, turning their lines round and retreating, attacked the English as they scattered, forcing them to flee. The English were thus deceived by this cunning trick and earned a noble death for avenging their country, and yet they also managed to avenge themselves, for by repeatedly making a stand, they made great piles of dead bodies out of those who were pursuing them. By occupying the hill they drove back into the valley the Normans who were fiercely pushing up to higher ground, driven on by the heat of success. Discharging their weapons against those below with minimum effort, and hurling rocks, they all streamed together. Then escaping from a steep trench by means of a short passage known to them, they trampled upon so many of the enemy there that the piles of corpses created a level field. This back and forth, with one side winning one moment, the other the next minute, lasted as long as Harold's life; but when an arrow pierced his brain and he fell forward, the flight of the English lasted long into the night.*

## Primary Source

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, vol. 1 (text) and vol. 2 (introduction and commentary), ed. R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, OMT, Oxford, 1998–9.

## Further Reading

Momma, H. (2013) 'Narrating the battle of Hastings: multilingual Britain and the monolingualism of William of Malmesbury' in \*Jefferson and Putter (2013).

Thomson, R. (1987) *William of Malmesbury*, Woodbridge. Includes a list of Latin writings known to William of Malmesbury at first hand.

Winterbottom, M. (1995) 'The *Gesta regum* of William of Malmesbury', *JML* 5: 158–73.

— (2003) 'The language of William of Malmesbury' in *Rhetoric and renewal in the Latin West, 1100–1540*, ed. C. Mews, C. Nederman and R. Thomson, Turnhout.

— (2017) 'Words, words, words' in *Discovering William of Malmesbury*, ed. R. Thomson, E. Dolmans and E. Winkler, Woodbridge.

— (2019) 'Beginning a history: studies in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*, Book One', *JML* 29: 101–21.

**C: Orderic Vitalis, *An Ecclesiastical History (Historia ecclesiastica)*** (excerpt: 2.230–2, cited by volume and page of OMT edition)

**Date:** 1114–41.

Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* survives in thirteen books, most of them in autograph MSS; this passage is taken from one of these (Paris MS BN lat. 5506). Books 7 and 8, however, are preserved in Vatican MS Reginensis latina 703B.

**Author:** Orderic (1075–c.1142) was born of a Norman father and English mother in England. Educated by an English priest in Shrewsbury until the age of 10, he was then sent to the monastery of Saint-Evroul in Normandy for further studies, and there he lived as a monk for the rest of his life. Apart from compiling his *Ecclesiastical History* (for which he writes an autobiographical epilogue in 1141: 6.55off.), he edited and copied the work of William of Jumièges and made a copy of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.



**Work:** Orderic's work is an account of his own monastery from its refoundation in 1050, within the wider history of Normandy down to 1141, moving in and out of ecclesiastical and political matters in England and Normandy, while Book 7 introduces the perspective of a universal history onto the world beyond Normandy. In general Orderic cites documents often, but he also invents speeches and dialogues. He often makes authorial comments, as in the following excerpt, where his compassion is evident. In his account of William the Conqueror he largely relies on the account of William of Poitiers, though he cuts down the classical references and gives a more critical account of William, as in the passage below where he stresses William's brutality in the northern campaign of 1069–70 when William was working to put down the rebellions of the English from Cornwall up to Durham. The English were supported along the east coast by an army of Danes, with the help of troops from Poland, Frisia and Saxony. William arrives at York to find that the Danes have fled; he fortifies York and sets up protection against the Danes.

**Linguistic points:** Orderic, like William of Malmesbury, has a wide vocabulary, but his prose is distinguished by more words influenced by (Norman) French: not only does *werra* (*gue-*) regularly appear, but also such words as *calfagium* ('heating'), *canardus* (a type of boat), *dangio* ('dungeon') and *fustanium* ('fustian cloth'). Traces of his childhood in England have been perceived in the forms of English place names he uses.<sup>5</sup> There is also the influence of Scripture and of patristic and early medieval sources. Here a factual section with short sentences and asyndeton moves into a section that relates the terrible effects of William's violence, and the author's anger, as expressed in the tricolon of verbs in *-eo* and, in the following sentence, of the nouns *iudex*, *vindex* and *lex*, culminating in the certainty of God's vengeance, a powerful theme throughout Orderic's work.

## TEXT II.1C

*The aftermath of the Conquest: the harrying of the north 1069–70*

[2.230–2 Chibnall] ipse vero in saltuosa quaedam et difficillime accessibilia loca contendit, et abditos illic hostes persequi summopere studuit. spacio centum miliariorum castra eius diffunduntur. plerosque gladio vindice ferit, aliorum latebras evertit, terras devastat, et domos cum rebus omnibus concremat. nusquam tanta crudelitate usus est Guillelmus. hic turpiter vitio succubuit, dum iram suam regere contempsit, et reos innocuosque pari animadversione peremit. iussit enim ira stimulante segetibus et pecoribus cum vasis et omni genere alimentorum

5 M. Faulkner (2019) 'Orderic and English' in *Orderic Vitalis: life, works and interpretations*, ed. C. Crozier, G. Gasper, D. Roach and E. van Houts, Woodbridge.

repleri, et igne iniecto penitus omnia simul comburi, et sic omnem alimoniam per totam regionem Transhumbranam pariter devastari. unde sequenti tempore tam gravis in Anglia late sevit penuria, et inermem ac simplicem populum tanta famis involuit miseria, ut Christianae gentis utriusque sexus et omnis aetatis homines perirent plus quam centum milia. in multis Guillelmum nostra libenter extulit relatio, sed in hoc quod una iustum et impium tabidae famis lancea aequae transfixit laudare non audeo. nam dum innocuos infantes iuvenesque vernantes et floridos canicie senes fame periclitari video, misericordia motus miserabilis populi meroribus et anxietatibus magis condoleo, quam tantae cedis reo frivolis adulationibus favere inutiliter studeo. praeterea indubitanter assero, quod impune non remittetur tam feralis occisio. summos enim et imos intuetur omnipotens iudex, et aequae omnium facta discutiet ac puniet iustissimus vindex, ut palam omnibus enodat Dei perpetua lex.

### **Translation:** Orderic Vitalis, *An Ecclesiastical History*

*William marched into densely wooded areas that were extremely difficult to reach, putting all his efforts into pursuing the enemy hiding there. His castles were spread over an area of a hundred miles. With his sword he took revenge on large numbers, destroyed the hiding places of others, laid waste to their land, burning down their homes and all their possessions. Nowhere else did William behave with such cruelty. Here he shamefully succumbed to vice, when he disdained to control his anger and killed both innocent and guilty, punishing them equally. Goaded by anger he ordered the area to be filled with crops and animals together with vessels and every kind of food and then fire was to be thrown in and everything totally destroyed: in this way all the food throughout the whole region north of the Humber was equally devastated. In the following period such serious poverty raged far and wide in England and such hunger oppressed the unarmed and simple people with misery that more than 100,000 Christians of both sexes and from every age group died. On many subjects our account has been happy to praise William but in this matter I do not venture to praise him because with the single lance of wasting hunger he pierced the just person and the wicked equally. When I see innocent babies and blossoming young people and the elderly, grey-haired but vigorous, dying of hunger, I am moved by pity and sympathise with the sorrows and worries of these poor people, rather than uselessly attempting to favour with false flattery a person who is guilty of so much slaughter. Moreover I assert without hesitation that such savage killing will not go unpunished. For the omnipotent judge looks down upon the high and the low and the most just avenger will put on trial and punish the deeds of all equally, as God's everlasting law explains clearly to all.*

## Primary Sources and Related Texts

Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols, OMT, Oxford, 1969–80.

William of Malmesbury, *GR* 3.249, gives a poignant but less harrowing summary of the harrying of the north, the effects of which he claims are visible half a century later. William concludes with a description reminiscent of Gildas' description of Britain in the sixth century (*EB* 3, for which see Section I.2): *urbes olim preclaras, turres proceritate sua in caelum minantes, agros laetos pascuis irriguos fluviis, si quis modo videt peregrinus, ingemit; si quis superest vetus incola, non agnoscit* ('Those cities, formerly so beautiful, the towers so tall they threatened the sky, the fields of fertile pasture irrigated by rivers: if a traveller from abroad were to see them he would sigh; if a former inhabitant were to see them, he would not recognise them'). Certainly the drop in population and lack of economic resources were noticeable in 1087, when the Domesday Book records that many places in Yorkshire were 'waste', probably implying that they had been devastated.

Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae*, for a history of England, with a partial focus on Normandy between 911 and 1419.

## Further Reading

Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. 1: *General introduction*, including pp. 100–10 on Orderic's style and language.

Bates, D. (2018) *William the Conqueror*, New Haven, CT.

Crozier, C., Gasper, G., Roach, D. and Van Houts, E. (ed.) (2019) *Orderic Vitalis: life, works and interpretations*, Woodbridge.

Palmer, J. (1998) 'War and Domesday waste' in *Armies, chivalry and warfare in medieval Britain and France*, ed. M. Strickland, Stamford.