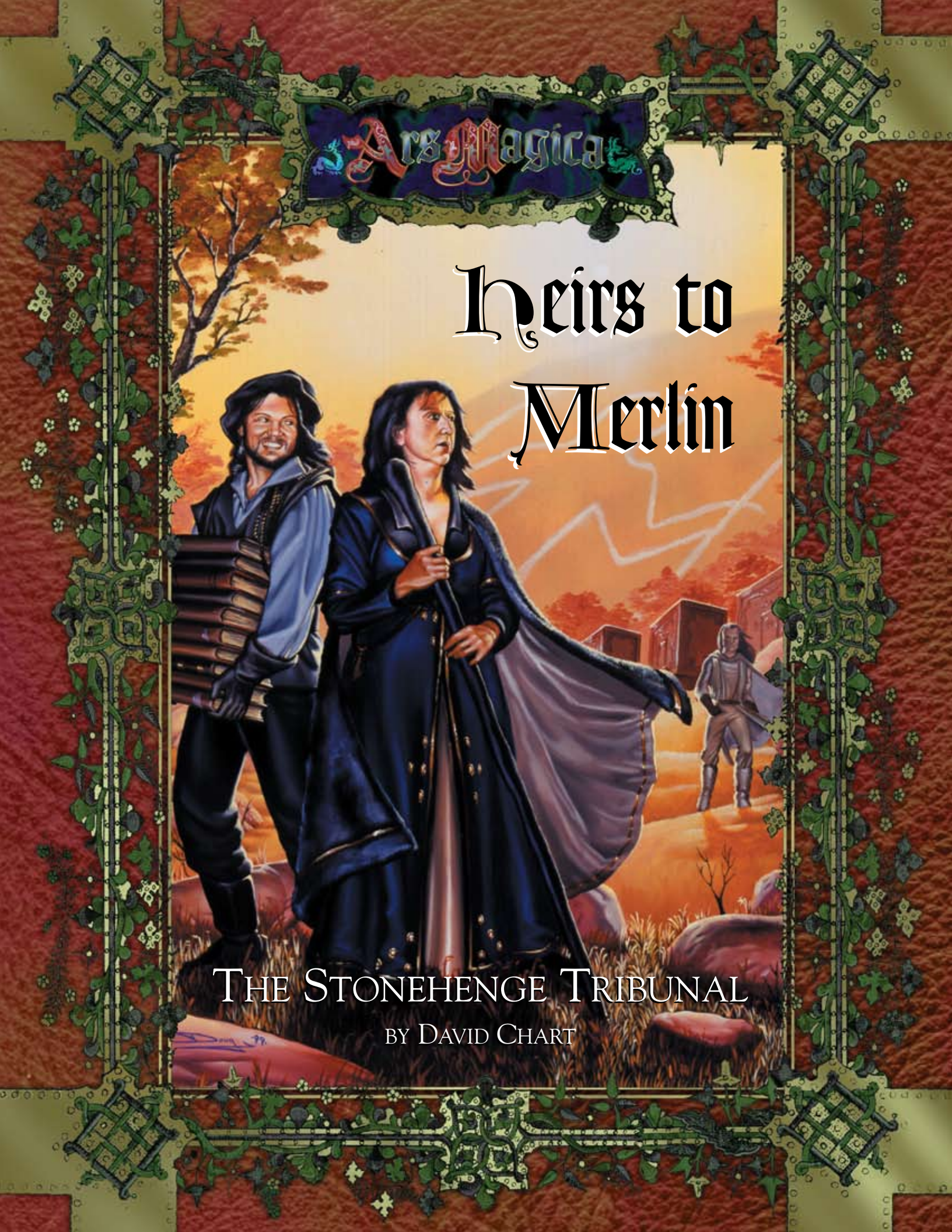
Ars Magica

Heirs to Merlin



The Stonehenge Tribunal

by David Chart

Ars Magica

Heirs to Merlin: The Stonehenge Tribunal details Mythic Europe's England and Wales. This essential work surveys a fascinating land ripe for adventures, from tales of King Arthur to the death of Thomas Becket, from the coming of the Order of Hermes to the ascendance of Blackthorn covenant, from the druids' stone circles to tales of the English saints.

A Mythic Lineage

Ars Magica storyguides will come away from *Heirs to Merlin* with the background knowledge and inspiration to run truly epic sagas set in the Stonehenge Tribunal. And due to the multitude of saga options presented, even players of Stonehenge sagas can read *Heirs to Merlin* — every single page — without worry that an adventure's secrets will be spoiled. An entire troupe's access to this book will ensure a roleplaying experience of astounding depth.

ISBN 1-887801-79-0
$22.95 (US) AG0262

Atlas Games

Heirs to Merlin

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About the Author

David Chart has been writing for **Ars Magica** since 1993, although this is the first book he's written all by himself. He lives in Cambridge, which is why Cambridge rather than Oxford gets the magi, and has attended a role-playing event in the School of Pythagoras (yes, it's a real place, just not really a covenant). When not gaming, he works on the history and philosophy of science, which gives him an excuse to do **Ars Magica** research as part of his real job.

Author's Special Thanks

I'd like to thank John Kasab for being a helpful editor, and Jeff Tidball for being an excellent line developer over the last three years.

Dedication

I'd like to dedicate this book to my parents, Alison Chart and Ian Chart, and my sister, Tana Silverland.

Fans of **Ars Magica** discuss the game on an e-mail discussion list. To subscribe, send the command "subscribe ars-magica" (no quotes) in the body of an e-mail message to majordomo@soda.berkeley.edu. To subscribe to a digest version of the list, send the command "subscribe ars-magica-digest" (no quotes) to the same address.

Project: Redcap archives and links to many of the fan-created **Ars Magica** pages on the World Wide Web. To get to Project: Redcap, point your browser at http://www.netforward.com/poboxes/?Redcap.

Errata for the fourth edition of **Ars Magica** is available on the Atlas Games website at www.atlas-games.com.

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Digital Version 1.0

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Chapter 1
Introduction

England: a generation ago, at the heart of the most powerful realm in Western Europe, now recovering from the ravages of civil war while ruled by a child. Stonehenge: a tribunal emerging from decades of stagnation to take its place in the councils of the Order. The next few decades will decide whether this island will dominate Europe, both mundane and Hermetic, or slip into marginal irrelevance. This sourcebook provides players and storyguides alike with all the information necessary to play a saga set in the Stonehenge Tribunal.

A Description of England

Britain, the best of islands, is located in the Western Ocean, between France and Ireland. It is eight hundred miles long and two hundred wide, and provides plenty of everything that human beings need. Every kind of mineral is found in abundance, and it has broad fields and hillsides covered with rich soil, which produce every kind of crop in their seasons. There are open woodlands filled with every kind of game, and the forest glades provide pasture for cattle and many-colored flowers from which bees take honey. Its windswept mountains rise over meadows green with grass, beautiful places where clear springs flow into shining streams which lull those lying on their banks into calm sleep.

What is more, it is filled by lakes and rivers, and these in their turn are full of fish. In the south it is separated from France only by a narrow strait, and there are three noble rivers, the Thames, Severn, and Humber, which it stretches out as if they were arms to receive the goods of all lands.

— The introduction to Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain

How to Use this Book

This book has been designed to be read both by players and by storyguides. It does not contain details of secret dealings, or pages of statistics for creatures and characters. In fact, it contains no statistics at all. Instead, it portrays the scenery against which stories will happen, and describes the hooks on which plots can hang. Furthermore, it has been designed to provide information for play, rather than to be read like a novel.

Storyguides should not expect to be presented with a developed ready-to-play saga. This book provides all the historical information that the storyguide needs, and fills in the background to any saga. Of course, it does not contain everything there is to learn about England and Wales in 1220, and the bibliography and guide to further reading will help if you want to learn more. However, it does provide easily enough history for playing **Ars Magica**.

Indeed, it probably provides more than any single game will need. It is vital to remember that this is a game: it is supposed to be fun, not a history lesson. Do not worry about minor anachronisms, such as styles of dress or forms of religious devotion. An anachronism is only a problem if it spoils the players' sense that their characters are in

medieval England, and you can generally assume that, if something is not a problem for you, it won't be for them.

If you are not to worry about anachronisms, how do you create the necessary sense that the game takes place nearly eight hundred years ago? If you have found a way that works for you, then stick with it. Otherwise, here are some suggestions.

First, make your positive descriptions as true to the time as you can manage. The following pages provide outline information on the appearance of clothes, buildings, and the countryside: use it when describing travel. Remind the players that roads are unpaved, that men have skirts, and that a single coin is a day's wages for a laborer and can be bent between your fingers. Don't worry about describing everything — just pick a couple of things at a time, to point up the differences from modern society.

Second, base stories on features of medieval society. Pick one, such as tithes, or noble hunts, or lawsuits, and build a story that relies on its details. If the players have read this book (which is recommended), they will realize what is going on, but otherwise you may have to explain to them — their characters would know, after all. Do not try to introduce everything in a single story; you will only overwhelm the players, and probably lose track yourself. Instead, bring things in one at a time, and have them recur later as background incidents. After the covenant fights a writ of novel disseisin the players will know what it means when a visiting merchant complains that such a writ has been presented against him. A number of story ideas are scattered through the text to help you do this.

Third, have the players create characters with backgrounds drawn from medieval culture. Encourage them to read the relevant parts of this book, and to work one or two elements in as important parts of their history. The book is split into thematic chapters to make this as easy as possible — a character who wishes to portray a peasant need only read the chapter on peasants, for example.

Finally, don't worry about it. Everyone wants to think that they are playing in the middle ages, so they won't be trying to pick holes in your descriptions. A covenant maneuvering for a borough charter while trying to convince the local priest not to claim tithes on its vis sources and fighting a writ of

Where Are the Stats?

On a quick flick through this book, you won't see any game statistics. This is because there aren't any. This book is as much for players as for storyguides, and players should not know the non-player characters' statistics.

There were several reasons for doing it this way. First, players will find the information in this book just as useful as the storyguide will. Much of the background information would be known by anyone from the tribunal, and all of it could be known by a curious and persistent character. Information about medieval English and Welsh society will help in character creation, and in playing a character who behaves in medieval ways.

Second, there isn't space to provide statistics for every important character in the tribunal, and no way for me to predict which characters will be important in your saga. Further, the statistics for characters like Henry III are largely irrelevant. Most player characters could kill him easily: he's a twelve year old mundane. He's also the king, and that's what matters. The reverse is true of important magi. Whatever Goliard's statistics, she could wipe the floor with new magi. By the time they have studied enough to challenge her, she will either be even more powerful, or dead.

Third, providing statistics would set the power level of your saga. **Ars Magica** can be played with very different levels of power, and a magus who would be powerful in one type of saga might be very weak in another.

Finally, this book does not aim to provide a "plug and play" saga setting. Instead, it aims to provide players and storyguides with the background they need to play somewhere that is distinctively the Stonehenge Tribunal, not "generic Mythic Europe" or "generic Fantasyland." Game statistics would not help achieve that goal, rather hindering it by preventing players from reading the book.

novel disseisin from another covenant is solidly enmeshed in high medieval culture, and the fact that the current story involves a faerie tournament which could have come from Malory (who wrote in the 1400s) won't spoil the effect.

Ars Magica also draws on the legends of the Middle Ages. Summaries of a number of these legends, taken from texts current in England around 1220, are scattered through the book. These can be used as inspiration for your own stories, or simply as background color. The final chapter contains more legends, and descriptions of places that certainly ought to have some mystical features. Just as all the legends are genuine, so are all the places, although the legends about the places may not be medieval. The only made-up information in this book is that related to the Order of Hermes.

Of course, this all assumes that you want to play in a world which is a good approximation to medieval Europe. If you don't, this book will be of limited use to you, as its primary aim is to provide, accessibly, information about Mythic England.

Further Reading

This book does not take history past 1220, on the assumption that your players are likely to do something that will change the course of history. If you want to find out what happened next in the real world, or just pursue some issues in greater depth, then the following books are a good place to start. The bibliography lists all the books used in the immediate preparation of the sourcebook, and can serve as a guide to even deeper research.

Powicke, Sir Maurice, *The Thirteenth Century:* Part of the Oxford History of England, this book actually starts from the accession of Henry III in 1216. It is an excellent political history, but it has little information on culture and society.

Harding, Alan, *England in the Thirteenth Century:* A Cambridge Medieval Textbook. This is a good complement to the Powicke, as it concentrates on social history.

Dyer, Christopher, *Standards of Living in the later Middle Ages:* Another Cambridge Medieval Textbook. This is an excellent source of details on the physical side of daily life. The subtitle is "Social Change in England c. 1200 –1520".

Lynch, Joseph H. *The Medieval Church:* The Church was central to medieval life, and this book provides a good introduction to it. It is not focused particularly on England, however.

Map, Walter, *De Nugis Curialium:* The oldest **Ars Magica** sourcebook, written about eight hundred years before the game's first edition came out. This book is a wonderful source of genuine medieval legends that can be turned into stories, but it is only available in a Latin and English edition from the Oxford Medieval Texts series, and it is expensive. It is in print, however, and good libraries may have a copy.

The Mabinogion: A collection of Welsh legends, it isn't quite as good a source as Map, but it is available in an inexpensive Penguin Classics edition.

Chapter 2
History

Before the Romans

Brutus, the founder of Britain, had three sons, Locrinus, Kamber, and Albanactus. When he died, twenty three years after landing in Britain, his sons divided the kingdom between them. Locrinus, the eldest, took England, which was called Loegria after him. Kamber took Wales, and it was named Kambria after him, while Albanactus took Scotland, which at that time was called Albany. While they reigned, Humber, king of the Huns, invaded and killed Albanactus, but Locrinus and Kamber defeated the Hun, and he drowned in a river which was then named the Humber.

Among Humber's captives Locrinus discovered Estrildis, the beautiful daughter of the King of Germany, and fell in love. He wanted to marry her, but he had already promised to marry Gwendolen, daughter of the king of Cornwall. Fearing Gwendolen's father, he had Estrildis confined in a chamber, and visited her secretly, fathering a beautiful daughter, who was called Habren. Gwendolen bore a son, called Maddan. When Gwendolen's father finally died, Locrinus put her aside, and lived with Estrildis. Gwendolen raised an army in Cornwall, and defeated Locrinus, throwing both Estrildis and Habren into the Severn. She reigned for fifteen years before passing the scepter to Maddan.

Some time later the country was ruled by Bladud, who founded the city of Bath and encouraged magic throughout the realm. He finally died, it is said, when he fell from the sky while flying, and was dashed to pieces on the temple of Apollo in London.

Bladud was followed by King Leir, who had no sons, but three daughters: Goneril, Regan, and Cordelia. When he became old, he asked them how much they loved him, and while Goneril and Regan said that their love for him was greater than for any living thing, Cordelia said that she loved him as a father deserved. Leir, furious with his youngest daughter, had Goneril and Regan married in great pomp, but gave Cordelia to Aganippus, the king of the Franks, with no

On History

We hold the writings of the ancients in our hands, and they make times that were past even to them present to us, and yet we are mute; thus their memory lives, and ours dies. A notable wonder! The dead live, and the living are buried in their place. Our time perhaps has someone worthy of the mantle of Sophocles, but the great men of today are neglected, and the cast-off fringes of antiquity raised to honor.

— From Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium

A Note on Sources

The account of history up to Arthur is based closely on Geoffrey of Monmouth. History from the Saxons on is based on current scholarship.

dowry. Goneril and Regan, and their husbands, were given control of the country, and they humiliated Leir, finally driving him away. He went to Cordelia, sure she would reject him, but she welcomed him, and, together with Aganippus, raised an army to take his kingdom back. Leir lived for three years after reconquering his land, and Aganippus died in the same year, so that Cordelia became queen of England. Five years later, Goneril and Regan's sons rebelled, and captured Cordelia. In prison, grieving over the loss of her father and her kingdom, she killed herself.

Some years later Dunvallo Molmutius took the throne, winning it in battle. He established the Molmutine Laws, which made temples and the roads leading to them places of sanctuary. His reign was an era of peace, when no one dared to rob. His sons were Belinus and Brennius, and both wanted to be king. After his death they fought, until friends made peace between them, with Brennius, the younger, accepting the lordship of the north of the country, subject to his brother. A few years later, Brennius rebelled, and Belinus defeated him, driving him from

Brutus

Aeneas of Troy fled the fall of the city, finally arriving in Italy where he became king, marrying Lavinia, the daughter of King Latinus. After Aeneas died, his son Ascanius became king. Ascanius's son Silvius had a secret affair with one of Lavinia's nieces, marrying her and making her pregnant. When Ascanius found out, he consulted soothsayers about the child, and they said that he would be a boy who would cause the death of his father and mother, and, after wandering in exile, rise to the highest honor.

Brutus's mother died in childbirth, and when he was fifteen he killed his father in a hunting accident. His relations exiled him from Italy for this crime, and he went to Greece, where he found a number of Trojans enslaved by King Pandrasus. He so impressed everyone with his might and wisdom that he was made leader of the Trojans, and demanded that Pandrasus free them. The king refused, and attacked Brutus and the Trojans. Brutus was victorious, and demanded the freedom to leave the country, taking Pandrasus's daughter as his wife, and gold to support the Trojans on their journey.

Their travels took them to a deserted island where there was a statue of Diana which offered prophecies to anyone who asked. Brutus asked her where he should live, and was told to travel to an island beyond the setting sun which was once inhabited by giants. The Trojans set out, and first landed in Aquitaine, where they fought Goffar the Pict, sacking the region before withdrawing and sailing for Albion.

When they arrived, the Trojans quickly drove out the remaining giants, and Brutus named the island Britain after himself. He chose a spot on the River Thames for his capital, and built a city which he called New Troy. This was in the time when Eli was judge of the Israelites, and the Ark of the Covenant was captured by the Philistines.

— From Geoffrey of Monmouth
History of the Kings of Britain, Part One

the country. He found refuge with the king of the Allobroges, who married him to his daughter and made him his heir. Once Brennius was king there, he led his subjects back to Britain, determined to take the kingdom from his brother. As the armies gathered for battle, his mother came to him and begged him to make peace with his brother, reminding him that he had now become a king in his own right, and that he had rebelled in the first place. He was convinced, and the brothers made peace. They combined their armies, and harried Gaul, before continuing south to sack Rome. Brennius remained in Italy, treating the people savagely, but Belinus returned to Britain, where he presided over an age of immense wealth, the like of which was never seen again.

The Romans

Many years later, when Julius Caesar conquered Gaul, Cassivelaunus was king of Britain. Caesar sent him a letter, demanding that he submit to Roman rule and pay him tribute. Cassivelaunus indignantly refused, reminding Caesar that the British and the Romans were sprung from a common stock, and should maintain friendly relations. In response, Caesar invaded Britain, but the British defeated him, and drove him out. Seething with anger, Caesar prepared his fleets again, and sailed up the Thames. But Cassivelaunus had prepared sharpened stakes covered with lead which ripped the bottoms out of his ships, so that many of his troops drowned. Many of those who made it to shore were slaughtered by the Britons, so that Caesar once again was forced to retreat.

Cassivelaunus held great celebrations for the victory, at which a quarrel arose between him and Androgeus, the duke of London, which grew into a war. Androgeus was hard-pressed by Cassivelaunus, and wrote to Caesar, asking for his help. Caesar came, and together they defeated Cassivelaunus, who was forced to pay tribute to Rome.

A hundred years later the British king, Guiderius, tried to throw off the Roman yoke, and Claudius invaded to bring him to heel. Claudius won the first battle, killing Guiderius by treachery, but Arvirargus took over the leadership of the Britons, and finally forced Claudius to sue for peace. Arvirargus married Claudius's daughter, and continued paying tribute to the Romans.

One hundred years after Arvirargus, Lucius was the king of the Britons. He heard of the Christian faith, and wrote to Pope Eleutherius, asking that missionaries be sent to Britain. The Pope was happy to agree, and sent Faganus and Duvianus, who converted the whole country within a few years, establishing archbishops at London, York, and Caerleon-on-Usk.

After the death of Lucius, the pirate Carausius convinced Rome to give him some ships, and mercilessly plundered the coasts. Finally, with the aid of the Picts, he deposed the king and took control of the country himself, giving part of Albany to the Picts for their residence. The Roman Senate sent Allectus with three legions to defeat

Bladud's Library

The characters come across references in ancient texts to a library gathered by Bladud in a secret cave somewhere in his realm, where all the secrets of magic were written down. Such a trove of magical lore would be invaluable to a covenant, but there are few clues to its location remaining, and if the characters look for it, other covenants are almost sure to find out. Even if they do find it, all the books are written in a lost language, and the magic they describe is not easily understood in Hermetic terms.

Belinus's Hoard

When Belinus returned to Britain after the sack of Rome, he brought many treasures with him. These may have included texts and enchanted items looted from the Cult of Mercury, or from other Roman magicians. Since books are not obvious targets for most looters, they may survive, forgotten, in a room somewhere. The characters could find part of such a text used in the binding of a new book, and then try to track down the other parts.

Carausius, but after he had done so he oppressed the Britons, so that they rallied to Asclepiodotus, Duke of Cornwall, and drove him out. At this time Diocletian persecuted the Christians, killing Albanus at St. Albans, and Julius and Aaron at Caerleon. A few years later Constantius of Rome married Helen, the daughter of a British king, and their son Constantine went on to defeat Maxentius and become emperor of Rome, bringing the whole Empire to the Christian faith.

From this time on, barbarian raids began to trouble the Britons, until finally Rome said that it could no longer spare the troops to help such worthless folk, and left the Britons to their own devices.

Prelude to Arthur

When the Britons were abandoned by Rome, the archbishop of London traveled to Brittany to ask the descendants of the British royal line to return to rule them. Constantine, the brother of the king of Brittany, took the offered throne and sailed to Britain. He fathered three sons, Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther Pendragon. Constantine reigned for ten years, and then was treacherously murdered by a Pict.

After Constantine's death, Vortigern seized the throne by treachery. Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther Pendragon were mere boys, and fled to their relatives in Brittany, but other Britons fought against Vortigern. In order to enforce his rule, he invited the Saxons, under Hengist and Horsa, into the country. Vortigern fell in love with Hengist's beautiful daughter Renwein, and Hengist allowed Vortigern to marry her, using this to gain further control over the king and invite more Saxons into the country. The Britons rebelled under Vortimer, Vortigern's son, and drove the Saxons out for a time. After Vortimer's death, Vortigern returned to the throne and recalled the Saxons, who then treacherously slew many of the British nobles at Ambrius, where they had gathered for a peace conference.

At this, Vortigern consulted his magicians, who told him to build a strong tower. He began to build, but everything constructed during the day fell down at night. His magicians told him that he must smear the foundations with the blood of a boy who had no father, and he sent men out to search for such a one. They discovered Merlin, whose mother claimed that he had no father but a spirit. Merlin was taken before Vortigern, and told him that the magicians were lying: the castle collapsed because there were two dragons in an underground pool beneath it, and their fighting at night caused the walls to fall. Merlin also uttered some other prophecies at this time (see insert).

The following day, Aurelius Ambrosius returned to Britain, and made war on Vortigern and Hengist. First he trapped Vortigern in his tower on Snowdon, and burned him to death within it. He then pursued the Saxons, and defeated them, taking Hengist prisoner and then executing him for his crimes. He then turned his mind to the victims of the slaughter at Ambrius, and a suitable monument. Merlin was summoned, and told them to bring the Giant's Dance

The Prophecies of Merlin

- "The Islands of the Ocean shall be given into the power of the Boar and it shall lord it over the forests of Gaul."
- "A king who is blessed will fit out a navy and will be reckoned twelfth in the court among the saints."
- "The feet of those that bark shall be cut off."
- "A hoary old man upon a snow-white horse shall divert the River Periron and above the stream he will measure out a mill with his white rod."
- "All the soil will be fruitful beyond man's need; and human beings will fornicate unceasingly."
- "London shall mourn the death of twenty thousand and the Thames will be turned into blood."
- "The secrets of the creatures who live under the sea shall be revealed and Gaul will tremble for fear."

— From Geoffrey of Monmouth
History of the Kings of Britain, Part Five

from the top of Mount Killaraus in Ireland. Aurelius sent Uther Pendragon with an army, which defeated the Irish but was unable to move the stones. Merlin, by his art, easily brought them to Britain, and erected them around the tomb of those slain by treachery.

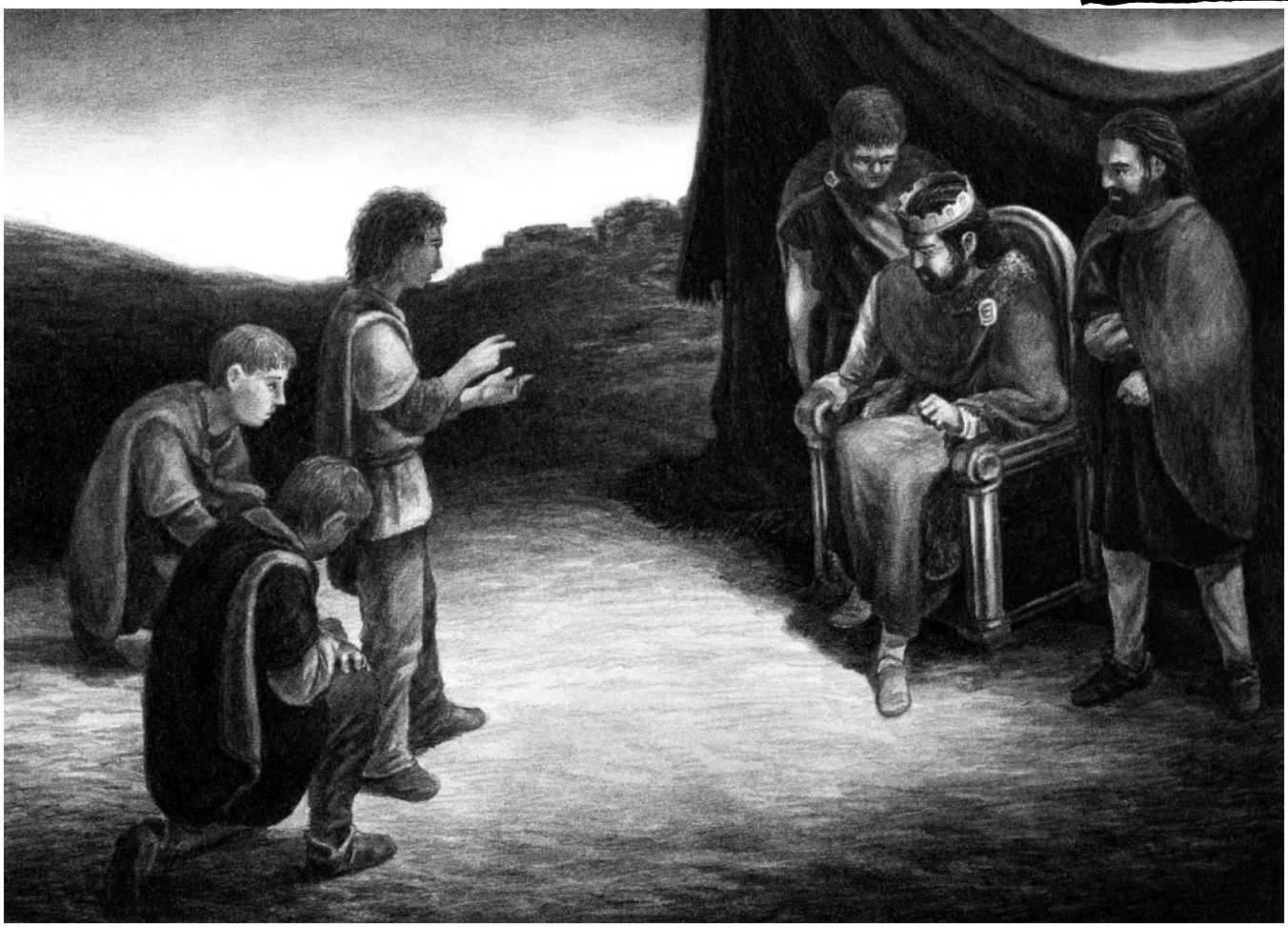
Many of the Saxons hated Aurelius for what he had done, and he was slain by treachery. A Saxon, disguised as a British monk, gave him poison, pretending that it was medicine. As he died, Uther Pendragon was defeating the Saxon army, and he returned from his victory to hear the news and become king. After driving the last of the Saxons back, Uther fell in love with Ygerna, the wife of Gorlois of Cornwall, and the realm was split by civil war. Merlin's magic allowed Uther to disguise himself as Gorlois, and lie with Ygerna before the duke was defeated. They had a son, who was called Arthur.

The tales of Arthur are too numerous and too well known to be recounted here. He reigned gloriously for many years, finally falling in battle at Camblam, after which he was buried at Glastonbury Abbey. His tomb was found in 1190, and was seen by Gerald of Wales, among others, before he was reburied in a fine marble sepulcher behind the high altar.

The Saxons

After the death of Arthur, the Angles and Saxons swept across the country, driving the Britons back into Wales and Cornwall. This process was not complete until the seventh century, when the British kingdom of Elmet, in the Pennines, finally fell about 620.

The Anglo-Saxons were pagans, and in



597 Pope Gregory the Great sent St. Augustine to Kent, which was an independent kingdom at that time, to convert the people. The conversion progressed slowly but steadily, and in 601 Augustine was made archbishop. He had already established his church at Canterbury, the capital of Kent, and the town became fixed as the metropolitan see. Aethelberht, the king of Kent, was converted, but Christianity made little further progress in Augustine's lifetime, and for some time afterwards. Indeed, when Aethelberht died, Kent almost reverted to heathenism. The British were still Christian, but hostile to the new customs brought in by the Romans.

Nevertheless, progress was made, and in 663, at the synod of Whitby, the Roman customs were adopted by the whole of the English church. The last major heathen ruler was Penda of Mercia, who was killed by Oswiu of Northumbria in 654, and in 731 Bede, a Northumbrian monk, could write a history of the English church and people which took them to be the same.

In the late eighth century Offa, king of Mercia, became overlord of the English. All the kingdoms south of the Humber acknowledged his authority, and he had influence in Northumbria. He built a great earthwork, Offa's Dyke, to mark the boundary between England and Wales, and he minted the first pennies, coins which were copied throughout Europe. Offa was one of the great lords of Europe, the only king able to deal with Charlemagne on equal terms, and a significant figure even to the distant Pope in Rome. He died in 796, at the height of his power.

Offa's Dyke

Offa's Dyke stretches for more then seventy miles, and is clearly a work beyond the capacity of unaided mortals. It was completed in 787 with the assistance of Huarwar, a Welsh faerie who was bribed with 10,000 cattle. The bargain involved his being provided with 100 cattle every fourteen years thereafter, and recently the locals have neglected this. As a result, he has started to eat the northern parts of the dyke, and occasional villages.

Magi in Britain Before Pralix

While Pralix was the first Hermetic maga to settle in Britain, she was not the first to visit the island. In the eighth century England was a major center of scholarship, and Jerbiton himself visited the Northumbrian monks. House Díedne had close links with the Welsh druids, although they did not join the Order. The main problem was the large number of indigenous, non-Hermetic traditions in the island. The Order was too small to enforce a "join or die" policy, and so responded by largely ignoring the problem. The war against Dav'nalleous provided a focus for the various British traditions, and House Ex Miscellanea a way for them to join the Order without giving up their history. The tribunal was thus incorporated more easily than the founders had dared to hope.

Vikings and Magi

The Vikings began raiding Britain in the early 790s, and continued over the following decades. While wars broke out between Wessex and Mercia in the southwest, the Danes moved in from the north-east, first raiding, and then settling and conquering. By 870, the Danes had conquered all of the Saxon kingdoms, apart from the southwestern kingdom of Wessex.

In this period, the Order of Hermes came to Britain. The immediate cause was Pralix's war against Dav'nalleous, which is described in *Lion of the North*. In 815, Pralix established the Ordo Miscellanea at Cad Gadu, in North Wales, and in 817 it was accepted into the Order as House Ex Miscellanea. The Stonehenge Tribunal was born.

The first covenant in the new tribunal was Cad Gadu itself, founded by Pralix in 815 on the site of the final battle with Dav'nalleous. When the Stonehenge Tribunal was formed in 817, the Díedne incorporated an ancient druidic shrine on Anglesey as a covenant. This is now known as the Nameless Covenant, as the quaesitores ordered its name, location, and much of its history stricken from the records after the Schism War. In 818 House Tremere founded

the covenant of Blackthorn in the Black Mountains of South Wales, intending to use it as a base for the domination of the tribunal. In 820 Flavia of Jerbiton (see insert) founded the covenant of Rosalba in the Yorkshire Dales.

Cad Gadu has never kept very good records (one reason why the precise date of Pralix's death or Twilight, or, indeed, its nature, is unknown), but one from 837 records the visit of a group of wandering magi. Such a group was recorded from time to time over the next three centuries, but never described in any great detail.

After the Sundering of Tremere, Blackthorn's power in the tribunal was reduced, and the younger members of Rosalba sought to weaken it further, increasing their own influence. The relationship between the two covenants became actively hostile, with frequent confrontations at tribunal. A Wizards' War in 873 between Diana of Tremere, from Blackthorn, and William of Jerbiton, from Rosalba marked the beginning of near-constant skirmishing after William's death. Flavia tried to negotiate a peace, but with her death in 890 the last truce fell apart, and the war escalated. In 899 all the members of Blackthorn declared Wizards' War on all the members of Rosalba. The magi of Rosalba were all killed, but magical defenses on the covenant killed several Blackthorn grogs and one magus, and the weakened victors withdrew to regroup. Later expeditions revealed that the defenses were still in place, and eventually the ruins of the covenant were simply abandoned. No current members of the tribunal know precisely where they are.

Meanwhile, the tribunal was growing with the foundation of several new covenants. (See page 16 for a full list, including those which did not survive for any significant length of time.) Castrum Antiquum was founded in 852 in the ruins of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall, Sursum in 875 on the north coast of Cornwall, London Covenant in 896, and Lux Draconis in 915, in the Pennines.

Alfred the Great became king of Wessex in 871, and set out to drive the Danes back.

Flavia of Jerbiton

Flavia was trained by Jerbiton himself, and spent her first years as a maga in Rome and Constantinople. She was present at Charlemagne's coronation, and is said to have encouraged Irene in her assumption of the Byzantine throne. Perhaps she was dismayed by Irene's fate: at any rate, she vanished from Europe in 803. By 810, Jerbiton and the other magi of his house assumed that she had died. In 819 she reappeared, refusing to say where she had been, and immediately began searching for somewhere to found a covenant. She astonished everyone by choosing a remote area of the Stonehenge Tribunal, where she established Rosalba in 820.

There, while she gathered a number of magi around her, she devoted her time to studying, and writing about, the philosophical underpinnings of Hermetic magic. More lucid than the Criamon, but less concerned with the details of theory than the Bonisagus, her writings garnered a great deal of respect, but few magi felt that they could spare the time to read them. Even the other magi of her covenant began to marginalize her, taking a much more aggressive role than she thought wise. The eruption of hostilities with Blackthorn confirmed her fears, and she was distracted in her last years by repeated attempts to negotiate peace. Her reputation served her well, but on her disappearance in 890 the final truce between the two covenants broke down.

Flavia's end is rather mysterious. Almost all the evidence suggests that she went into Final Twilight, a normal end for a maga who has lived for more than a century. However, she prepared quite carefully for her end, finishing her final tractatus the day before she vanished, and telling the covenant servants in advance not to bother bringing her food the following day. Her passage into Twilight was as spectacular as might be expected, but the fact that it seems it *was* expected has puzzled more thoughtful magi. They wonder if her philosophical researches revealed greater secrets to her than anyone realized.

Flavia's texts are mostly tractatus on Magic Theory or Philosophiae. The storyguide should decide whether she did make any major theoretical breakthroughs.

By 886 Alfred had struck back, regaining control of London and the fealty of all the English in the south and west of the country. Alfred established a number of defensive settlements, called burhs, throughout England, and saved English culture from disappearing beneath the Viking tide. He was also one of the more learned kings of the period, responsible for several translations from Latin to English, including one of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*. He died in 899.

Alfred's son Edward took on the task of conquering the Danes and bringing the land back under English control. He was helped by his sister Aethelflaed, and by the time of his death in 924 he had brought all of England south of the Humber under his direct control. The Welsh had acknowledged him as overlord, but the Vikings had established a kingdom centered on York in the North, and this did not recognize his authority at all. His son Athelstan continued and completed Edward's work, conquering the kingdom of York in 927, accepting the tribute of the Welsh kings from 931, and finally pacifying Cornwall in the same year. In 937 he was attacked by the Irish and Scots, in a grand alliance intended to break his power. He annihilated them at the battle of Brunanburh.

Sursum fell during Athelstan's campaigns. It was closely involved with the Cornish nobility, and was connected with their revolt in 931. Athelstan's response involved the destruction of the covenant, and when the quaesitores investigated the ruins they found evidence that the Tytalus at the covenant had been involved in diabolism. This was one of the first pieces of evidence leading up to the disgrace of House Tytalus in 961.

Although the southeast was at peace in these years, London covenant had trouble establishing itself in the city. It was constantly changing its lodgings, and as it was never

keen on telling the rest of the Order about its activities Redcaps occasionally had trouble tracking it down to deliver messages. Finally, in 942, their best efforts failed to discover the covenant, and it was presumed to have been dispersed or destroyed. A group of traditionalist Latin magi founded the covenant of Roma Nova in Kent in 946, and quickly made themselves unpopular with the Bjornaer, Díedne, and Ex Miscellanea. In 952, they were challenged at one of their vis sources by magi claiming to be from London. The challengers were defeated, but investigations by the Redcaps found no other trace of the urban magi.

In 984 a group of Flambeau magi founded Ungulus, "The Claw," in the Lake District. Less than two decades later its purpose, as a forward post in the Schism War, was revealed. The Stonehenge Tribunal suffered badly in that war. Roma Nova was destroyed by the Díedne in 1008, and many other covenants were damaged and lost members. The destruction of the Nameless Covenant in 1011 was the last major engagement of the war, and the things the quaesitores found in the ruins led them to have the site razed completely, and most records of the covenant destroyed.

In 1014 Blackthorn sponsored a group of magi, including many apprentices trained at the covenant, to found the covenant of Tagelyn in some caves fairly close to Blackthorn's site. Their stated aim was to begin repairing the damage wrought by the Schism War.

In 1025 a small group of Criamon magi founded the covenant of Stellasper, in the Scilly Isles southwest of Cornwall. The covenant never took an active part in tribunal business, and the Redcaps only visited once every seven years.

Sometime in 1030 or 1031, Castrum Antiquum vanished. The Redcap traveled to the site, as she had done only a year before, and found nothing but the ruins of a Roman fort. There was no trace of the covenant, not even ruins of the additional structures they had built. Other magi of the tribunal investigated, but could find no evidence that the covenant had ever existed. Some magi were worried that this was the first sign of a Díedne counter-attack, but nothing further happened for many years.

When Athelstan died in 939, his brother Edmund was unable to hold the kingdom together, and it quickly collapsed under the pressure of Viking raids. The descendants of Alfred maintained their hold on the kingship, but the various parts of the country slipped away from them, until in 1016 Cnut, the younger brother of the king of Denmark,

The Forgotten Covenant

The magi acquire a collection of old Redcap letters. Many of them have been mutilated, with passages cut out, but one of the fragments remains in the bottom of the bag. It mentions "the two Díedne covenants of Stonehenge." This suggests that the obliteration of the Nameless Covenant was a cover story, used to explain the mutilations necessary for the total obliteration of a second covenant. Why were the quaesitores so eager to wipe it from memory?

Alfred and the Cakes

In 878 Alfred's war against the Danes was going badly, and he was forced to flee, alone, into the Somerset marshes, hiding from the enemy until he could rejoin his forces. Wandering the swamps, he saw a lonely cottage, and approached it, seeking refuge. The swineherd who lived there took pity on a man who was, apparently, nothing but a poor victim of the battles, and gave him shelter. Alfred remained there for several days, content with the bare necessities of life.

One day, while the swineherd was out with his pigs, Alfred was meditating on his plight, and waiting for God's mercy, which St. Neot had promised to him. The swineherd's wife had prepared some bread, and set the loaves in the hearth to cook. She then busied herself with other chores, and looked across the room to see the loaves burning while Alfred sat beside them. Annoyed, she shouted at him:

"You're unwilling to turn the loaves while they are burning, but perfectly happy to eat them when they're cooked!"

Chastened, the king turned the loaves, and then watched them carefully until they were done, accepting the humble situation in which God had chosen to place him for the moment.

— From The Life of St. Neot

invaded and was able to take control of the whole of England. By 1020 he was firmly in control of England, and also king of Denmark. Cnut attempted to conquer Norway, but was less successful, and had lost control there before his death in 1035. He was succeeded in England by his illegitimate son Harold, although Harold's mother Aelfgifu seems to have been the true ruler. Harold died in 1040, and was succeeded, almost peacefully, by Cnut's legitimate son Harthacnut, who was already king of Denmark. Harthacnut died at the age of twenty four in 1042 and was succeeded by Edward the Confessor.

King Edward was celibate, which meant that there could be no blood heir to the throne. He favored William of Normandy from early in his reign, but Earl Godwine of Wessex opposed this. In 1051, Godwine rebelled, but his army would not fight against the king in person, at least when the other earls joined the royal side, and he had to make peace. In 1052, Godwine's estates were restored to him, and his son Harold succeeded him as earl in 1053.

In 1058 Gruffyd ap Llewelyn of Wales attacked England, and Harold was engaged in defeating him and driving him out. Gruffyd's forces laid siege to Blackthorn, and invested the covenant until Harold relieved it in 1061, while in 1060 a detachment of his army sacked Cad Gadu, burning the ancient covenant to the ground. Harold finally defeated Gruffyd in 1062, giving him a strong and respected position in England.

All magi of the tribunal were sure that Gruffyd was a Díedne magus, returned to

Covenants of Stonehenge

This is a list of all the covenants that have been founded in Stonehenge, together with some information about those not mentioned in the main text.

Cad Gadu (815–present)
Semitae (?–present)
Nameless Covenant (817–1011)
Blackthorn (818–present)
Rosalba (820–899)
Concordia (821–823): An attempt to weld the various traditions in Ex Miscellanea together, it fell apart due to internal tension. It was in the Lake District.
Castrum Antiquum (852–1030/1)
Rector Maris (866): Founded on the Isle of Man, and destroyed within six months.
Sursum (875–931)
Occulta (893–897): Founded in the East Anglian fens by a group of newly gauntleted magi, Occulta failed to establish suitable resources, and collapsed. The magi all joined other covenants.
London (896–952?)
Lux Draconis (915–1100): An undistinguished covenant, it never achieved much in the way of a Summer, and died a natural death as it was unable to recruit new magi.
Rector Novus (938): Founded on the Isle of Man, and destroyed within a year.
Roma Nova (946–1008)
Ungulus (984–present)
Lumen (998–1003): A foundation which was an early victim of the Schism War, lacking the resources to repel a Díedne assault.
Tagelyn (1014-1062)
Stellasper (1025–1163)
Harold's Vengeance (1066–1068): Founded in the East Anglian fens by magi who wanted to drive William the Conqueror from England, it broke the Code so blatantly and repeatedly that it was Marched as a whole and destroyed.
Voluntas (1083–present)
Blackrose (1104–1107)
Magnantrum (1111–1187)
Natura Antiqua (1133–1143): Founded in the East Anglian fens by a group of nature magi, Natura was destroyed by Geoffrey de Mandeville during the Civil War.
Burnham (1141–present)
Servus Maris (1160): Another attempt to found a Manx covenant, destroyed by a dragon within six months. One magus was allowed to return to the Tribunal with the message "Don't come back."
Schola Pythagoranis (1182–present)
Nigrasaxa (1201–present)
Libellus (1210–present)

wreak vengeance. The fact that he attacked two covenants would, most likely, have led to such a conclusion in the paranoid atmosphere of the time, but as his name meant "Son of Llewelyn," and the last primus of Díedne was called Llewelyn, everyone was sure. However, the magi never saw any sign of magical ability on Gruffyd's part, and most magi now think that his name and actions were merely coincidence.

In 1062, Blackthorn drove the magi of Tagelyn out of the caves, moving their own covenant to the safer location, and the survivors of Tagelyn founded the covenant of Ashenrise in the Hibernian Tribunal. Cad Gadu was refounded on its old site, but in the higher levels of the regio, in 1065, but the tribunal was weak, with only four active covenants, two of which (Cad Gadu and Lux Draconis) were barely clinging to survival.

The Normans

In 1066 there were many possible claimants to the throne of England. Harold Godwinson had seized it on Edward the Confessor's death, but King Harald Hardrada of Norway and Duke William of Normandy also had claims. Both the latter launched invasions in support of their claims. Godwinson defeated his Norwegian rival at the battle of Stamfordbridge, but William landed in the south barely a week later, and defeated Harold at the Battle of Hastings.

England did not take kindly to conquest, and it was 1081 before William had put down all the rebellions and pacified the whole nation. In these years the survival of the tribunal hung in the balance. Already weak, it probably could not have survived an attack on any of its covenants. Officially, the magi simply hid. Unofficially, they worked hard to direct armies away from their homes, foment centers of revolt distant from their lands, and, occasionally, kill groups of Normans *en masse*. The covenants of Harold's Vengeance, in Stonehenge, and Horsingas, in Loch Leglean, were founded by Saxon magi determined to oppose the Normans. They used Mentem magic to cover their tracks, but it could never be perfect. William's suspicions were aroused, and this contributed to his decision to commission Domesday Book to investigate the whole land. Fortunately, the Domesday assessors were easy to deceive, and the lack of evidence convinced William that there was nothing to his worries.

The tribunal had survived, and even grown slightly. Some magi from the Normandy Tribunal had followed the Conqueror to England, and founded the covenant of Voluntas in the north. William Rufus became king of England in 1087, but his elder brother, Robert Curthose, was made duke of Normandy. William wanted control of the duchy, and in 1096 his brother pawned it to him to raise money so that he could go on Crusade. William Rufus did not, however, make himself popular, particularly with the church. He was vain and ill-tempered, homosexual, and possibly a pagan. On 2 August 1100 he was killed in a "hunting accident." His younger brother Henry immediately seized the throne.

In 1100 the last magus of Lux Draconis died, and Blackthorn laid claim to the property of the defunct covenant. None of the other covenants had enough strength to challenge them, although Voluntas tried, and the infusion of money, books, and vis put Blackthorn firmly on the road to recovery, with Voluntas as its enemy. In 1104

The Tomb of William Rufus

The body of William II was left lying in the forest for some time before some peasants slung it on a cart and took it to Winchester, where it was buried without ceremony. In fact, another corpse had been substituted for the king's, and he was taken elsewhere to be buried with full pagan ceremony, and a full complement of grave goods. The line of priests responsible has survived until 1220, with minor magical powers, and now they want to use the royal treasure to bribe their way into House Ex Miscellanea. Unfortunately, the treasure was protected by magic as well as a large amount of earth.

Blackthorn sent out a small group of magi to found a new covenant, Blackrose, on the North York Moors, not far from Voluntas, in an obvious attempt to weaken the covenant. Blackrose suffered persistent mundane problems, such as crop failures, troubles with the local nobility, and defecting servants, and Blackthorn recalled the magi in 1107. While they strongly suspected Voluntas of being involved, Blackthorn had no proof, and didn't have the strength to directly attack the other covenant. A few years later, Magnantrum was founded in a cave under Salisbury Plain.

In 1101 Robert Curthose returned from Crusade, and tried to reclaim his duchy and acquire the throne of England. Henry resisted, and although Robert was captured and imprisoned in 1106 (remaining captive until his death in 1134), the result was nearly twenty years of war, which ended with Henry firmly established in England and Normandy, with a legitimate heir and an apparently solid position. On 25 November 1120, the White Ship set sail for England and sank, drowning everyone on board but a butcher from Rouen. Those on board included William, Henry's heir, two of the king's bastard children, several earls and barons, and most of the royal household.

Henry also had a daughter, Matilda, who was married to the German Emperor. When the emperor died in 1125, she became a potential heir to the English throne, and Henry induced his barons to accept her as such. She married Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou, and in 1133 bore him a son, Henry Plantagenet. Henry I died in December 1135, but the succession did not go smoothly.

The Civil War

Matilda was not popular in England, and immediately after Henry's death his nephew Stephen of Blois crossed the Channel and had himself crowned king. Innocent II confirmed Stephen's coronation early in 1136, and by April all the major nobles of the country had submitted to him. In 1137 he was able to travel to Normandy, where Matilda had been making claims to the duchy. By the end of the year he had lost the confidence of the Normans through wrangling, and returned to England, where he stayed for the remainder of his reign.

Meanwhile, the Angevins were pushing Matilda's claim to the throne. She appealed to the Pope, who confirmed Stephen's position in 1139, and in 1138 Robert of Gloucester renounced his fealty to Stephen to become the most important champion of the queen's cause. In 1139, Stephen made a serious tactical error. He arrested the bishop of Salisbury and his son, both of whom had held great power at court. The Church, while it might not approve of the victims' lives, could not countenance the violent arrest of ecclesiastics. Stephen lost its support at a critical moment; shortly afterwards Matilda invaded.

The next two years saw the burning of many towns and cities, until the battle of Lincoln, in early 1141, when Stephen was defeated and imprisoned. Matilda immediately began arranging for her coronation, but acted so arrogantly that she alienated most of the nobility. In June she entered London, and quickly so offended the citizens that they expelled her. Acting quickly, Stephen's queen (also called Matilda) began gathering allies, and managed to get Stephen released in exchange for Robert of Gloucester, whom she had captured. At this time, some magi obtained a royal charter of immunity from Stephen, and established the covenant of Burnham in the northeast of the tribunal. While questions were asked about their involvement in the events of that year, nothing was ever proved, and no quorate tribunal ever convicted them.

By the end of 1142, Stephen had confined Matilda and her supporters to the West Country, but he had problems with his own supporters. Geoffrey de Mandeville, whose loyalty had never been secure, was arrested in 1143 and charged with treason. Surrendering his castles, which included the Tower of

London, Mandeville traveled to East Anglia rather than face hanging and proceeded to ravage the fens. Whenever he was attacked, he withdrew into the marshes, where Stephen could not reach him. He was finally killed, almost accidentally, in 1144.

Such anarchy dragged on for several years, until Robert of Gloucester died in 1147. Matilda's party was badly weakened, and Stephen was still in control of the country. Between 1148 and 1153 things were relatively peaceful. On the continent, Matilda's son Henry married Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, giving him control of all of western France. In 1153 Henry invaded England, and won a number of victories. The peace treaty confirmed Stephen as king for his lifetime, with Henry as his heir. Stephen died in 1154, and Henry Plantagenet became Henry II of England.

A group of traveling magi, calling themselves Semitae, appeared at the 1151 tribunal and asked the quaesitores to record their existence. The covenant was obviously not newly formed, but the leader, a member of House Criamon, refused to discuss the covenant's age. Magi speculate that it is the same group as has appeared in Cad Gadu's records since the foundation of the tribunal, making it one of the oldest covenants in Stonehenge, but there is no conclusive evidence.

The Angevins

Henry II

Henry II was one of the great figures in European politics. His domains stretched from Scotland to the Pyrenees, and among these the greatest importance of England was that this country made him a king. As a result, his reign was much occupied with his continental dominions. When he ascended to the throne in 1154, his first task was to restore order to the country. This he completed by 1155, treating the warring nobles generously, but demolishing their castles so that they were no longer able to resist him.

Wales was more troublesome: Owain Gwynedd in the north and Rhys ap Gruffydd in the south were in open revolt. Owain Gwynedd came to terms in 1157 after Henry invaded Wales. The invasion was not going well, but Henry had a large enough army for Owain to be nervous. Rhys was more troublesome, swearing allegiance and then rebelling repeatedly over the following years.

With this task completed, he turned his attention to the continent, where he sought to consolidate the borders of his realm. Here, he was very successful, gaining control of Brittany and of the Norman Vexin in northern France, and laying the groundwork for control of Toulouse.

In 1163 the covenant of Stellasper was destroyed in a great storm which raged over the Scilly Isles, and touched the coast of Cornwall. Redcaps sent to investigate the covenant site found ruins, but no bodies. While they could have been washed out to sea, this was suspicious, and magical investigation revealed nothing but that there had been an extravagant use of magic there at the time of the storm. It is not known whether the covenant was attacked, attacked something else, or if an experiment went wrong.

In 1162 the archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald, died, and Henry ensured that his chancellor, Thomas Becket, was elected to replace him. Thomas had been the king's faithful servant, imposing taxes on the church, and Henry expected him to continue in this fashion. Instead, he became a fierce

The Disinherited

Stephen's younger son, William, survived him, and retained control of substantial estates. His children or grandchildren could well be alive in 1220 (although William himself died in 1159), and interested in regaining the throne taken from their ancestor. They might be willing to offer substantial concessions, in the event of victory, to anyone who supported them, and might still be in control of enough land to offer bribes right away.

defender of the liberties of the Church, and Henry and Thomas quarreled seriously in 1164 over the question of clergy who committed crimes. Henry held that the secular courts should be allowed to punish them after the Church courts stripped them of their rank, Thomas disagreed.

Thomas was forced to flee England, and the quarrel dragged on for six years. The Pope, who needed Henry's support against the Imperial antipope, could not give Becket his full support, and neither Henry nor Becket were eager for the quarrel to end.

Meanwhile, in 1165 Wales rebelled again. This time Henry's campaign failed, defeated by bad weather and the shortage of supplies. Henry came to terms with Rhys, and ultimately gave him considerable power in Wales, with the promise of Henry's support. Owain died in 1170, allowing the Lord Rhys to extend his influence to the north.

In 1166 Dermot McMurrough, the king of Leinster in Ireland, came to England to ask for Henry's help in a dispute with Rory O'Conor, the high king. Eventually, many of the Norman lords of South Wales traveled to Ireland to help him, carving out lordships there, and allowing Rhys to consolidate his position in Wales.

In 1170 the king and Becket were reconciled, and Becket returned to England. He at once suspended and excommunicated those bishops who had acted against him, and on Christmas Day he publicly excommunicated those of the king's officers who had spoken against him. The excommunicated bishops went to Henry in France, and he, in a rage, exclaimed, "Will no one rid me of this turbulent priest!" Four knights took him at his word, and set off for England. On 29 December 1170 Thomas Becket was murdered in his cathedral.

The death of Becket had a great impact throughout Europe. He was immediately venerated as a martyr, and the Pope officially canonized him in 1173. His cult spread quickly throughout the continent, and his tomb at Canterbury soon became the fourth main pil-

The Death of Thomas Becket

Becket, pursued by the knights, entered the church itself. The monks gathered around him, so perturbed that they had abandoned the divine office, and rejoiced that he was still alive. Some, weeping from the danger, advised him to act one way, others in another. Becket himself went up to the high altar of the cathedral, and as he was ascending the steps Reginald FitzUrse appeared in the doorway to the cloister, armed and brandishing his sword, shouting "Now come to me, men of the king!" and behind him were many others.

The monks, when they saw the soldiers, wanted to bar the door, but Becket forbade them to do so, saying, "Far be it from us to turn the church of God into a castle. Allow all those who wish to enter the church of God. Let God's will be done." At this, all but three of the clerks with him ran for cover, leaving Robert the canon, William FitzStephen, and Edward Grim by his side.

The knights burst into the church, looking around and shouting "Where is the traitor?" This received no answer, and they called again "Where is the archbishop?" Thomas answered "See, here I am, not a traitor but a priest of God, and I marvel that you have come into the church of God in such outfits. What do you want?" One of them answered "That you should die. It is impossible for you to live further."

The knights advanced, and one struck the archbishop with the flat of his sword, saying "Run away! You are dead." Thomas stood his ground, commending his soul to God and praying to the martyrs. Some tried to drag him captive from the church, but he refused to move. William de Tracy struck at him with his sword, and although Edward Grim tried to deflect the sword, taking a serious wound to his arm, the archbishop was struck in the head.

Becket, sure of death, said "Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit," and he was struck a second time on the head, falling to the ground, lying as if he were praying. As he lay there, he was struck twice more, the top of his head cut off, and Hugh Mauclerc put his foot into the hole, scattering the martyr's brains about the floor of the church.

— From William FitzStephen's Vita of St. Thomas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grimage site in Europe, behind Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago. More immediately, Henry had to do penance for indirectly causing the death, and to concede most of the points for which Becket had fought.

One consequence of the murder was the rebellion of Henry's eldest son, Henry the Young King (so called because his father had already had him crowned, in an attempt to ensure a peaceful succession). He was arrogant, and felt that his father was now weak. Henry's other sons joined in the revolt, and the kings of France and Scotland assisted them, but the elder Henry was victorious, and the rebels had to come to terms in 1175. Henry's wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, had been active in supporting the rebellion, and she was now imprisoned. The rebellious sons were granted independent incomes and formal titles, but no real power.

In 1182 a group of Jerbiton magi founded the covenant of Schola Pythagoranis at Cambridge, on the southern edge of the fens, and devoted themselves as much to mundane study as to magical work. In 1187 the covenant of Magnantrum finally disintegrated, falling prey to internal disputes. The magi scattered to different covenants, taking everything movable of value with them.

In 1183 Henry the Young King and Geoffrey, the first and third sons of the king, made war on their brother Richard, and disaster was averted only by the young Henry's death from dysentery. Richard was now the heir apparent, but Henry II seemed to favor his youngest son John. Henry refused to guarantee Richard the succession, and he rebelled again in 1188. The war ended in defeat for Henry, who died soon after on 6 July 1189.

Richard

Richard the Lionheart has very little to do with the history of England and Wales during his reign. He spent six months in the country during the whole ten years he was on the throne. The first half he spent on Crusade, the second half, fighting with Philip of France for Normandy. His only consistent contact with England was to demand money: first for the Crusade, then for his ransom, and finally for the expensive French wars.

In his preparation for Crusade he resorted to extraordinary means to obtain money, selling offices and privileges. He is reputed to have joked that he would have sold London if he could have found a suitable buyer. He left William Longchamp, the chancellor, and Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, in charge of the kingdom, while his brother John held extensive lands within which he virtually had royal authority.

1189 and 1190 were marked by anti-Jewish riots of extreme violence. The first was in London after Richard's coronation, and similar pogroms followed at Lynn, Norwich, Lincoln, and Stamford. In March 1190 it reached York, and 150 Jews were slaughtered in the castle.

Meanwhile, William Longchamp had ousted Hugh de Puiset from shared office and obtained the office of legate from the pope, giving him supreme authority. He exercised it in such a way as to make many enemies, and thus gave John undeserved popularity as the center of the opposition. In 1191 war between the two seemed imminent, and Richard sent Walter of Coutances, the archbishop of Rouen, to England with authority, if necessary, to take over the government. A compromise was agreed in July, but in September Geoffrey, Henry II's bastard son and new archbishop of York, was arrested at Dover, apparently on William's orders. The similarities to Becket's case damned him: William lost the chancellorship and was forced to leave the country.

In 1193, on his way back from Crusade, Richard fell into the hands of his enemy Emperor Henry VI, and was held for ransom. John immediately rebelled, but Eleanor of Aquitaine and the king's officers managed to suppress the troubles, and by the time Richard returned to England in 1194 the revolt was over.

In 1194, tribunals to prepare for the Grand Tribunal of 1195 were held throughout the Order. At the time, the covenants in Stonehenge were Blackthorn, Burnham, Cad Gadu, Schola Pythagoranis, Semitae, Ungulus and Voluntas. Blackthorn was the host, so Voluntas sent no representatives. Schola Pythagoranis had little immediate interest in Hermetic politics, and no Redcap had been able to find Semitae to announce the meeting. Burnham was deeply embroiled in local unrest, and sent no one, so that the tribunal was declared void, and Stonehenge was not represented at the Grand Tribunal.

For the rest of Richard's reign, England was calm, while war raged on the continent.

Return of the Hero

Many men followed Richard on Crusade, and he was not the only one to be taken prisoner. A young soldier could have been held in the East for thirty years, only returning home in the thirteenth century. These men had legal claims to property that had been held by others for years, including, perhaps, companions or the covenant itself. The aura of sanctity attaching to Crusaders gives them an initial advantage in court, especially if their opponents are impious magi.

The Return of Arthur

Arthur of Brittany would be 33 by 1220, if he were still alive, and would have a strong claim to the English throne. Henry III is still a minor, and thus vulnerable. Given the obscurity of his death, unscrupulous people could claim that he survived, and produce pretenders. Or he could, in fact, have survived, and be preparing to make a bid for his kingdom. Either way, his first act would most likely be to claim the duchy of Brittany. Deprived of the normal means of support, and of easy ways to prove his case, he might well seek the support of the Order. Magi can check his story by magic, and provide useful support, if they can keep clear of the quaesitores.

Money was constantly collected and sent to Normandy to pay for the fighting, and it is a testament to the wealth of England that it could be paid. The Lord Rhys, in Wales, had rebelled at the start of the reign, and Wales was still independent. In 1199, while besieging one of his own French barons in a dispute over treasure trove, Richard was struck in the shoulder by an arrow. The wound became infected, and he died on 6 April.

John

John's succession to the throne was disputed. His nephew, Arthur of Brittany, was the son of his older brother Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, and thus, by strict primogeniture, the next in line to the throne. Further, Arthur was only twelve years old, and it suited the purposes of some lords to have a child as their leader. While England was, on the whole, loyal to John, the same could not be said of his continental domains, where Philip of France still sought to dismantle the Angevin Empire. The first couple of years saw fitful fighting, and the making and breaking of alliances.

In 1200, Blackthorn called the scheduled tribunal of Stonehenge, but no one attended. In 1201, Maximianus founded the covenant of Nigrasaxa, and, together with Voluntas, Schola Pythagoranis, and Ungulus, called a second tribunal. This gathering was quorate, and Blackthorn, worried that it would lose control, agreed to host it. Blackthorn thus maintained its dominance, but politics were active in the tribunal once again, and it also began meeting one year behind the other tribunals of the Order. At this tribunal the Redcap network was reorganized, to ensure that lack of communication did not lead to more inquorate meetings.

In 1202 John managed to capture Arthur of Brittany, along with a number of his supporters. Arthur vanished shortly after, killed, it was rumored, at John's own hands. Philip, as overlord of Brittany, used this as an excuse to reignite the war, and, thanks to John's laxness, he overran Normandy by the end of 1204.

After the loss of Normandy, John returned to England and immediately put the whole country on alert. Every male over twelve was required to swear to bear arms against invaders, and anyone who failed to do so was to lose his lands, if he had any, or be reduced to servitude if he did not. Everyone expected Philip to invade, but he did not, choosing instead to try to retake the rest of John's French lands. John tried to turn the assembled army to offense, and invade France in turn, but the barons refused to participate, and the scheme had to be abandoned.

In 1205 Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury and the king's chancellor, died. The election to the see was disputed, and the king and monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, appealed to the Pope. In 1207 Pope Innocent III set aside both their candidates and had Stephen Langton elected to the post. John refused to confirm the election or let Langton into the country, and on 23 March 1208 England was placed under interdict. No religious services were performed, and the sacraments were denied to all. The dispute was hard to resolve, and in 1209 John was excommunicated. Those bishops who had remained part of the government were immediately forced to abandon him, with the exception of the bishop of Winchester, and John began seizing the property of the church on a grand scale.

In 1210 Llywelyn ab Iorweth of Wales rebelled against John, but in 1211 the king managed to drive him back, and the Welsh prince was forced to accept terms. He rebelled again in 1212, and Philip of France was preparing a campaign against the excommunicated king. In 1213 John reached an agreement with the Pope, and Langton entered the country. King John also surrendered his kingdom to the Pope and received it back as a fief. Soon afterwards, the interdict was lifted.

Freed from ecclesiastical disapproval, John gathered his army and prepared to take the war to Philip. The barons of the north refused to send their aid, and demanded the restoration of ancient liberties. An agreement was reached, mainly through Langton's inter-

cession, and John left for France. The campaign started well, with the complete destruction of the French fleet, but at the battle of Bouvines, in 1214, John's Flemish and German allies were defeated and lost their chance to recover Normandy.

After John's return, the northern barons continued to make demands, and in April 1215 they renounced their homage and rose in open revolt. In May they were admitted to London, which they made their headquarters. By mid-May the king was ready to come to an agreement with them, and on 19 June 1215 the king and the barons set their seals to Magna Carta.

While John seems to have made a serious effort to keep at least the letter of the agreement, the northern barons did not, and soon rose in revolt once more. The Pope quashed the charter, declaring it illegal. In response Louis, Philip's son, was invited over by the rebels and offered the throne of England. John traveled round the country, seeking to control the rebels, but the war caused great destruction, the like of which had not been seen since the anarchy of King Stephen's reign.

In October 1216 King John, ill, was traveling south, and ordered his baggage train to cross the Wash, the estuary at the northern end of East Anglia. The tides changed, and much of his treasury was lost. The news worsened the king's fever, and on 18 October he died.

Henry III

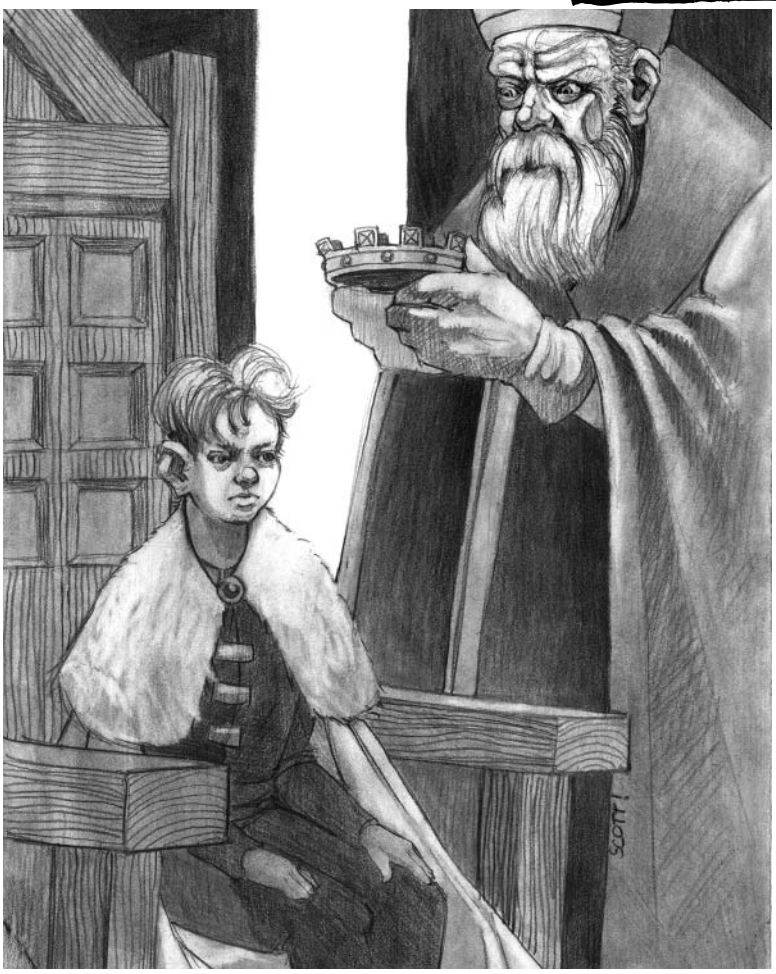
Henry was nine years old when he was crowned at Gloucester. Louis of France held much of the south and east of the country. It seemed a recipe for disaster. William Marshal was appointed regent, with the assistance of Guala, the papal legate, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and a council of about a dozen other magnates. Their first task was to get Louis out of the country.

In 1217 Louis allowed his forces to be split, and the royalists routed half of them at the battle of Lincoln. Louis had been excommunicated by the Pope, and with this defeat his English followers began abandoning him *en masse*. Reinforcements from the continent were defeated in a sea battle off Sandwich, and Louis was forced to come to capitulate and surrender his claim in the treaty of Kingston.

Over the next couple of years the effects of the war were resolved, and government reestablished. William Marshal, the regent, died in 1219, but Henry was fairly secure on the throne, and the realm officially at peace.

The Lost Treasure

The royal regalia would certainly count as an arcane connection to the king, and are likely to be magically linked to the entire kingdom. The troubles following their loss might suggest that they have been used in some kind of curse, possibly by a member of the Order of Hermes.



Chapter 3
The Peasants

Daily Life

Classes of Peasants

There are four broad economic classes of peasants, which cut across the distinction between free and villein (unfree) discussed below (see page 30). The top rank, about 20% of the population, are those who farm a yardland (30 acres) or more. The next 20% farm about half that much land, and are secure unless there is a serious famine. The third group, comprising about 40%, have 10 acres or less, and need to find paid employment as they cannot live off their land. The final group, the bottom 20%, have no land and may own no more than the clothes they wear. The discussions below will start by setting out what the richest peasants own, and then indicate what the poorer ones lack.

Villages varied in size from a couple of families, with an average of five people each, up to around a hundred. They took a wide variety of forms, and did not always include a church, as a parish might cover several villages. As a rule of thumb, a village has one street for every two hundred inhabitants. The various classes of peasant would be found in most villages, although the smaller ones tended to be found on poorer land, and thus contain poorer peasants.

Diet & Property

Cereals supply about 90% of the calories in the peasant diet, mostly in the form of bread (made from wheat, barley, or maslin) and ale (brewed from malted barley). This is supplemented with a small amount of dairy produce (often cheese, because it keeps), eggs, fish (especially herring), pulses such as peas and beans, which are made into porridge or baked into breads, and some meat, mostly bacon, with beef from cattle too old to work and mutton from sheep too old to give wool. Vegetables (onions, leeks, garlic, and cabbage) are supplied by the cottage gardens, as are apples and pears. Poorer peasants tend not to have wheaten bread, and have less meat and dairy produce. In bad years, or if particularly poor, they might have to drink water, since barley loses some of its nutritional value if brewed.

Most peasants do not brew their own ale, as the equipment needed to do so is quite expensive. Instead, it is brewed by ale-wives in each village — this occupation is almost exclusively filled by women, usually the wives of the more prosperous peasants. Bread is usually baked in the household, either at their own hearth or in a communal oven, but it is sometimes bought from bakers.

A good peasant house is built on a low stone wall, which supports large wooden beams. Walls of wattle and daub (interwoven sticks covered with mud and straw) or cob (earth) are topped with a thatched roof, or,

for the richest, slates. The houses are about twice as long as they are wide, between twenty and thirty feet wide and forty to sixty feet long. A separate barn, of similar size, is often built at right angles to the house, forming an open yard. Both buildings are single story, with doors in the long sides and two or three small, unglazed windows. Poorer peasants have smaller houses, twelve to fifteen feet wide, and half is given over to the accommodation of animals. The stone course is omitted, which means that the wooden posts rot and have to be replaced.

Virtually all peasant possessions are utilitarian. They own one set of undyed clothes, which comprises an undergarment, shoes, and a tunic, possibly with an additional overtunic and woolen hose. Tunics often reached the ankles for men as well as women. This set needs replacing every year, although the richest might have as many as a dozen sets. Farmers own a cart, with iron tires if they were prosperous, a plough, spades, and suchlike. Poorer peasants would not own a cart, and probably not their own plough, but spades are owned at all levels but the lowest. Cast bronze cooking pots are the most valuable household items, with poorer folk making do with pans of riveted copper. Ceramic plates, jugs, cups, and bowls are starting to replace wooden ones. Wooden furniture usually includes a table, one chair for the head of the household, benches, and a chest or two for storage. Beds rarely have wooden frames, consisting simply of mattresses with pillows, linen sheets, and blankets.

Farming

Most peasants make their main living from farming, and the main source of waged income for the poorer classes is helping other

farmers, especially the lord of the manor and the rector of the parish. Few areas in England rely entirely on raising animals in farming, although families often do. South and east of the line joining the Bristol Channel to the Wash the emphasis is on growing crops, while to the north and west crops and livestock are of similar importance.

Since most peasants eat what they grow, the notes on diet above also indicate the trends in farming. Cows are kept mainly for milk, and oxen are the main draft animals, although the use of horses is increasing. Sheep are kept mainly for their wool, although also for their milk in some areas, such as Wales, and poultry for their eggs. The only animals kept primarily for meat are pigs. The richer peasants might own half a dozen cows and a couple of dozen sheep, along with half a dozen pigs, while the poorest have no animals at all.

Agricola of Tytalus

Agricola was of peasant stock, and was taken for apprenticeship late, when he had already begun helping on the farm. Throughout his apprenticeship he said that the struggles were as nothing compared to the struggles involved in getting food from unwilling soil. He successfully completed his gauntlet at the first attempt, and joined the covenant of Castrum Antiquum, in the far north of the tribunal.

There, he immediately turned his attention to the farmland around the covenant. It was poor, with weak soils and a bad climate, but Agricola was determined to take great amounts of food from it. At first, he spent as much effort on improving the mundane techniques and equipment used as on magical assistance, but it was always clear that he would not be able to achieve his main ends without resort to magic.

He studied Herbam and Auram magic, and delved into the mysteries of Animál. He devised rituals to increase the yield of land, spells which created breeds of wheat which bore six ears on each stalk, and items which brought the right weather for all stages of the year. Not content with growing wheat in the north, he researched greater magics and planted vineyards and olive groves, which thrived under his direction.

In his last years he was rumored to be researching magic to grow gold from the earth, and plants that bore rubies as flowers. Alas, he and all his works disappeared when his covenant vanished.

Most of the field work is done by men, although everyone helps at harvest time. The women are responsible for looking after the house, preparing meals, washing clothes, and caring for children and the elderly. Every cottage has its own garden, and the right to use a certain amount of land in the shared fields. These are generally cropped on a two-field rotation: half the land is sown while the other half is left to lie fallow, to recover its fertility. Animals are pastured on the fallow land, to manure it. There are also woods, from which firewood and building materials can be gathered, and in which pigs feed.

Rural Crafts

Most rural crafts are practiced as supplements to farming. This is particularly true of spinning, which is a standard occupation for women — it is possible to spin with a distaff and spindle while doing other things. The distaff is a stick with a cleft end which holds the unspun wool or flax, while the spindle is a weighted rod which is spun to draw the thread out, winding it around the spindle. Weaving is also done by rural workers, who are paid for every cloth that they complete, and the rest of the textile industry (fulling and dyeing) can also be found in the villages. Baking and brewing have already been mentioned above, and shoemakers are also found in rural areas. Millers are essential everywhere, and the mills are generally owned by the lord, who receives a share (about a twenty fourth), and thus requires his tenants to grind their grain there. Peasants are usually forbidden to own querns (hand mills), and this rule is a particular source of friction. Many rural crafts are devoted to the maintenance of farming equipment. The blacksmith is common, as are carpenters and thatchers. Potters tended to be concentrated near clay deposits, and miners near the minerals. Tin mining was particularly important in Cornwall.

The Market

All peasants live within seven miles of a market, to which they can go and return in a single day. There they can sell the surplus of their harvest, and buy meat, household utensils, and anything else they cannot make. Meat is often bought because you must slaughter a whole animal, but the meat will not last as long as it would take to eat it all. While many transactions within the village take place by barter, and most likely many at market as well, all peasants use cash, since many manorial dues have to be paid that way. Some even build up substantial reserves: as much as £3.

Law & Governance

The Manor

The two most immediate instruments of authority in the life of the medieval peasant are the manor and the parish. The parish is described in the Church chapter, on page 56. The manor is responsible for minor civil jurisdiction. Serious crimes, such as murder, rape, wounding, and breach of the king's peace, can only be dealt with by the king's courts (see page 105), but minor offenses are dealt with within the manor. Further, the lord of the manor is owed rent and services by the peasants who dwell within it. Lords often have more than one manor, and if so a peasant, often a villein (see page 30), is appointed bailiff to administer the manor on the lord's behalf.

Typical annual rent on a yardland can be anywhere from a mark to a pound, with smaller amounts for smaller areas of land. Further, those who hold by villein tenure (see page 30) also owe two or three days per week labor on the lord's land. Free tenants generally have lower rents, and owe no labor, but often cannot find as much land, as lords were keen to hold on to villeins.

Tenants are also amerced (fined) for various offenses against the lord of the manor, or their neighbors. These include trespassing on his fields at night, failing to perform services due, encroaching on someone else's land, polluting the village water supply, brawling without weapons, theft, calling a free man a villein or a woman a whore, and so on. Although the court is technically the lord's, it is, to a great extent, run by the community of the village. They bring offenses before it, and the accused can only be convicted if a significant number of villagers thought he did it. The lord could abuse his court, but freemen can appeal to the king's justice, and do. Serfs cannot do this, but they can try to get their status changed.

The role of the villagers is enhanced by the fact that the manorial courts are governed

Medieval English Money

The only coin in medieval England is the silver penny, minted by the king and only by the king. This coin is about 92% silver, and is the most stable currency in Europe. The coins are very thin: it is common to vow a particular penny to a saint by bending it in half between the thumb and fingers. The hapenny (half a penny) and farthing (quarter of a penny) are made by cutting pennies up. Larger units also exist, but only as "money of account." Twelve pennies (12d) make a shilling, and twenty shillings (20s) make a pound (£1), which consists of a pound of silver, 240d. 13s 4d make a mark, two thirds of a pound. The half mark (6s 8d) and the mark are common amounts for fines or taxation. Pounds and marks are not minted, but money offered to pay a large fine would be weighed, rather than being counted.

The English penny is worth between a half and one Mythic Penny (see *Ordo Nobilis*, to be released in 2000).

Peasant Incomes

It costs roughly £2 per year to support an average peasant family, unless you grow the food yourself. If you do have to buy food, the cost fluctuates wildly with the harvest. Only the top 20% are likely to have much in the way of a cash surplus for other expenses, and then only around £1 per year. Laborers live hand to mouth, and the middle strata of peasants can only make a surplus in the best years.

by "the custom of the manor." Often, the villagers in a group are the best authority on what this is, and it sets limits on what the lord can claim even from his villeins. Disputes over customs often find their way into the royal courts, where the lords often, but not always, win.

Manors, parishes, and villages do not necessarily, or even often, have the same boundaries. It is very common for manors and parishes to contain more than one village, especially if there were very small settlements in the area, and not unusual for a village to be divided between two manors or parishes.

Peasant Prices

These prices should be used as guidelines only. The price of grain can vary by a factor of five depending on the harvest, and England has just seen a period of relatively rapid inflation (see "The Peripheral Code," page 116).

1 bushel* of wheat	6d
1 bushel* of barley	4d
1 ox	7s
1 sheep	1s
An average house	£1
Cart	1s
with iron tires	3s
Plough	2s
Axe	1d
Spinning wheel	2d
Brass pot	1s
Copper pan	4d
Pottery utensil	1/4d
Wooden utensil	1/8d
Chest	1d
Bedding	1s
Table	1d
Linen undergarment	4d
Shoes	3d
Woolen Tunic	1s 6d
Cheap sword	2d

* A bushel of wheat is enough to provide bread for one person for one month; a bushel of barley would, malted, provide ale for one person for the same period.

Villein and Free

One of the most important distinctions in medieval England is between villein (or serf) and free. Very roughly, three quarters of peasants are villeins, one quarter free. The legal definition of a villein has a number of components: if all of them apply to you, you are definitely a villein, otherwise a royal court will have to decide. The children of villeins are villeins by birth; villeins owe labor services, generally without a clearly fixed limit; and they cannot marry without paying the tax known as merchet. Villein women caught in fornication (generally when they became pregnant) have to pay the fine of leyrwite. It is estimated that about a tenth of the rural population engages in sex before marriage, generally because they cannot afford to wed. Villeins can be sold by their lord to other free men. Anything they own is considered their lord's property, and they hold their land only at his will: he can throw them off without warning.

It is possible to free a villein, and it is also possible for a free man to hold land by villein tenure. Free men marry villein women, and vice versa, and while lords want as many villeins as possible, the villeins generally want to be free. This leads to large numbers of lawsuits, which do not always go the lord's way, as they have to be fought in the royal courts.

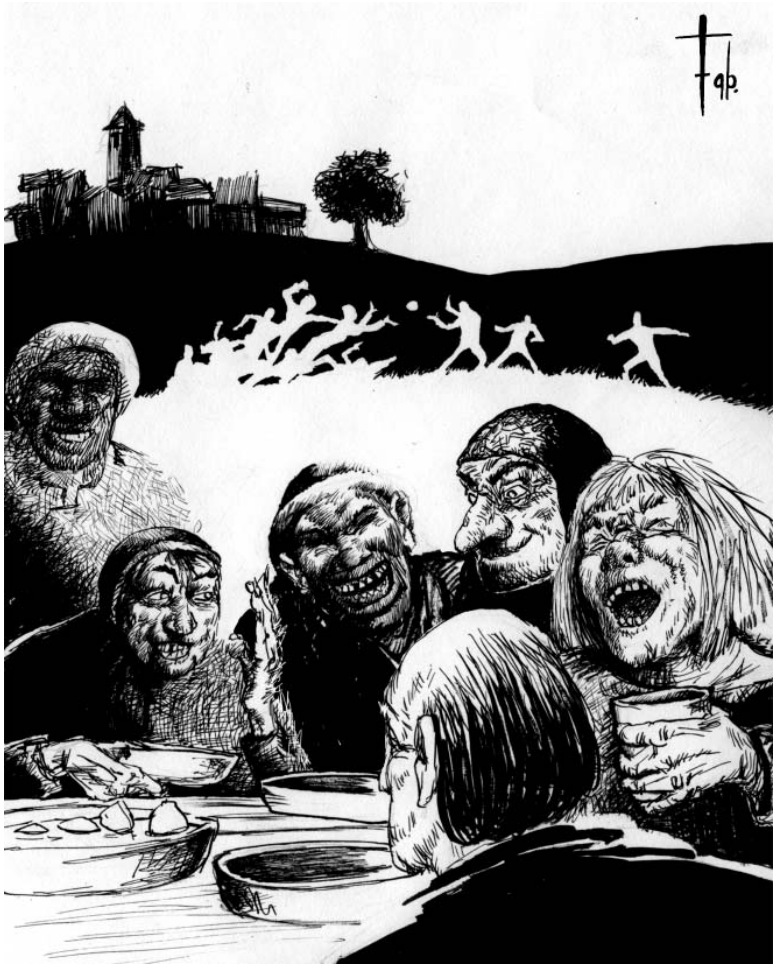
Men and Women

The legal differences between men and women at the level of the peasantry are slight. Men tend to be the named tenants, but about a sixth of these tenants are women, often, but not always, widows. Widows are entitled to a third of their husband's land until their death, and hold it on the same terms he had. Sometimes land is held jointly by both partners, and when one dies the other holds the whole. Women can bring charges in court, and have to defend themselves. They do not hold offices, such as bailiff, but there does not seem to be any legal bar to their doing so.

Pastimes

Peasants do not work all the time. Between harvest and planting there is little to do, and this season is filled with the church holidays ("holy days"), on which Christians are not supposed to work. Most villages possess a tavern, where the residents can gather to drink and play games, although inns, which also provide accommodation for guests, are very rare in 1220. Dicing is popular, as are several boardgames, including chess, tables (similar to backgammon), and merrills (little like anything around today). Dancing is also popular, especially round-dances called "carols". Clergy often condemn these as leading to lewd behavior, which may be why they are popular.

A very popular outdoor sport is camp-ball. This is played with a leather ball about the size of a cricket ball or baseball. There are two teams, and two goals. Points are scored for getting the ball into the opponents' goal, and for trapping them with the ball, so that they cannot take it anywhere, even if you cannot get it off them. The teams can be of any size, and the goals could be miles apart — for example, one in each of two villages, the teams then consisting of the inhabitants of each village. The game is often violent, and deaths sometimes ensue.



A "Friendly" Match

The covenant grogs become involved in a number of camp-ball games with the local village. If they have won recently, they are cheerful; if they have lost, depressed. Grogs may be wounded, or even killed. Killings could be revenge for some slight, under cover of the game, and perpetrated by either side. In any case, the magi will probably have to smooth things over. If the grogs win too consistently, the villagers may start to mutter about sorcerous assistance, and the magi will have to convince the grogs to lose a few games on purpose — which might not be easy.

Villein Magus

One of the magi (or an important companion) was villein born. (Any magus with a peasant background may well have been.) His lord finds out about his whereabouts, and since English law does not recognize the Order of Hermes as canceling villeinage, the magus is still the lord's villein. The lord is not stupid, and sends a message to the magus promising not to pursue him if he will do one small favor. If the magus refuses, he will be dragged before the royal courts, and will have to prove his freedom, without breaking the Code. If he accepts, he will have to break the Code. His best bet is to try to get a charter of manumission (written evidence that he is free) from the lord, without doing anything too noticeable. The lord can issue such charters at will, but it is very hard to *force* him to do so.

Chapter 4
The Town

The towns of medieval England are small: London has a population of about 20,000 in 1220, but no other settlement boasts more than 10,000. Most towns are very small, with populations as low as 500, matched by some large villages. The difference is that in a town many, if not most, of the population do not make their living from agriculture, relying instead on crafts or trade. Some towns, of all sizes, also have special legal rights. This section concentrates on larger towns, those with special rights, because if the town has no legal rights, it will be governed as a village. Smaller towns appear similar to villages.

Many towns, especially the older and larger ones, have walls, which are maintained by the citizens. Outside the walls, along the main routes into the town, there are often collections of cottages, which generally house the marginal members of the community, and many of the poorest residents. Both inside and outside the walls, sewage is dumped in cesspits, or open gutters in the streets. Animals are slaughtered over the gutters, the remains often being left where they fall. Piped water supplies are extremely rare, although not completely unknown in the richest houses, and the water source is often the same river into which the gutters flow. Life expectancy for the poor is substantially worse in the town than the country, as those who survive to adulthood can expect to die by their mid thirties, whether from disease or the ever-present danger of fire.

Daily Life

Property

Wealth is as unequally distributed in the towns as in the country. About 5% are rich, with property worth £50 or more. Below them are the majority of the craftsmen and merchants, about 15% with property worth between £2 and £50, and about 30% with property worth less than £2. Next come the servants, petty retailers, and laborers, making up about 40% of the total population. At the bottom are the truly poor — widows, the aged, and cripples — making up about 10% of the population, and totally reliant on charity.

The richest townsfolk live in houses consisting of four ranges, each of two or three stories, set around a courtyard, which could be as much as 100 feet on a side. The use of the courtyard depends on the wishes of the occupant; in some cases it is a garden, in others a working area where goods are loaded and unloaded. The street front is usually divided into shops, some of which are often rented to other traders, and the ranges behind hold living quarters. Such houses are often built of stone and tiled for protection against fire. These houses are only for the richest, particularly if built of stone. There might be half a dozen in the larger towns, and smaller towns might only have one.

Those less well off might have only two parallel ranges, often about fifty feet long. These ranges may be separate, or share a wall, so that the rear wall of the street range is the front wall of the back range. This would depend on available space, and the desires of the builder. The street range contains shops, which are rented out. A typical craftsman might have a three-story house, about fifteen feet by fifty. The ground floor would contain his shop and workshop, with living quarters above. This might well be wooden, and have a thatched roof. A poor craftsman might have a cottage, still with three stories, but only fifteen feet square. A laborer might have a house of similar size, but with only two stories, as he wouldn't need space for a workshop. (Remember that these houses have to accommodate the laborer's whole family — about five people.)

Many houses in a town are rented, even the richest on occasion. It is common for a burgess to divide his plot into a number of houses, live in one, and rent the rest out. Even houses built for rent by the poorest townsfolk tend to be well built, so that they will last and provide a good return on the investment.

Most houses are crowded together on the street side, with about fifteen feet of frontage, but have a garden behind the house. This can be used for keeping pigs and poultry, and for growing vegetables, but isn't big enough to support even one person by farming. While most towns seem crowded with houses as you walk around the streets, only about half of the area within the walls is built on in most cases. Further, your wealth does not determine where in town you live. The most palatial courtyard houses are often found next to rows of tiny cottages, especially when the owner of the large house is the landlord for the small ones.

The other possessions of townsfolk are generally similar to those of people who live in the country, except that farming equipment is replaced by whatever they need for their trade. The prices given in this book are so approximate that they may be taken to apply to the town as well, although at any particular time food should be more expensive and crafted goods cheaper in the towns.

The Nightingale

Two knights dwelt in a town, each in a fortified house. These houses were next to each other, separated by a common wall. One knight had a wise and elegant wife, and the other was a young man, renowned for prowess and bravery. The young knight fell in love with the other's wife, and paid court to her for so long that, won over by his persistence and fine qualities, she fell in love with him in return.

The two lovers concealed their love, while taking advantage of their adjoining houses to speak to each other. When she stood at her bedroom window, and he at his, they could see each other, talk, and even throw gifts across the gap. Alas, they could not meet and consummate their love, because the lady's husband remained in the house. Thus, they made their best efforts to seize what they could. Every night, the lady would rise from her bed, and the knight from his, and wrapped in their mantles they would stand at the windows, gazing upon each other for most of the night.

At length, the lady's husband became annoyed that she spent so long from his bed, and asked her why she stood at the window. "Ah," she said, "it is the song of the nightingale. It is so beautiful that I cannot sleep when I could be listening to it." At this, her husband determined to catch the bird, and had his servants set snares all over the garden. Soon, they caught the creature, and the lady's husband held it in his hands.

He went to his wife and said, "See, I have captured the nightingale. Now it will not disturb you, and you can sleep." The lady was grief-stricken at this, and asked her husband for the bird, but he wrung its neck out of spite, and threw the corpse at her, bloodying her breast.

The lady cursed those who had trapped the bird, and mourned that she would no longer be able to go to the window and look at her lover. Lest her lover should think that she no longer cared for him, she wrapped the nightingale in gold-embroidered samite and sent her servant to take it, with a message, to the knight. He was greatly upset, and prepared a casket of gold and precious stones, in which he sealed the body of the nightingale, so that he could carry it with him at all times.

— From Laüstic, a lay of Marie de France

Crafts

The inhabitants of medieval towns engage in dozens of different occupations. About 40% are involved in trade, 40% in manufacture, and 20% in providing services. Levels of wealth cut across these distinctions, with the exception of the very poorest, who have no occupation at all. The richest man in a town can be a butcher as easily as a merchant. Trade will be dealt with in detail in the Travel, Trade, and Industry chapter, and about 5% of the workforce were professionals, who are discussed below.

Crafts are organized the same way in towns as in villages, the difference being that townsfolk do not work on the land, and that a wider range of crafts can be found in a town. The basic unit of production is the family, with the workshop normally part of the home. While the male head of the household is normally the main craftsman, his wife and children also assist. Training is by apprenticeship, which has not been formalized by 1220. The period can be anything from five to fifteen years, and the apprentice is given bed and board by the master for that period. If the apprentice is not the master's child, the master would usually be paid for the training. It is not unusual for craftsmen to take their own children as apprentices, however. In general terms, a craftsman in a larger town is more specialized than one in a smaller. Thus, while a tailor in a small town might turn his hand to any kind of clothing, one in London might specialize in a particular kind of hat.

Women are involved in many crafts, sometimes helping their husbands, but sometimes working in a different craft altogether. Although independent craftswomen are uncommon, they are not unusual, making up maybe 10% of the workforce in an average town. Most of these are widows carrying on their husbands' trades, but some are married and legally recognized as independent traders, meaning that their husbands are not responsible for their debts. Brewing, however, is dominated by women in towns, just as in the country.

The largest single craft area is leather and leather goods, employing about 35% of the craftsmen. Unusually for craftsmen, tanners, who turn hides into leather, normally operate away from home, as the process is notoriously smelly, and needs large quantities of fresh water. Towns often forbid tanners from working within the walls. Shoemakers, saddlers, book binders, and similar occupations make up the rest of this group. Metal work is next in importance, with 20% of the workforce. Blacksmiths, working in iron, form the largest group, but whitesmiths, working in lead and pewter, are also important, as lead is used for roofing and pewter is just beginning to be used for eating utensils. Silver and goldsmiths can also be found in larger towns.

Textile workers make up about 15% of the craftsmen (see page 55 for more on the textile industry). Spinning is often a source of secondary income, but weavers are one of the largest single crafts in many towns, and often the one that gives the civic authorities most cause for concern. They have a greater tendency to form themselves into gilds (see page 37) than most other professions, and can violently demand higher pay. Fullers process the woven cloth, and dyers complete the process. Clothiers, who turn the cloth into consumer goods, make up another 20% of the town's

House Prices in Town

House Type	To build	To rent, per year
Courtyard house in stone	£50	£2 10s
Two range house, stone	£30	£1 10s
Two range house, wood	£20	£1
Three stories, 15'x50', tiled roof	£7	10s
15'x15', for rent	£2	2s 6d
15'x15', poor quality	£1	N/A

Urban Incomes

The most successful merchants make up to £50 per year from trade. The richest craftsmen make around £5 per year, while an average figure is closer to £3. Laborers are paid as little as a penny a day, less if they receive food on the job.

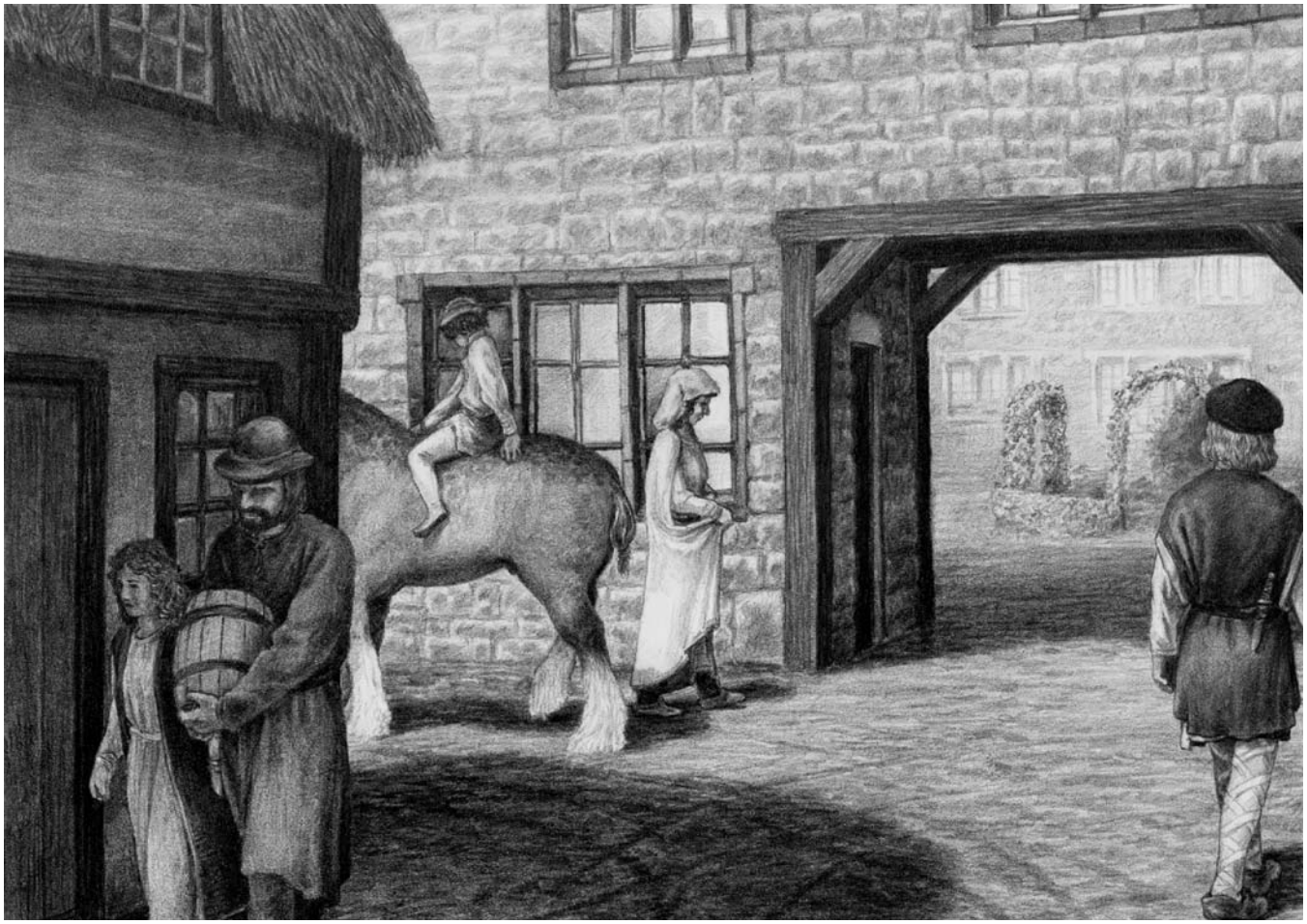
crafters. Their crafts are divided by the kind of clothing they made. The remaining 10% are split among a miscellany of crafts, such as potters, shipbuilders, coopers (barrel-makers), and bowyers.

Of those who provide services, about a third are involved in transport, as sailors or porters, and another third in building. A quarter are professionals, and the remaining 10% are barbers and the like. In addition to these are the casual, unskilled laborers from the lower levels of society, and those members of the criminal classes who provide such "services" as prostitution and robbery. This group might make up a third of the population of a town, and unskilled laborers can easily become criminals if there is no honest work.

A significant number of people work as domestic servants, but they are treated as part of the household in which they work, and so are invisible to the civic authorities. Many of these people are women, and often they get nothing more than their room and board for their work.

Professions

In the early thirteenth century a professional class, distinct from both the church and the nobility, is just beginning to emerge. People are trained by serving another professional as an apprentice, and qualify once they can do the job. Most professionals are managers and lawyers. That is, they are responsible for collecting the revenues from someone's estates or businesses, and pursuing matters through the courts if necessary. While there are degrees of specialization, there is no clear class of lawyers yet — the legal representative of a monastery is referred to in one court record of the period as "Groaning and Sighing".



While there are no clear distinctions, there are noticeably different areas of work. Bailiffs are responsible for administering an estate for its lord, and are still sometimes the more trusted peasants of the village, although professionals are becoming more common. The sheriff of a county has his staff of clerks and bailiffs, and the king's court and exchequer also employ a number of literate workers. Legal representation is the final area of professional work, and a tendency to select judges from among those who make their living pleading cases is gathering force around 1220.

The members of professions are not often very rich, and are often accused of extorting money from the poor, or bringing false suits to court for their own advantage. Since, on the whole, they are employed to do someone else's dirty work, whether collecting rents or taking someone to court, it is not surprising that they are not terribly popular.

Law & Governance

Towns are part of the normal administrative structure of medieval England, subject to many of the same laws and authorities. However, certain customs are poorly suited to town life, and the inhabitants want freedom to trade. As a result, some towns have been able to obtain special rights and laws. This never took them outside the feudal structure, however, and the lord of the town, who was often, but not always, the king, can always take its administration back into his hands. Those towns which do have special freedoms paid heavily for them.

Autocrat Hunting

The covenant autocrat dies, and there is no suitable replacement within the covenant. The magi must either recruit someone else, or take time from their studies to manage to covenant themselves. Recruitment is not easy: competent officers are already employed, and would have to be lured away, which might offend their employers. Incompetent officers are easy to find, but bring their own problems. Alternatively, if the covenant has a very effective autocrat, he might be lured away into royal service, possibly even being made sheriff of the covenant's shire, and finding himself with legal authority over the covenant.

Town Charters

Those towns which have gained special rights did so by means of a charter. This is often issued by the king, who charges heavily for the privilege, although lesser lords do issue them, generally in the hope of increasing their revenue by producing a town on their estates. Many charters were issued between 1190 and 1220, as Richard and John both needed money and raised it by selling rights. The details of the charters vary from town to town, but there are six main points.

Burgage Tenure: Land held within a town can be bought or sold without seeking permission from anyone else. Elsewhere, the lord's permission is needed before ownership could be transferred.

Freedom from Toll: All burgesses of a town are allowed to travel throughout a specified region, usually England, but sometimes all the king's domains, which included much of south-western France, without paying any tolls.

Own Court: The town has its own court, and burgesses of the town do not have to answer summons to the local manor or shire courts. Thus, lawsuits against them have to be settled in the town.

Farm of the Town: The town is responsible directly to the king for various taxes. This is "farmed": an amount is fixed, and the town has to pay that much into the exchequer every year. How they go about raising it is, within the law, their own concern, and the sheriff and other royal and seigneurial officers cannot intervene.

Gild Merchant: The town is allowed its own gild; see the next page.

Mayor and Council: The town is allowed to elect a mayor and aldermen, who are responsible for collecting taxes, enforcing the

law, and reporting to the king. If they fail in their duties, the king will take the town back under his control. The election is rarely truly democratic, with a few of the richer townsfolk choosing the officers from amongst themselves.

Towns are not always granted all of these freedoms, but many were. If a town does have all of these rights, then any villein who lives in it as a burgess for a year and a day is considered to be free. However, simply sleeping within the walls does not count as residence as a burgess. Renting a property held by burgage tenure often qualifies, but some towns also charge for the freedom of the city. This generally costs a shilling or so initially, and then one or two pence per year to maintain it.

The Gilds

The gilds (spelled with no "u") are central to town life, and were formed spontaneously by the townsfolk. Royal charters either confirm an already existing gild, or, just as often, order that one be disbanded. There are three main types of gild: the gild merchant, the craft gilds, and religious gilds. The first two will be considered below, and religious gilds in the section on the church (see page 82). All of these are local to an area, centered on a single town. For example, the Lincoln weavers' gild could be suppressed without affecting the London weavers' gild, and the two gilds might be in fierce competition. Further, they are not generally exclusive in their membership; a man could belong to as many as he chose, and could afford to pay the dues for. Applicants have to be approved by the gild's officers, and pay an entry fee. This is sometimes set very high, to keep the gild small, but not always. There are also annual dues, which provided the gild with its income.

All gilds have a social function. This results in feasts, some charitable support for members and members' families in difficulty, and funeral arrangements, ensuring that the members are respectably buried and prayed for. Most gilds are open to both men and women, although most are dominated by men.

The gild merchant is often the only gild in a town, and its members usually have a monopoly on buying wholesale and selling within the town. Peasants who wish to sell in town have to either sell to a merchant who is a member of the gild, or become members themselves. It is not unusual for some of the members of a town's gild merchant to live outside the town. If a town does not have a borough charter, it might still have a gild merchant, in which case the officers of the gild would serve as town leaders.

Craft gilds are not common at this point, mainly due to the small size of many towns. As a large town, London has many craft gilds, but in smaller towns there may be only one or two practitioners of a particular craft, making a gild rather pointless. Gilds for the larger crafts, such as weaving, are common elsewhere. Craft gilds have a monopoly on their craft within the town, and set standards of

The Borough Covenant

A charter of borough rights would give a covenant a secure place in the feudal hierarchy. The magi would inevitably be the mayor and aldermen, and would be placed beyond the normal reach of local mundane justice. Of course, they would have to pay an annual sum to the king, and find the resources to gain the charter in the first place, and convince the tribunal that their actions did not violate the Code. Even after the charter had been gained, the king might demand large sums of money to renew it, on almost any excuse, local magnates might challenge its validity, and if someone appealed to the king against the magi, they would have to defend their rights in the royal courts.

The Gild of St. George

The grogs decide to form their own gild, naming it after a warrior saint. The gild leaders (not necessarily the grog sergeants) set rules for rates of pay, and for who can be employed. At first, this doesn't interfere with the plans of the magi, and the organization becomes established. Then the grogs refuse to accept certain new recruits, or to go on certain expeditions. Maybe the magi want to take grogs away from the covenant during the annual gild feast, and they refuse to go.

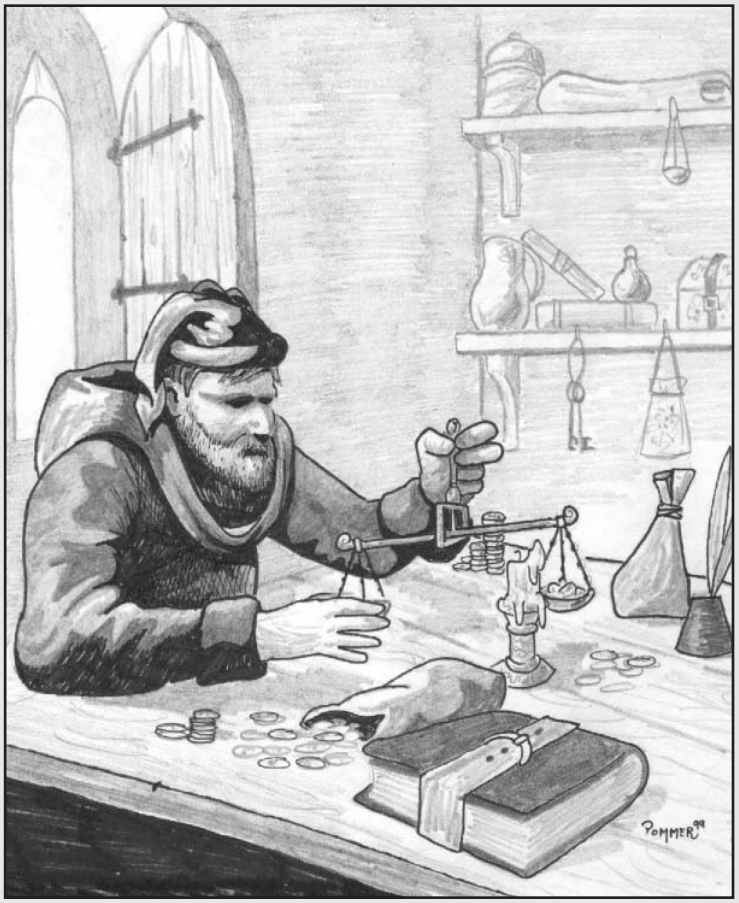
The Jews

The Jewish community in England is small, and not of particular importance in European Jewry. The largest Jewish community, in London, has maybe 300 members, and in many places the entire Jewish population consists of a single family. Nevertheless, the Jews have considerable importance within England. They are under the direct protection of the king, and serve as an important source of revenue. This chapter can only give a brief overview of features of Jewish life in England; for more detail on Jewish life in general see *Kabbalah: Mythic Judaism*.

Due to restrictions on other trades, many Jews make their living by moneylending. When they die, all their goods, including the authority to collect their debts, go to the king. In some cases, this can be an important source of income. In addition, the king can impose arbitrary fines on the Jewish community, demanding that they pay thousands of marks. Since they have no other protection, they have to pay.

Anti-Jewish riots disturb the peace, and the justiciar is eager to restore order in England. Thus, violent action against the Jews is expressly prohibited, and royal officers have particular orders to ensure that the prohibition is enforced. In those towns where there is a large Jewish community, twenty four (Christian) burgesses were selected, who will be held responsible if any violence is committed against the Jews. Thus far, this has worked, and there have been no serious outbreaks of anti-Semitic violence since the death of King John. Indeed, the Jews have been explicitly granted the right to live in Hereford, Worcester, York, Lincoln, Stamford, Gloucester, Bristol, Northampton, and Winchester. The local officials in these places are enjoined not to molest the Jews, nor to allow them to be molested.

There are two royal officers, the Justices of the Jews, with special responsibility for Jewish matters. They are to make copies of all records of loans made by Jews, so that the king will not be deprived of the money if the Jew is murdered and his records burned, as happened in York. These justices are in charge of a separate exchequer, the Exchequer of the Jews, which is responsible for registering these loans, and receiving the goods of Jews who have died. The crown also appoints a Jew as representative of his coreligionists. This person is called the archpresbyter, and the office is currently held by Josce fil' Isaac of London, an important usurer.



There are few professional rabbis in England, as most communities are not large enough to support one. London is the main exception, and at present the community there is taught by Rabbi Menahem, a noted Talmudic scholar whose glosses are received with respect by the continental community.

There are other large Jewish communities in Norwich and Oxford. In Oxford, Rabbi Yom-Tob (also known as Simeon), the author of the *Sepher haTenaim* ("Book of Conditions") is an important teacher, and wealthy businessman. His son Moses is also a promising scholar and moneylender, and has plans to move to London. In Norwich Rabbi Meir is the leading Talmudist, while Isaac of Norwich is a very wealthy moneylender, currently paying off a fine of 10,000 marks to the king. The community in Lincoln is also important, and is led by Rabbi Joseph (or Josce), while Elias of Lincoln is the most important usurer. Chera Pinche of Winchester is notable for being an independent female usurer.

workmanship and employment. They are usually controlled by the employers, and thus fix wages at low levels.

The monopolistic privileges of the gilds only apply within the town, in most cases, and that generally means within the walls. Thus, settlements have grown up just outside the towns where ungilded merchants and craftsmen can practice. This is not popular with the gildsmen, who often tried to drive them away.

Pastimes

There are taverns in all towns, often in the basements of other buildings, and many of the entertainments popular in the country are also popular in town. Even London was surrounded by fields, so lack of space for recreation was not a problem. The gilds of a town (see page 37) organize feasts for their members, and sometimes parades or other public displays, although these are still rare in the thirteenth century.

Towns see more professional entertainers than villages do, as they can be sure of a steady audience. Musicians, dancers, acrobats, and actors are known, although none of these professions are respectable. Violent sports, such as cock fighting and bear baiting, are also popular in towns, with all classes of society. The clergy tend to disapprove, but they tend to disapprove of most entertainment.

The Towns

London

London is by far the largest and most important city in England. Its mayor signed Magna Carta, and the citizens have claimed the right to choose the king. However, it is not the capital. The court is wherever the king is, and while some functions, such as the Exchequer, have begun staying in one place, that place is Westminster, some distance to the west of London.

The city stands on the north bank of the Thames, at the lowest point where the river can be bridged. London Bridge is maintained

Berechiah ben Natronai haNakdan

Born 1162

Berechiah is a Jew of Oxford, and makes his main living as a scribe. He is also a noted author, having written a fine collection of fables, the *Mishle Shualim* or *Fox Fables*, in his youth and a number of philosophical works. His secret is that he is also a highly skilled natural magician. Very few people know of this, as neither the Christians nor the Jews would approve of his practices.

Berechiah is not a conventionally pious Jew (clearly, as he is a practicing magician), but he does have a firm code of ethics, and a strong sense of duty towards the Jewish community, particularly in England and most particularly in Oxford. He remembers the pogroms of the end of the last century, and is determined that such things will never happen again. To this end he has made friends with many of the scholars at the University, trying to defuse the prejudice against the Jews. While this has made him fairly popular, this popularity has not really extended to the other Jews.

Over recent years he has placed an increasing emphasis on finding magical defenses for the Jews, and on finding ways of making them inconspicuous so that other Jews will accept them. He is aware of the existence of the Order of Hermes, and is considering making contact with it, and possibly even joining it, although he would need to know more about it first. If he feels that the Order could be used to defend the Jews, he will have no hesitation in trying to manipulate it into doing so.

Berechiah is vigorous for his age, but a rather short man. He wears a long beard, and wears the *tabula* prescribed by the Lateran council for all Jews — he wants people to know that he is a Jew, so that their opinion of him can transfer to the others. He is always polite, and defers to Christians, although he stops short of being fawning.

> ***London is the most famous and glorious city in the world***. There are many things for sale every day of the week, not just on Friday and Saturday, the market days, and every Friday there is a great horse fair on the smooth field outside the city to the northwest, attended by earls, barons, and knights. If the crowds of the city become hungry or thirsty, food can always be purchased, ready to eat, from the cookshops by the river.
>
> The city is very pious, keeping all the church festivals and respecting its laws. There are many holy plays, depicting miracles or the torments of martyrs. Many of the great lords, abbots, and bishops of the country have splendid houses in London, where they come and spend their money. The only faults of the city are the immoderate drinking of fools, and the frequency of fires.
>
> Around Easter, mock battles are fought upon the Thames. A shield is fixed on a pole in the middle of the stream, and a young man stands in a boat without oars, which is carried towards the shield by the current. He carries a lance, and tries to strike the shield and break his lance, so that he does not fall. If he succeeds, he is held to have achieved something great, but if the lance does not break, he will fall in the river. However, there are two boats filled with young men by the side of the shield, and they rescue anyone who falls in as quickly as they can.
>
> — *William FitzStephen, in the late twelfth century, praising his home city (heavily abridged)*

from the endowment of the chapel of Bridge House, and is a little east of the mid-point of the city. London is split almost exactly in half by the river Walbrook, and, very roughly, the east end is commercial, while the west end contains St. Paul's Cathedral and the residences of the nobility.

The city is walled in stone, and the old Roman fortifications still form the basis of the defenses. At the east end, by the river, stands the Tower of London, William the Conqueror's great white keep. The west end used to be defended by Montfitchet and Baynard's Castle, but they were demolished a few years ago, after their holders rebelled against King John.

The city is ruled by a mayor, elected every year from among the aldermen of the city. In 1220 Serlo le Mercer holds the post, and thus has all judicial and fiscal authority within the city. There are two sheriffs, who serve as the mayor's officers. The aldermen are each in charge of one of the wards of the city, and there are twenty four of them: twenty three for the wards within the walls, and one for the ward of Portsoken. The wards are generally named after the current alderman. The aldermen are elected for life, and it is not uncommon for a son to follow his father in the post, although it is more usual for this not to happen. The ward of Portsoken is a special case. The prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, is *ex officio* alderman, although he can delegate his authority to a citizen of London. Within his ward, the alderman is the ultimate judicial authority, and insulting him is a serious offense. Below the aldermen come the citizens of London, the group with the right to vote. This is restricted to men, and to only the burgesses, maybe a sixth of the population in total. The citizens of London call themselves the barons of London, and claim equal status with the king's tenants-in-chief.

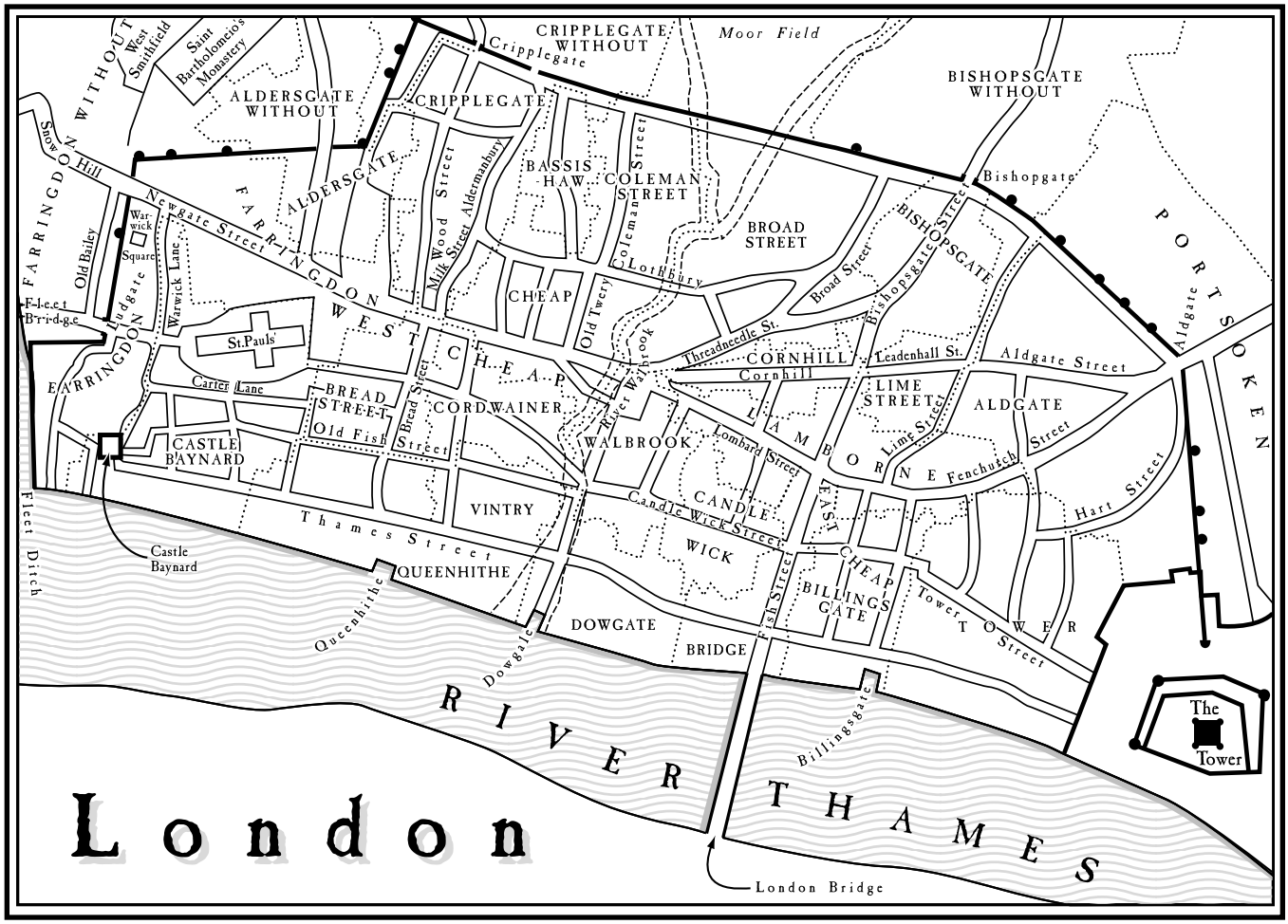
London has around a hundred and twenty parish churches, most very small, and with very small parishes. Many are dedicated to the same saints, and distinguished either by their location or by the name of one of their rectors. Thus there are churches of St. Michael Queenhithe and St. Michael Wood Street, and churches of St. Mary Mounthaw, St. Mary Somerset, and St. Mary Woolnoth. There are also churches outside the gates, serving travelers and the inhabitants of the suburbs: four of these are dedicated to St. Botolph (at Aldersgate, Bishopsgate, Billingsgate and Aldgate). Many of these churches are controlled by the monastic foundations within or near the city. Because the parishes are small and urban, the churches cannot draw on the normal tithe. Instead, they customarily receive a farthing on every ten shillings' rent for property in the parish, paid every Sunday and on the feast day of every apostle.

The most important monastery is at St. Paul's Cathedral, where the chapter is made up of monks. The bishop of London's status does not match that of his city: the two archbishops and the bishop of Winchester clearly surpass him in importance, although his is still an important bishopric. St. Paul's is also the home of a school, which is particularly renowned for its legal teaching. There are also important schools at St. Mary le Bow and the monastery of St. Martin le Grand. Other

Churches of London

The saints to whom these churches are dedicated are also found elsewhere in the country, and thus may be drawn on for church names. In most places, a church is uniquely identified by its dedication.

All Hallows Barking
All Hallows Staining
All Hallows the Less
St. Alban's, Wood Street
St. Alphage
St. Andrew by the Wardrobe
St. Anne and St. Agnes
St. Anthony
St. Augustine
St. Bennet Fink
St. Botolph, Aldersgate
St. Botolph, Aldgate
St. Botolph, Billingsgate
St. Botolph, Bishopsgate
St. Clement
St. Dionis Backchurch
St. Dunstan in the East
St. Dunstan in the West
St. Edmund the King
St. Ethelburga at Bishopsgate
St. George
St. Giles at Cripplegate
St. Helen, Bishopsgate
St. John the Baptist, Walbrook
St. John Zachery
St. Katherine Colemanchurch
St. Magnus the Martyr
St. Margaret Lothbury
St. Martin, Candlewick Street
St. Martin Vintry
St. Mary Aldermanbury
St. Mary Aldermary
St. Mary le Bow
St. Mary at Hill
St. Mary Woolnoth
St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street
St. Michael Bassishaw
St. Mildred Poultry
St. Nicholas (formerly St. Olave)
St. Owen
St. Pancras
St. Peter's Cheap
St. Peter Cornhill
St. Sepulchre, Newgate
St. Stephen's, Walbrook
St. Swithin



monasteries within the city include the priory of Holy Trinity, formerly Holy Cross, and St. Bartholomew's monastery, just outside the walls. The Knights Templar also have a house in the city.

London's economy is based on trade, and most importantly on the supply of wine to the Royal Household. The wine is imported from Gascony, and all the most important families of the city engage in the trade to some extent. Other important commodities include wool, cloth, and spices (imported by pepperers), but everything traded anywhere in England is also traded in London. There are two main markets in the city: West Cheap and East Cheap. There is no Gild Merchant in London. Instead, there are five mercantile gilds: the drapers (cloth), mercers (also cloth, especially silks), vintners (wine), goldsmiths, and pepperers. There is little conflict between these gilds, as the ruling class divides along family lines, and the drapers and mercers have so far managed to agree on divisions on business.

There are a number of important families in London. One of the most important is the Fitz Ailwins, who supplied the first mayor, Henry Fitz Ailwin, elected in 1192. Its important members at the moment include William, Peter, and Roger Fitz Alan, all of whom are aldermen, and the sons of Alan Fitz Ailwin, Henry's brother. (Note that "Fitz" means "son of" in Norman French.) The Fitz Alulfs include William and Ernulf (married to Dionisia Viel), both aldermen, and Constantine. Constantine is known as something of a hothead and rabble-rouser, despite being respectably middle-aged. He also fervently supported Louis of France at the end of John's reign.

The Viels are represented by John and William Viel, both aldermen and brothers. Dionisia is William's daughter, and his eldest son, also called William, is married to another Dionisia, the daughter of Stephen Eswy. The Eswys are another important family, Stephen and his elder brother Richard both being aldermen. Richard Renger is the alderman of the Bridge ward, a sheriff, and one of the richest merchants in the city. His family has been in the city since the Conquest, but lost influence in the chaos at the end of John's reign. It is said that he is likely to become the next mayor.

The important families, as well as their mercantile interests, hold much land within the city, and gain important income from the rents. They also hold lands in the counties around London, and it is not uncommon for later generations to become knights, holding rural manors by feudal tenure. The main concerns of the city's ruling class are, first, to increase their own wealth and status and, second, to maintain, and if possible improve, the freedoms of the city. The first draft of Magna Carta included a clause giving London special rights, but it was deleted from the final version. The aldermen have not given up yet, though.

Bristol

Bristol became important as a sea port in Saxon time, and its trade has been growing ever since. This has been helped recently by the wool production of the Cotswolds in Gloucestershire. Its current population is around 5000 people, and the city proper is abutted by extensive suburbs to the south, which may be incorporated within the walls in the near future. To the north are a number of religious houses, preventing the expansion of the city in that direction.

The city is very well defended. Excluding the suburbs, it is almost surrounded by the rivers Frome and Avon, and the gap in the east is blocked by the large royal castle. There are also city walls, surrounding the city proper, which are pierced by a number of gates. Many of these gates contain parish churches. The town is built on a hill, so many of the streets are quite steep.

The High Cross, which stands at the junction of the four main roads, marks the civic center of the city. Bristol is governed by a mayor, having obtained a borough charter in the last few years. Trade with Ireland is the mainstay of the city's prosperity, although Bristol merchants do sail to other parts of Europe.

Cambridge

Cambridge is a medium sized town, on the edge of the East Anglian Fens. The river Cam is navigable all the way to the sea, and forms an important trade route through the marshes. As a result, Cambridge is a port town. The river is bridged just below some higher ground, on which the castle stands. The town is unwalled, but is surrounded by a ditch, called the King's Ditch.

It was granted a borough charter by King John in 1207, and there are two local fairs. Midsummer Fair, from 22 to 25 June, is controlled by the Augustinian canons at Barnwell, and Stourbridge Fair, from 24 to 31 August, by the leper hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, also at Barnwell. The other important religious houses in the town are the Benedictine nunnery of St. Radegund and the hospital of St. John.

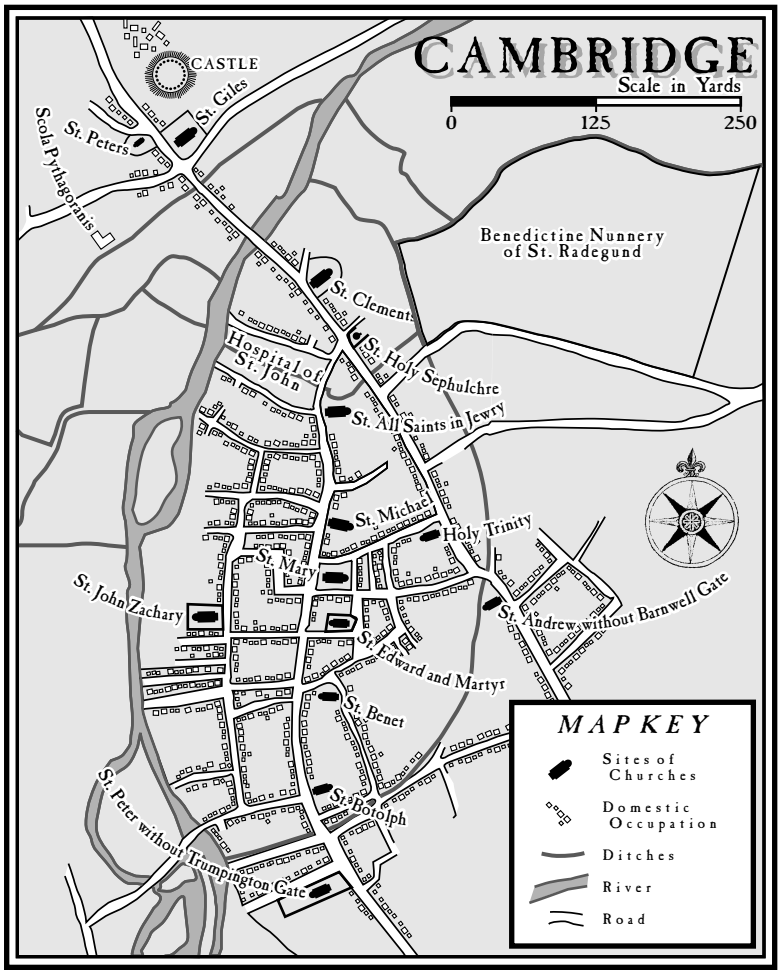
The most important mundane feature of the town is its university. This has only been in existence since 1209, but since it was formed by masters fleeing Oxford (see page 48) it is already fairly well organized. It has a hundred or so students, and a couple of dozen masters, but it is now growing again after a brief decline when Oxford re-opened. The university has a chancellor, and negotiates with the townsfolk as a body, but it is not much more organized than Oxford.

A notable feature of the university is its relatively high number of natural magicians — there are at least three resident. This is due, in large part, to the influence of Schola Pythagoranis, a Hermetic covenant which is sited on the edge of the town. All residents of the town know of this organization, although very few realize that it is a gathering of magi.

Canterbury

Canterbury is the seat of the most senior churchman in England and Wales, and the site of the martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket. It was the site of the monastery founded by St. Augustine when he came to convert the Saxons, and the church is the dominant force in the town. The town was founded by the Romans, and its current walls are built on the remains of the Roman circuit, although its population of 6,000 has spilled beyond them into suburbs. There are six gates into the town: Westgate, Northgate, Burgate, Newingate, Ridingate, and Worthgate.

Civic government is in the hands of six aldermen and several portreeves, as the town does not have a mayor. Each alderman is in charge of a ward, which are named after, and based around, the gates to the city. The aldermen hold civic courts, while the portreeves hold the boroughmoot and answer for taxes to the king. The boroughmoot can act as a court of law or as an electing body; the portreeves and the aldermen are elected by it every year, although the king's agents have a great deal of influence. It customarily meets on Tuesdays. There is a gild merchant, which

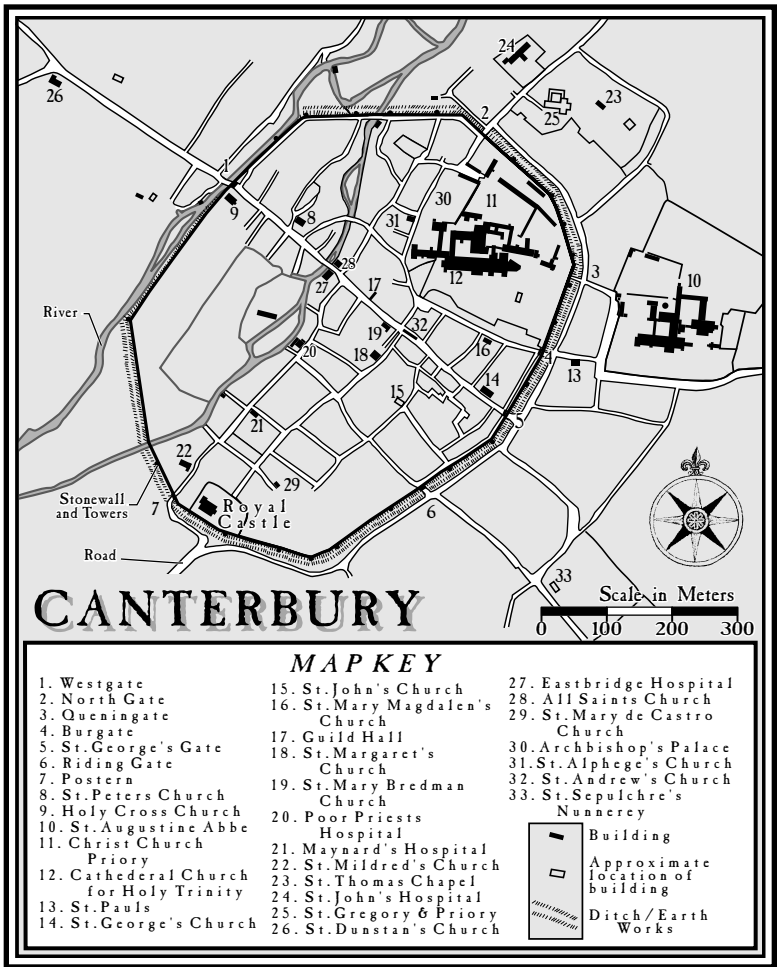


holds some land in the town, and all the aldermen are members of it.

There are three important religious houses in or around the town. The most important is Christ Church, the cathedral priory and seat of the archbishop. The cathedral was largely destroyed in a fire in 1174, but has been rebuilt more splendidly than before. A new shrine for the remains of St. Thomas has almost been completed, and plans are being made for the translation of his relics. Christ Church follows the Benedictine rule (see page 61).

St. Augustine's Abbey is also Benedictine, and older than Christ Church. This is the abbey founded by St. Augustine on his arrival in England, and it holds his relics. It is a notable seat of learning, although somewhat in decline, and has an ongoing rivalry with the cathedral. St. Gregory's Priory is a house of Augustinian canons, and was founded by Archbishop Lanfranc shortly after the Norman Conquest. He also founded St. John's Hospital, which provides for thirty old men and thirty old women.

In the southwest of the city stands a royal castle, from which the king can maintain his authority. It has a stone keep and walls, and is the main base of the sheriff of Kent. Canterbury contains another royal office: the second largest mint in the kingdom, producing perhaps half as many coins as London. The moneyer is now based some distance from the cathedral, as sparks from his furnace were blamed for the cathedral fire. In addition to all the trades that would be expected in an important center, the town also has an unusual number of goldsmiths, due to the demand from the religious houses.



Chester

Chester was founded by the Romans, as one of their legionary fortresses, and is now the capital of the palatine county of Cheshire. This means that the king has very little influence here: for almost all purposes, the earl of Chester is the highest authority. The city is quite small, with a population of around 2000. For daily purposes, the town is run by a mayor and corporation. The mayor is a new institution, introduced to replace the old governance by two sheriffs when the earl left on Crusade. There is a gild merchant, which holds the usual monopoly on trade.

The city is surrounded by walls, which for much of their length are built on the old Roman fortifications. The East, North, and Bridgegates are marked by towers and turrets, while the others are just arches piercing the walls. In the southwest corner of the city stands the castle, the headquarters of the earldom. The inner bailey and tower are built of stone, and have just been provided with a new gate. The old one has been blocked up, but its tower still contains the castle chapel. The outer bailey is defended by a ditch and wooden wall.

Chester has eight parish churches, of which by far the largest and most important is

St. John's, which is just outside the city walls. Indeed, this church was the seat of a bishopric for a short time in the late eleventh century. There are also a few religious houses. The most important is the Benedictine abbey of St. Werburg, which is also the parish church of St. Oswald. It was founded in 1092 by the earl, and owns the whole northeastern quarter of the city. There is also a small Benedictine nunnery, founded around 1150. Finally, the hospital of Little St. John was founded in 1190 just outside the Northgate, and houses thirteen poor inmates.

Chester is a port city, although it has lost out to Bristol (see page 42) in the competition for western trade, partly because the river Dee silts up very quickly and a lot of effort is required to keep it navigable. The leather trade is particularly important within the city, partly because Cheshire is excellent for raising cattle, if not for growing crops.

Just across the river to the south of the city, near the road and to the right as you are leaving the city, a shrine of the pagan goddess Minerva, consisting of an image in high relief, is carved into the rock. Despite its prominence, it has survived largely unmolested, and continues to watch over the city.

Durham

Durham is the site of the cathedral of St. Cuthbert, and the town grew up around the religious community. St. Cuthbert was bishop of Lindisfarne in the late seventh century, and the bishopric remained on the island until 875, when increasing Viking raids drove the monks away. They moved first to Chester-le-Street, where they stayed until further raids forced them to move again in 995. Cuthbert's coffin, which had been faithfully carried with them through their wanderings, was on a cart, and when it reached Durham it stopped, and refused to move. No matter how hard the monks pushed, it would not go further, so they decided to heed the saint and found a new monastery there.

Cuthbert had chosen wisely, as Durham is a high hill, surrounded on three sides by the river Wear. It is only vulnerable on one side, and that a narrow neck, so it was easy to build quick defenses. The cathedral is an important center of pilgrimage in the north of England, and this, combined with its defensibility, made it a center of resistance to the Normans. William's first two earls of Northumbria were murdered, and the third rebelled. The conqueror sent an army north under Robert Cumin, which took Durham for one night before the English overran it, killing Cumin by burning his house down around him. The bishop, Walcher, was murdered in 1080, provoking the harrying of the north, which finally created a desolation and called it peace.

The palatinate had its origin in the reign of St. Calais, bishop from 1080 to 1096. He concluded a pact with the earl of Northumbria which gave him great powers over County Durham, which were later confirmed by the king.

The main buildings in Durham are the castle and the cathedral. The great Norman cathedral dominates the view and the life of the city, housing the shrine of St. Cuthbert. The castle guards the neck of the peninsula, and is the main residence of the bishops of Durham. The hill is almost entirely devoted to the priory and bishop, and the civic build-

St. Werburg and the Geese

A large flock of wild geese were feeding on St. Werburg's wheat, destroying the harvest. She called her servants, and had the birds confined in a shed, as if they were domestic animals. The next morning she went to let them out, and noticed that one of them was missing. She asked the servants what had happened, and they told her that they had eaten it.

"Bring me," she said, "the feathers and bones of the bird that was eaten." The remains were brought to her, and the saint took them, and commanded that they should be whole and live again. And it was done. St. Werburg turned to the geese, who were cheering at the return of their lost companion, that their kind were forbidden to enter that field, for all eternity. The geese departed safely, but the saint's command is still observed, so that no geese enter that field to this day.

— From Henry of Huntingdon's Historia Anglorum.

ings are all on the plain, across the river. The town is divided into four boroughs and a barony. Three boroughs are controlled by the priory and one, Bishop's Borough, by the bishop. None of them have a mayor or any other form of self-government, although there are separate borough courts, and Bishop's Borough is the only one with a market. The barony of Elvet predates the arrival of the monks, but is now thoroughly under their control. Only the peninsula is walled, so most of the buildings would count as suburbs in many towns.

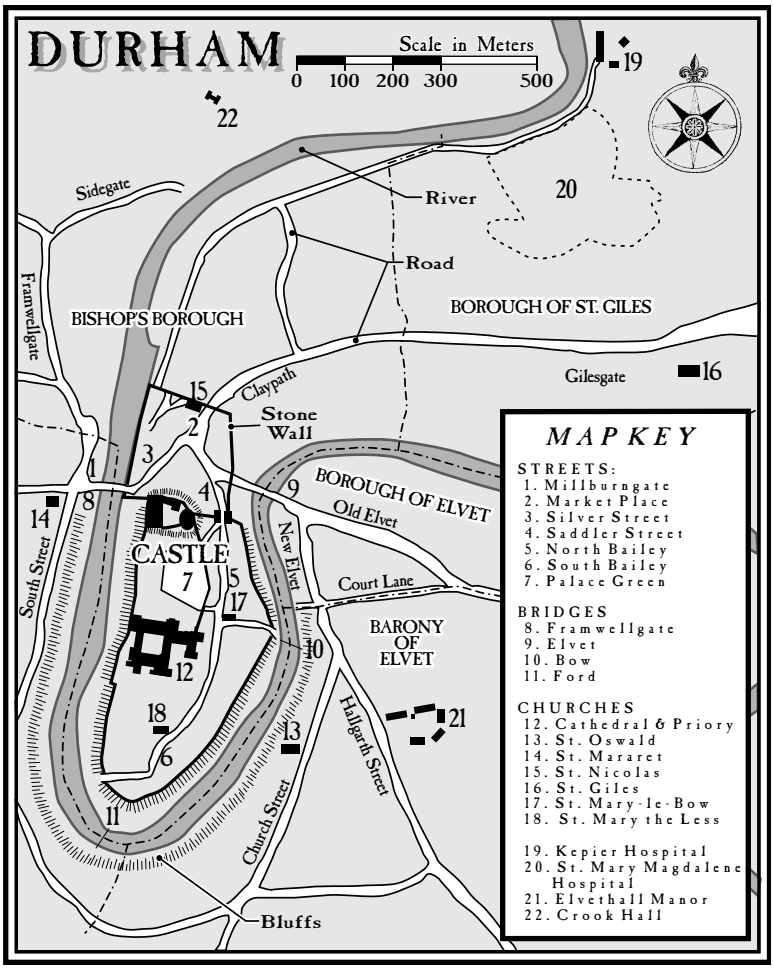
Exeter

Exeter is the seat of a bishop, and by far the most important town in the southwest of England. It is a sea-port, as the river Exe is navigable as far as the city. The town was founded by the Romans, and is still bounded by the Roman walls. It is dominated by the Norman cathedral and castle, both built of stone. The castle is usually controlled by the sheriff of Devon, on behalf of the king, and the bishop jealously guards his rights in the cathedral, which is dedicated to St. Peter.

The city is governed by a mayor, currently William Derling, whose authority ends at the city walls. The land between the wall and the river used to be a marsh, but has been drained and the leats, or drainage ditches, are used to power mills, turning this into the main industrial area of the city. However, it falls under the authority of the earls of Devon, not of the city. As the docks are also in this area, this weakens the hand of the civic authorities in any negotiations with the earl. The river is crossed by a large stone bridge, which is not yet complete. A chapel dedicated to St. Edmund has been completed at the center, as have a number of the arches to either side, but large gaps are still bridged with wood. Many people have contributed to the bridge, but most of the cost has been borne by the Gervase family, important Exeter merchants.

Exeter contains 18 churches (including St. Mary Minor, St. Mary Major, St. Petrock, St. Kerryan, and St. Pancras), but no parishes. Ecclesiastically, the town is a single parish, and most of the clergy live together in Preston Street. This situation is generally regarded as unsatisfactory, and discussions over the drawing of parish boundaries are underway, complete with bitter disagreements over apparently minor points.

Exeter's main source of income is trade, particularly the wine trade with Gascony. It is also an important center of the cloth industry, and, as a regional center, almost all trades are practiced to some extent. Water is supplied to the town from a spring to the northwest. It flows along a conduit at first, but then through large underground passages, which take it under the cathedral close, where it is tapped. Waste is removed from the city largely by the stream to the southeast, which is called Shitbrook in consequence.



Lincoln

Lincoln is an important town under normal circumstances, as the seat of one of the most powerful English bishops. In 1220 it is of great political importance, but the battle of Lincoln in 1217 has left it in a poor material state.

Lincoln was founded by the Romans, and the city proper is still surrounded by the Roman walls. This area is to the north of the river Witham, climbing the steep slope of the Lincolnshire scarp. To the south of the river there is a large suburb, which is unwalled. The walled area is divided into two main sections, which are separated by a wall. On the flat ground at the top of the scarp is the Bail, which includes the castle and minster, while the area on the slope is simply the city.

The castle, which is built of stone, is designed to be defensible against the city, and has access both to the city and to the open country. It has a curtain wall and two keeps, both on artificial mounds. The older tower, built in the early days of the Norman Conquest, is in the southern part of the castle, while in the western part is a large shell keep, built in the twelfth century and called Lucy's Tower. The shell keep has a fifteen-sided stone outer wall, eight feet thick, with wooden buildings built against its inner surface to provide accommodation. The castle is currently held by Nicola de Hay (see insert, page 49).

The minster, the bishop's church, is currently being rebuilt. The old nave is still in use, but the new choir and transepts have been completed, along with a central tower. Some of the masons are rather worried about the tower, claiming that they weren't given enough time to erect it. The rebuilding was started by Bishop Hugh (not the current bishop) in 1192, and extends beyond the Roman wall of the city, which was pulled down in this section. The Hugh who began the rebuilding is currently being considered for canonization by the Pope. The area around the minster, where the clergy live, is the Close, and falls under the authority of the church rather than the town.

The town has a gild merchant, but no other gilds, and the alderman of the gild is a separate post from the mayor of the town. Indeed at present the posts are held by different people: John de Holm is the alderman, while Peter Bridge is the mayor. The mayor is also the king's bailiff in the town, responsible for the collection of revenue and enforcement of justice. To assist him, he has four coroners and four bedells, who act as general civic officials.

At the battle of Lincoln in 1217, the castle was on the king's side, while the town was on the rebels' side. The royal forces won the battle, and, as they were instructed to treat the town as excommunicated, robbed the churches as well as the secular buildings. Many women took their children and goods onto small boats on the river in an attempt to escape, but these boats were overloaded and capsized, killing their occupants.

After the restoration of King Henry, the town did not see peace, as it was now the scene of struggles between Nicola de Hay and the earl of Salisbury. At present, Nicola con-

Miracles of St. Cuthbert

Eleven years after his death, the most faithful men of the whole congregation decided to raise the relics of the holy Bishop Cuthbert from their sepulcher. When they first opened it they found, marvelous to tell, that the body was as undecayed as it had been when they first buried it. The skin had not decayed, nor had the sinews become stiff, and his limbs could still be bent at the joints. His vestments and footwear were not worn away where they had touched the body, and all retained their fresh color. The shoes with which the bishop was shod are kept against the relics, as testimony to this.

A paralytic boy was brought to our monastery from another, and our skilled physicians labored to cure him, but to no avail. When the boy saw that they had given up, he burst into tears and said,

"This powerlessness began from my feet and spread through all my members. So I ask the abbot for the shoes which were on the feet of the holy and incorruptible martyr of God." The shoes were brought and placed on his feet, and he slept that night wearing them. The next morning he was able to stand and praise the Lord, and go round the tombs of the martyrs.

— From the Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert

trols the castle and has a royal writ making her the sheriff of the county, but William Longespee is still sheriff. He is also trying every means at his disposal to take control of the castle, and there is a danger of a private war breaking out.

Oxford

Oxford is a fairly important town, sitting on an important crossing point of the Thames. It hosts a royal residence, and occasional council meetings, but most importantly it is once again the home of a university.

The town is walled and guarded by a castle at its west end. There are two important monastic houses: St. Frideswide's Priory and Oseney Abbey, both of which are home to Augustinian canons (see page 63). There is also a collegiate church of secular clergy centered on the chapel of St. George in the castle.

The most important feature of the town is the university, which consists of several hundred students and several dozen masters. The university was not founded; instead, it arose from the scholars in the town, and from lawyers attending the courts of the bishop of Lincoln, some of which were held in the town. By the early years of the thirteenth century it was somewhat organized, with one master taking the title of magister scholarum ("master of schools").

In 1209, however, things changed. A student killed his mistress in an argument, and fled the town. The civic authorities descended on his lodgings, seized two other students who were living there, and hanged them on the spot. This violated the masters' claim to jurisdiction over their students, and they therefore suspended lectures in the town. The masters scattered, some going to Paris, others to London, and others, in part attracted by an invitation from Schola Pythagoranis, to Cambridge.

It was five years before the matter was resolved. The masters were all clerks, and

St. Hugh's Swan

On the very day of Hugh's enthronement as bishop of Lincoln a great swan came to his manor at Stow. This bird was as much larger than a swan as a swan is larger than a goose, and had a yellow head, otherwise appearing pure white as other swans. Within a few days it had fought and killed all the other swans there, apart from one female, which it spared for company, not for breeding purposes.

When the bishop first came to Stow, this royal bird immediately became completely tame. It was brought to the bishop, and it let him feed it, apparently losing all its wildness for a time. It did not flee from the bishop, and even seemed indifferent to the crowds of people that gathered. When St. Hugh fed it, it would thrust its neck up his sleeve and rest its head there for a while, hissing gently as if it were talking to its master.

Whenever the bishop returned to the manor, the swan would display great excitement for three or four days in advance, flying about its pond and going to the hall and the gate, as if going to meet its master. Sometimes, when no one else knew the bishop was coming, they would see the swan become excited, and know from this that he would be there soon. When he did arrive, even if after an absence of two years, the swan would greet him with great signs of joy, showing that it had pined for him.

Curiously, the swan would let no other man or beast approach the bishop while it was there, hissing violently and attacking those who approached. Its attacks were particularly vigorous when the bishop was resting, and since it made a great noise people would take another route, rather than disturb the saint. While the bishop was away, the swan would take its food from one of the servants of the manor, but when he was present that servant would be driven away just as violently as any stranger.

When the bishop visited Stow for the last time before he died, the swan refused to come to him, instead remaining on its pond, hiding among the reeds and appearing very depressed. At length, it was brought before the bishop, but its head still hung in grief, and it would not be comforted. When the bishop died, people realized that the swan had been saying its final farewell.

— From Adam of Eynsham's Life of St. Hugh

sought the church's judgment, but England was under the interdict, and so that was not available. In 1214, Cardinal Nicholas, the papal legate, imposed a settlement. The university won: the town was to grant the masters jurisdiction over their students, provide 52s per year for the maintenance of poor scholars, and feed 100 of them on 6 December, the anniversary of the hanging that caused the trouble. A chancellor, appointed by the bishop of Lincoln, was established to administer the agreement.

The university is now active again, and the masters take action as a corporate body, with the chancellor, Geoffrey de Lucy, generally accepted as their head. Lectures are available on the Artes Liberales, civil and canon law, theology, and medicine. However, the university is not very organized. It owns no property, meeting and storing its records in the church of St. Mary the Virgin. There is no fixed syllabus for any subject, and students need not register — they merely turn up to the town and attend the lectures given by the masters. This situation is likely to change, as discipline is becoming increasingly hard to enforce.

Winchester

Winchester has declined from its past glories, but is still a very important city with a population of around 8000. It was founded by the Romans, and from the time of Alfred the Great it was the capital of England. It housed an important mint, the abbeys were great centers of art and learning, and there was a great amount of trade. The decline began during the civil war, when Henry of Blois, the bishop of Winchester, was a major player. The city was sacked and burned in 1141, and after the war, London began to take on the functions of the capital.

The development of civic independence has been greatly hindered by the proximity of royal and episcopal interests. The city does have a mayor, currently Elias Westman, and a gild merchant, but there are many exemptions from their authority. They have no control over the king's moneyers or officers, nor over the land of the Bishop's Soke, which covers a large portion of the city. There are two other small liberties (areas where the mayor has no authority), Chapman's Hall and God-begot,

Nicola de Hay

Nicola is the hereditary constable of Lincoln castle, and sheriff of the shire. Her father had no sons, and as his eldest daughter she inherited the English portion of his lands and authority. She married Gerard de Camville, who died early in the thirteenth century, and had one son. This son, Richard, had a single daughter, Idonea, who married William Longespee, the current earl of Salisbury and uncle of the king. Both Richard and Gerard were dead by 1217, and William would then inherit Lincoln in right of his wife, once Nicola was dead.

Nicola has no intention of dying, or of surrendering her position while she lives and is capable of maintaining it. She offered to surrender the position to King John in 1216, on the grounds that she was an old woman, but he asked her to retain the position until he ordered otherwise. Having successfully held the castle against Louis's besiegers for many months, she has great confidence in her ability to retain it now.

William, on the other hand, has no intention of waiting for her to finally die, and is using his greater secular power in an attempt to take the position from her.

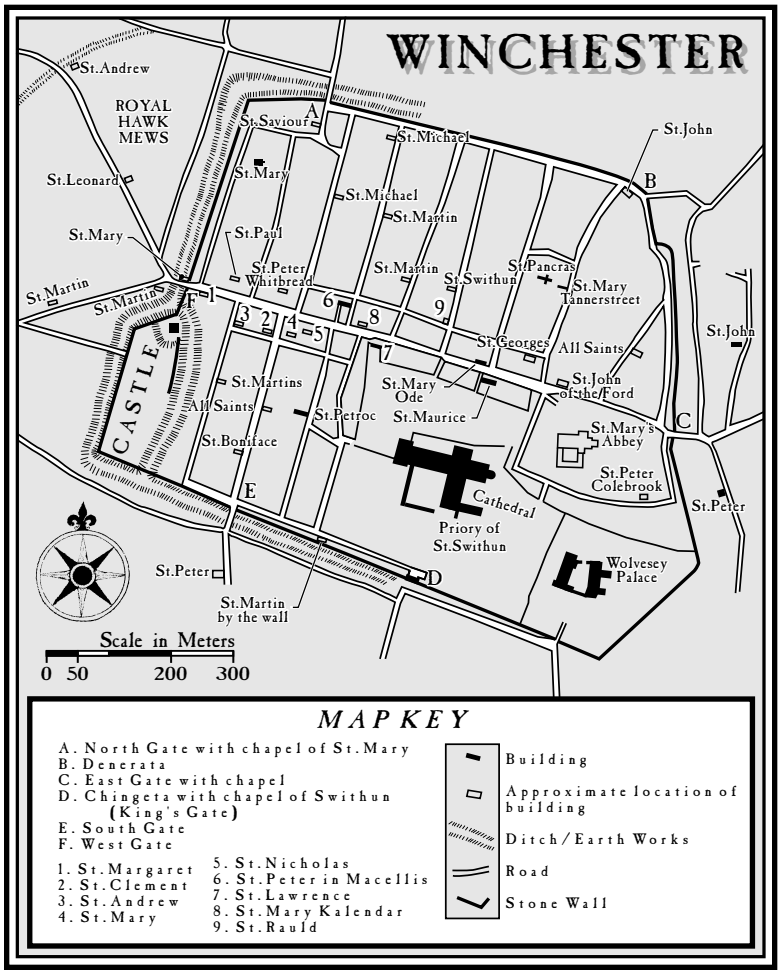
Nicola has pursued the conflict with the earl through the courts, where she has won a regrant of her position, and by alliance with Falkes de Bréauté, who is providing military support. She would be willing to ally with anyone else willing to support her, and thus the king, and is not too bothered about the details of the type of support.

Nicola is an old woman, in her early sixties, but she has not been bowed down too heavily by her years. Her hair is white and her face is lined, but she is still energetic and in full command of her faculties. She is used to giving orders, and to being obeyed without question, and most of her followers have a great deal of respect for her. After all, she brought them, successfully, through a siege. She dresses as befits her rank, in fine clothes, and is never without servants or, in the current climate, guards.

which are of more obscure origin. God-begot is controlled by the cathedral priory, not the bishop, but Chapman's Hall is independent.

The city is walled, and has two castles. One is the royal castle and the other, Wolvesey Castle, belongs to the bishop of Winchester. Both have been rebuilt in stone since their foundation. The river Itchen flows through the town, and there are many streets in the eastern part that have open streams flowing through them, so that some blocks of houses are effectively islands.

As might be expected, there is a heavy ecclesiastical presence. There are many parish churches, including three set over the gates of the city. The churches over Eastgate and Northgate are dedicated to St. Mary, while that over Kingsgate is dedicated to St. Swithun. There are three Benedictine houses. Oldminster is the cathedral priory, and is dedicated to St. Swithun, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Holy Trinity. Newminster, or Hyde Abbey, is outside the city to the north and used to house relics of a number of English monarchs, including Canute and William Rufus, but it was burned in 1141. St. Mary's Abbey is a nunnery within the city, near Oldminster. These houses were all founded in Saxon times, the latter two by King Alfred. There are also a number of hospitals, the most important of which is the hospital of St. John, which was founded in the early tenth century. It is a very rich foundation, and is also used as a meeting hall by the mayor and city corporation.



The town's Jews are unusually well integrated into the community. They suffered very little in the nationwide pogroms of 1190, and some Christian merchants are even in favor of admitting those of them who qualify to the gild merchant. They engage in businesses other than money-lending, but Chera Pinche and her husband Isaac are the richest Jews, and they are usurers.

York

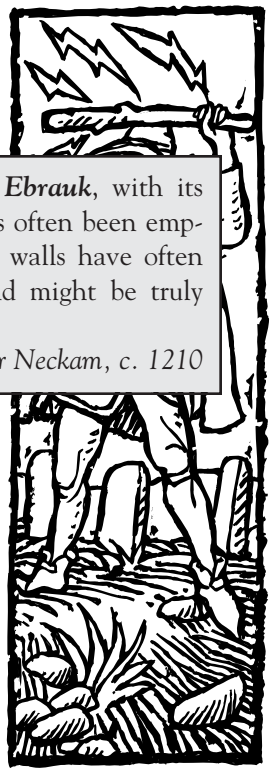
York is the largest town of the north of England in 1220, with a population of around 8000. It is a port, as the River Ouse is navigable, and indeed tidal, as far as the city, and also the seat of the second English archbishop. The walls of the town are of wood on an earth embankment, with only the gates built in stone. There is a long gap around the King's Fishpond, because the water is itself sufficient barrier. The king's castle, on the east bank of the Ouse and surrounded by the

dammed Fosse, is also of wood, although there is talk of rebuilding it in stone.

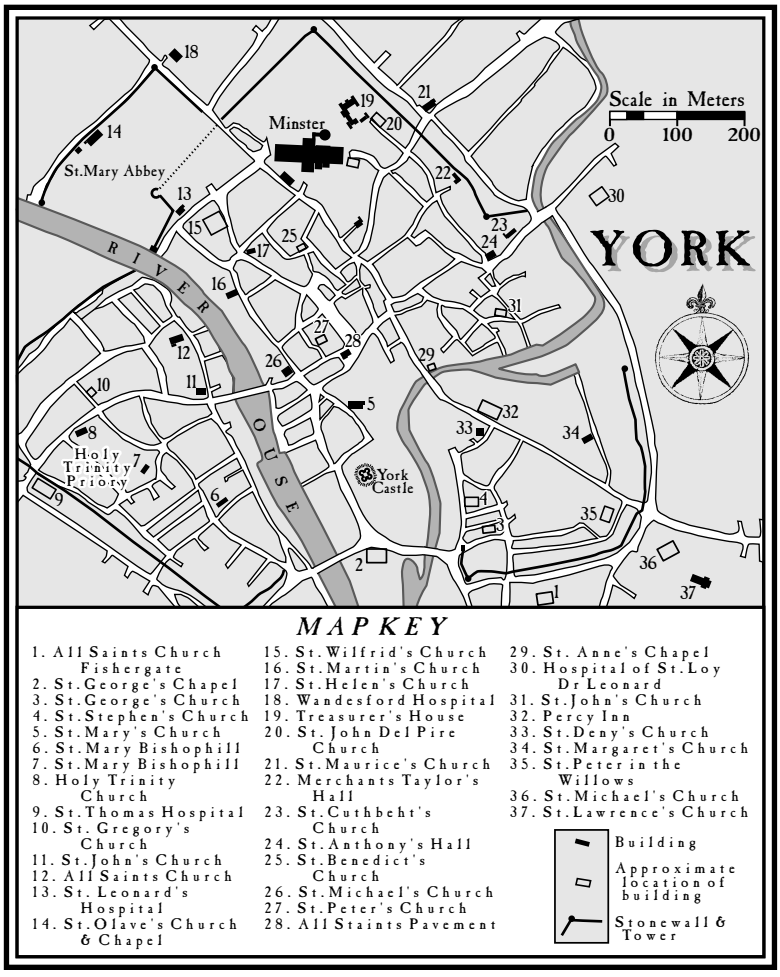
There are a handful of stone houses in the town, owned by the richer merchants, and the churches and religious houses are of stone. The largest church in the town is the minster, the cathedral church of the archbishop. Work has just started on rebuilding its transepts. The cathedral chapter is made up of secular canons, rather than of monks. St. Mary's Abbey is a Benedictine monastery, founded in 1080, and is one of the largest in the north. The abbot in 1220 is Robert of Longchamp, brother of King Richard's reviled chancellor. The Cistercian house of Fountains Abbey (see page 83) was founded by monks of St. Mary's who were dissatisfied with the laxity of its life. Holy Trinity Priory is also Benedictine, and is controlled by the abbey of Marmoutier, near Tours in France. Just within the town walls, between the Minster and St. Mary's, is St. Leonard's Hospital, which used to be St. Peter's and is still often referred to as such. The hospital is under the control of the Chapter of the Minster. St. Nicholas's Hospital is specifically for the treatment of lepers. The Benedictine nunnery of St. Clement was established in 1130, and in 1202 the Gilbertines founded St. Andrew's Priory to provide them with priests. The city has over thirty parish churches.

York has had all the privileges of a borough since 1212, but its authority is limited by several liberties within its walls. The Minster is under the authority of the archbishop, as is part of the town adjoining it, and St. Mary's Abbey has its own court, which also covers the adjacent houses. There is a mayor, and bailiffs, but no gild merchant: this disappeared during the late twelfth century, as civic authorities and craft gilds took over its functions. There are numerous craft gilds in York. The most important are the weavers (who are also the oldest, receiving a royal charter in 1163), the glovers, saddlers, skinners, hosiers, butchers, drapers, and vintners. The Butchers' Gild is responsible for guarding the city jail at night. The main fair is the Archbishop's Fair, held between 31 July and 2 August.

The most important recent event was the massacre of the Jews of York in 1190. After Richard's coronation anti-Jewish riots broke out, and the Jews, who were under the king's protection, fled to the castle to avoid a mob led by a fanatical monk and those who owed the Jews money. Trapped in the castle, with the royal sheriff refusing to act, the Jews all committed suicide or were slaughtered by the mob. Afterwards the sheriff was deprived of office, and many citizens of the town fined for their parts in the riot. Jews returned to the city soon afterwards, and there is a Jewish community in 1220.



> ***Next I visited the city founded by Ebrauk***, with its cathedral minster of St. Peter. It has often been emptied, and then repopulated, and its walls have often been destroyed. But now, it enjoys peace, and might be truly happy, were its ruler not so greedy.
>
> — *Alexander Neckam, c. 1210*



Chapter 5
Travel, Trade, and Industry

Travel

It is not unusual for people to travel, no matter what their level in society. Even the poorest peasants go to market or to local fairs, and the richer or more pious often journey over thirty miles on pilgrimage. Longer pilgrimages are also common, from Durham to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, or even overseas, to Rome, Santiago de Compostella, and Jerusalem. (See "Pilgrimage," page 78.)

The wealthy and powerful range even further afield. Many merchants obviously must travel to buy and sell their goods (see "Trade," next page), and skilled craftsmen may find it profitable to take a sample to a noble court. The nobility themselves travel a great deal: the higher nobility still tend to go from one estate to another, living off each of them in turn (see the Nobility chapter, page 87). Bishops are supposed to visit all parts of their dioceses, checking on the monasteries and parish churches and investigating the morals of the clergy. The royal justices are required to move from place to place, holding courts in different towns. When these courts are held, many residents of the surrounding area are required to attend, thus requiring more journeys.

Travel is not safe, however. Bandits are common, and it is normal for travelers to form groups for self-defense. Roads are only guarded when a fair is in progress, and not always then. The roads are usually good enough to take a cart loaded with stone, but after prolonged rain they turn into mud. Bridges should be maintained by the communities living nearby, but this is not always done. Even when the bridge is intact, tolls are almost always charged to cross them. These are generally low, but the collectors may charge whatever they think they can get away with.

Rivers play an important role in inland travel, especially in the transport of goods. However, they are often blocked with fish weirs and nets, despite royal commands to keep them clear. Indeed, the clearing of the Thames and the Medway was required by one of the clauses of Magna Carta. Tolls were also charged on rivers, generally at bridges, where the passage of boats could be controlled.

Crossing the Neath

We hurried along the coast road to the Neath, with Morgan as our guide. This river has the most dangerous approach of those in South Wales, on account of its quicksands, and as we approached one of our pack horses, with all my baggage on it, was almost sucked under. It had taken the lower road with some of the other animals, and was jogging along in the middle of the group. In the end it was saved by our servants, at the risk of their own lives, and not without some damage to my books. Against Morgan's advice, we hurried across the quicksands in fear, because "Terror gave us wings." Before we made it through, we had realized the wisdom of his counsel. We crossed the river itself by boat, rather than a ford, because the passages change with every tide, and cannot be found at all after heavy rain.

— From Gerald of Wales, The Journey Through Wales

Great Fairs of England

Fair	Date	Length	Lord
Stamford	Ash Wednesday	Eight days	Earl Warenne
St. Ives	Monday after Easter	Eight days	Ramsey Abbey
Boston	24 June	Eight days	The King
Lynn	20 July	Four days	Bishop of Norwich
St. Giles, Winchester	31 August	Fifteen days	Bishop of Winchester
Northampton	1 November	Four days	City of Northampton
Bury St. Edmund's	19 November	Four days	St. Edmund's Abbey

Trade

Internal and international trade both play an important part in the English economy. The most important item of internal trade is grain, which has to be moved from the villages to the towns and the estates of the great lords. This cannot be taken very far, unless there is great scarcity, because the price of transport soon raises the cost beyond what people will pay. It costs roughly 1d to transport one ton one mile by land, and 1d to take the same weight six miles by water. Livestock and wool are also important commodities within the kingdom.

International trade is more visible, and it is here that the great fortunes are to be made. In broad outline, England exports wool and cloth to Flanders, and imports cloth from Flanders and wine from Gascony. (One tun of wine (252 gallons) costs about 50s, one sack of wool (364lbs, about 260 fleeces) costs about 60s. The price of cloth varies wildly depending on the quality.) Of course, many other goods, particularly luxuries such as spices, jewels, and silk, are also traded internationally. Merchants from Flanders and Cologne play an important part in the trade, and a few Italians, particularly from Genoa, also do business in England. Most of the international trade takes place in the south and east of the country, in the area of the great fairs.

Fairs

Fairs are an important part of English trade, both internal and international. There are hundreds of fairs held throughout the country, but only a few are of more than local importance: these are listed in the insert above. A fair is held at a particular time and place, and merchants may come from any-

where to buy and sell. On the whole, you do not need to be a burgess of any town to trade at a fair, and this is one of their advantages.

Everything is traded at fairs, but the most important commodities are cloth and wool. Wine and luxuries are also important. You can buy spices, hunting falcons, jewelry, and cloth of gold. English and Flemish merchants are the most important traders, but Gascons and Italians are attending in increasing numbers. The lord of the fair arranges the stalls by the commodity sold, with livestock and butchers generally kept at a distance for health and safety reasons. Within each commodity area, the merchants usually organize themselves by town, with the merchants from one place sticking together.

While many traders work from tents or other temporary shelters, many fair sites have some permanent buildings. At St. Ives the fair takes over the front rooms of many houses in the town, while at Winchester the bishop has built an enclosure for the fair outside the town, with some permanent wooden stalls. Since most structures are light and made of wood or canvas, fire is a constant risk. For example, the Winchester Fair site, and part of the town, were devastated by fire in 1191.

The lord of the fair is responsible for security and law enforcement for its duration. He usually hires a couple of dozen guards, possibly including some mounted soldiers, who are responsible for keeping order at the fair itself and sometimes on the routes leading to it. There is a special fair court which has jurisdiction over any offenses, other than pleas of the crown (see page 102) committed at the fair. The lord receives income from fees for the right to trade, taxes on trade goods, and the profits of justice. The major fairs can easily be worth £60 per year to their lords, and are thus jealously guarded assets.

Free Redcaps

Redcaps are subject to all the tolls on travel, and to assault and detention by local lords. While the Order discourages interference with them, it is difficult to strike the balance between intimidating nobles and provoking a response. If the Order could obtain a royal charter, granting the Redcaps freedom from toll and the protection of the king's peace, things would be much easier. Of course, it could be argued that the solution does more violence to the Code than the problem.

A Miner Covenant

The special rights granted to miners allow them a lot of freedom from interference from mundane authorities, and they are expected to excavate large underground areas and sell metal for their income. A covenant could set up as a mine, providing laboratories for the magi in the tunnels (which are dangerous for mundane visitors, of course) and even producing metal by magic. While initial permission would be needed, the lord would require nothing more than a regular payment, and would be unlikely to suspect the covenant's true nature.

Industry

Industrial production is not important in medieval England, but that does not mean that it is non-existent. All craft work can be seen as small scale industry, but most crafts never get beyond the stage of single craftsmen undertaking every stage of a piece of work; there is little or no specialization. London is starting to be an exception, as the high concentration of craftsmen allows specialists to make a living. There are also three industries which depart from the general rule: mining, building, and the textile industry.

Mining

Mining is a rural industry, because it must take place where the deposits are found. Important localities are Devon and Cornwall for tin, where around 500 tons is mined every year; Derbyshire, the Pennine Dales in Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland, the Mendips, and Shropshire for lead; and the Forest of Dean for iron, although there are many lesser iron mines throughout the country. Coal mining, especially around Tyneside

and Newcastle, is just beginning to take off, as supplies of firewood are reduced by the expansion of agricultural land.

Most mines are small scale, employing no more than a dozen miners, and open cast mines are most common. However, some shaft mines are known, especially in lead mining, which is hard to do any other way. Tin is often mined by using water to separate the ore from loose debris, but this produces large amounts of polluted water, and can damage farmland.

Since the profitability of mines depends on the supply of miners, lords often devise measures to encourage people to become miners. The most extensive encouragement is given to the tin miners in Devon and Cornwall. They may dig turves (bits of peat, used as fuel) and mine tin on anyone's land, divert streams at will, and cannot be claimed as villeins. They are subject only to the Warden of the Stannaries, and not to the local lords. Nevertheless, mining is an insecure and dangerous life, and there is always a shortage of workmen.

Building

Building work must be done on site, and once a structure is finished there will be no further employment there for most of the workers. Thus the craftsmen involved in building are more mobile than most. The unskilled laborers are usually hired from the surrounding district, but the skilled craftsmen, masons and carpenters, travel from one project to another.

Increasingly, the administration of a project is in the hands of a single master mason. He is responsible for handling the budget, hiring and firing workers, and ensuring supplies of material. He is usually paid a large sum of money, particularly if he is well known. Indeed, masons tend to be among the richest of craftsmen. The skills needed to build a gothic vault or a castle are not well codified, and are passed on from master to apprentice among the masons. The most valuable skill is the ability to work free stone, stone which can be cut in any direction without cracking, and so the freemasons are often in charge of projects.

Textiles

The textile industry allows more specialization than most for two reasons. First, everyone needs clothes, so there is a universal and steady market for their products. Second, the process breaks up into several steps, providing natural areas of specialization.

First, the wool must be sorted, cleaned, combed, and then spun into thread. This is usually done by women, working by hand. Spinning is carried out with a distaff and spindle, not a spinning wheel. Next, the thread must be woven. Much of this is done on vertical looms, but horizontal looms allow better cloth and are becoming more popular. The horizontal looms are also more expensive and take up more space, and thus push weavers into becoming professionals. The woven cloth is then fulled. This involves bathing it in an alkaline detergent while hitting it hard. This can be done by trampling on it, or with sticks, or, increasingly, by wooden hammers driven by a water mill. Obviously, a mill is an expensive piece of equipment, and as the fulling mill becomes more common, that part of the process becomes more industrial. The final stage is often dyeing, which requires specialized knowledge of the dye stuffs, and so is usually a specialized profession.

The cloth merchant often controls every stage of this process, buying raw wool and then paying craftsmen and women piecework rates to spin, weave, and dye it. A major merchant might also be able to afford his own fulling mill, although often these are built by the landed nobility and hired out to the drapers. The merchants are thus interested in keeping the prices they pay for weaving, in particular, down, and are generally opposed to weavers' gilds. The growth of such gilds in towns has encouraged the merchants to hire weavers who live in the countryside.

Chapter 6
The Church

The Church is absolutely central to life in 1220. Apart from the Jews and a few magi, no one in England or Wales would claim not to be a member, even if some people rarely attend and show little evidence of Christian teaching in their lives. The overwhelming majority of people believe that they will burn in Hell for eternity unless they die on good terms with the Church, which gives it a lot of power. This chapter will deal with the various aspects of that power.

The Seculars

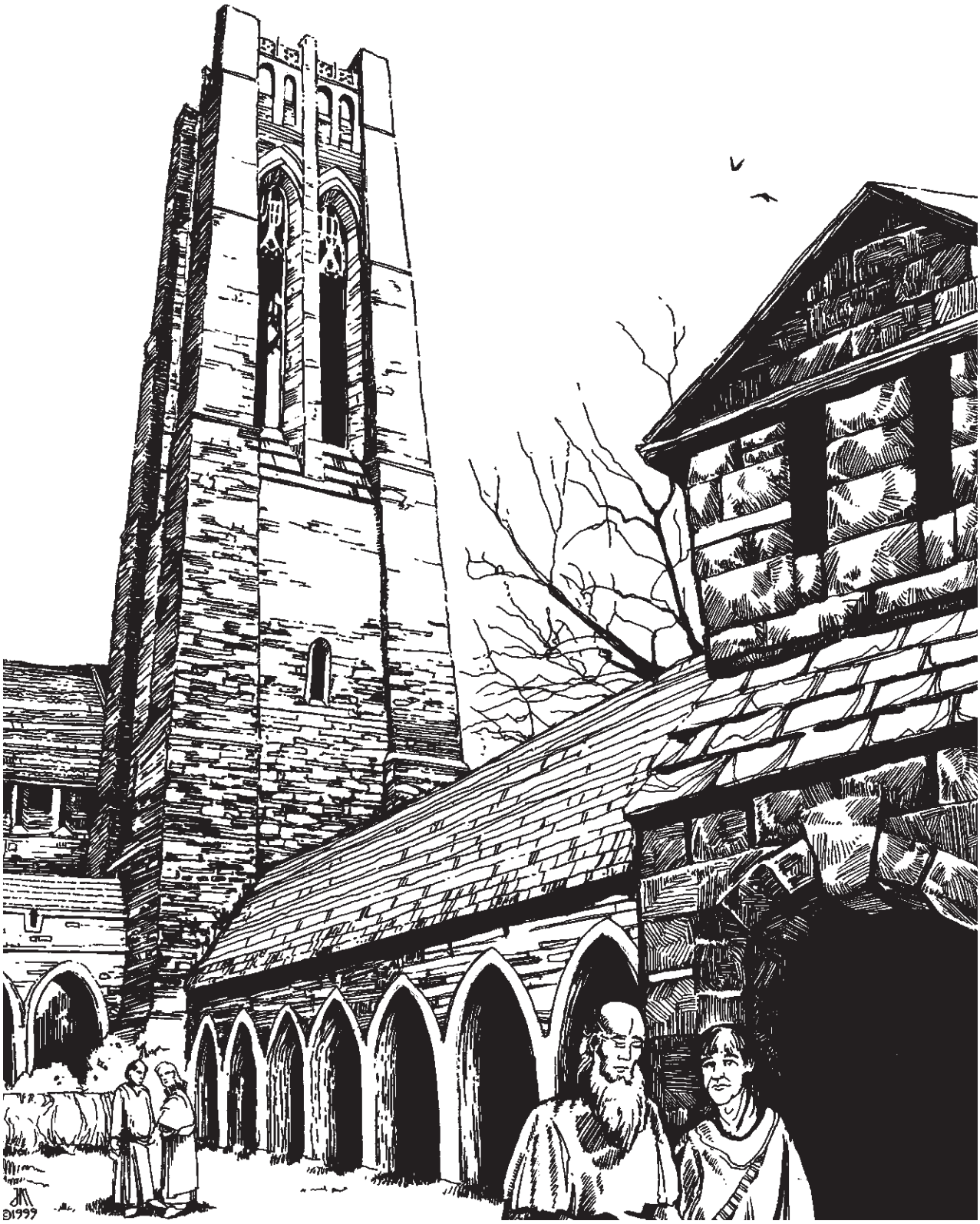
The seculars are those clergy who live in the world (Latin *saeculus*, world) and not according to a rule. Most clerics are seculars, and the overwhelming majority of those encountered outside a monastery are. All clergy are men, but not all are priests, nor celibate. Ordination is discussed in the section on the sacraments, page 68.

The Parish

The parish is the fundamental unit of the church in England and Wales. Everyone is a member of a parish, and is required to take the sacraments at that church and no other. (This rule is not always kept.) There are about 9,500 parishes in the provinces of Canterbury and York, 9,000 rural and 500 urban, and the average population of a parish is about 300. Every parish has a rector, who is entitled to receive the tithe and offerings from that parish (see page 58). The right to appoint the rector is known as the right of presentation, although the bishop may veto an unsuitable candidate, and the Pope may present anyone to any parish he likes.

In theory, the rector is supposed to reside in the parish and preside over the sacraments. However, only about a tenth of rectors are ordained priests, and thus most of them are canonically incapable of carrying out their duties. Further, although a dispensation from the bishop is required if a rector is to live out of his parish, such dispensations are quite common, the more legitimate reasons including study at a university. According to canon law, a man can be rector of only one parish. The Pope can and does dispense from this requirement, however, and many clergy hold more than one benefice. These men rarely reside in any of their benefices, having other jobs (see "Chaplains and Administrators," page 59). Finally, a large number of parishes have been appropriated to abbeys or other religious houses. This means that the monks claim the proceeds of the tithe, and pay someone to reside in the parish.

As a result, around 90% of parishes are not served by their rector. In some a chaplain is paid by the year, while in others a vicarage has been established. The vicar has a secure job, being paid a small stipend from the tithe.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The church tries to enforce a minimum of five marks per year, but lower pay is common. Out of this money, the vicar is expected to pay a deacon and a clerk to assist him, and to maintain the church and perform acts of charity in the village. This is not possible, and thus does not happen. Around 70% of vicars are ordained priests, enabling them to say mass, but in 30% of parishes there is no-one qualified to carry out most of the sacraments.

The resident priest of a parish is usually barely literate, and is sometimes incapable of saying the mass. Their grasp of church doctrine is often little better than the peasants', and their lifestyles are very similar. While men in holy orders cannot marry, many rural priests live with women as if they were married, forming a stable family. Sometimes a son inherits his father's parish. The hierarchy is trying to stamp this out, but with little success as many of the priests and parishioners see nothing wrong with it. Some priests are promiscuous, and they are usually caught and punished.

The rector is responsible for maintaining the church and supplying vestments and a chalice and paten for the mass. Non-resident rectors usually do not bother, and the vicarage may be too poor to maintain the church, with the result that the building becomes unsafe. In addition, if the chalice or paten is broken and not replaced, mass becomes impossible. If the resident cleric is not a priest, mass is impossible anyway, so the church furniture may be more poorly cared for. Those parish churches which are in good condition are usually decorated with wall paintings on the inside, often depicting the last judgment — a Doom. Stained glass is not common as yet.

A parish, then, should have a resident priest, assisted by at least one deacon and a clerk (who may be in minor orders). The church should be in good condition, and the priest should aid the poor of the village. This is the situation in at most 10% of parishes. A further 50% are functional with lapses (for example, the priest lives with a woman), while the remaining 40% lack a priest or a usable church, and thus cannot function at all. The worst cases involve an absent rector, a chaplain no one has seen for years, and a church that is a positive hazard. The Dominion in such parishes may well have vanished entirely.

The Life of Clerics

Clerks should all strive to live continently and chastely, avoiding the sin of lust completely.

Clerks shall abstain from gluttony, drunkenness, hunting, and bird-catching.

Clerks are not to practice business, watch actors, or frequent taverns. They are not to gamble, or be present at gambling. They are to have a suitable tonsure, and must wear closed outer garments that are not in green or red cloth, or decorated. They must not wear buckles or belts decorated with gold or silver.

Clerks are utterly forbidden to sit up half the night in feasting and forbidden conversation.

Clerks must not store their own or anyone else's furniture in the church.

— From the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215

The Tithe

The tithe is a tenth of everything of which God gives the increase, and people are legally obliged to hand it over to their rector. The rules surrounding it are quite elaborate, covering all possible situations. The wealth of parishes varies enormously, from over £100 per year to less than four marks. In general, the richer parishes are in the north, because they are larger. Further, urban parishes tend to be poor, because little farming takes place. Instead, a tithe is collected on building rents.

The tithe is usually paid in kind (that is, the tithe of grain consists of a tenth of the grain, not its value in money, and similarly for the others), but if the rector is non-resident much of it will be converted into cash for his convenience. Parishioners devote a great deal of effort to trying to cheat the tithe, and sermons and penitentials promise grave penalties for doing so.

Chaplains and Administrators

Many non-resident rectors serve as chaplains and administrators to the nobility. As clergy, they are educated (and those appointed to such jobs usually have a proper education), and by presenting them to a benefice the lord can supply them with an income at no expense to himself. Canon law forbids those in holy orders from taking such jobs, but many of these clerks are only in minor orders anyway. Sometimes the clerks find themselves dispensing secular justice, which is totally forbidden, but this does not stop it happening. This practice applies at all levels: the king will have men appointed to bishoprics to pay them while they serve as chancellor of the realm or chamberlain.

Some such clerks are actually paid by their master from his own money, and they may be employed in virtually any capacity. However, there are no private chapels at this period for anyone much below the king, so clerks employed as chaplains can only celebrate mass if allowed access to the parish church, something which requires the incumbent's permission. Of course, if the clerk is technically rector of a certain parish, he may celebrate there.

Scholars

Virtually all scholars are clerks, although many are only in minor orders. In part this is because anyone with any pretensions to scholarship can easily pass the requirements for minor orders, and the protection from civil justice is worth having (see "Ordination," page 68, and "Canon Law," page 71). The most important centers for scholarship are the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but there are schools of theology at many cathedrals (all, in theory), and the most important chroniclers and historians are all monks.

Such education as there is for ordinary folk is provided by the church. A number of monasteries provide grammar schools, and parish clergy will often try to educate promising boys under their care. In the latter case, the quality of education will depend heavily on how educated the teacher is.

The Universities

Universities are a new feature of scholarly life, and there are only a handful in Europe. Of these, the most important are Paris and Bologna. Oxford is not much less important than Paris, and Cambridge is significant. Constitutionally, they are little more than loose associations of men with a common interest, and the award of the title "Master of Arts" simply indicates that those men find someone fit to teach in their town. The beginnings of organization are apparent: Both universities are headed by a chancellor, and there are rudimentary regulations for the control of students. (See Oxford, page 48, and Cambridge, page 43.)

Vagabond Clerks

The bishop is not supposed to ordain a man unless he can show that he has a means of support. This rule is not strictly followed, however. It is estimated that there are 60,000 clerks in England and Wales, about 2% of the population. The parishes and monasteries are

Magical Tithes

A learned priest is appointed to the parish including the covenant. He turns out to be a natural magician, and he demands a tithe of the covenant's vis supplies. As God gives the increase, they clearly qualify. If the covenant refuses to pay up, he may threaten to complain to the bishop. In that case, the covenant is in a no-win situation, and the other covenants of the Order would not look kindly on a ruling that diverted a tenth of their vis to the church. Subtle negotiation (or, perhaps, a tragic accident) is in order.

inadequate to support so many, so there are many men with no secure source of income, but with immunity from prosecution by the civil authorities (see "Canon Law," page 71). As might be expected, this causes problems. Some clergy resort to begging, others to crime, still others to confidence trickery and spiritual blackmail which blurs the boundaries between the two. In London such clerks are a major problem, but the same is true everywhere to some extent. It would not be at all surprising for a bandit to be ordained, possibly even to holy orders. Of course, such a person was probably not a bandit when he was ordained.

The Regulars

The regulars are those people who live a holy life according to a rule (Latin *regulus*, rule). They are not all clergy, because some of them are women, nor are they all monks or nuns, although those classes of people do rep-

Master Robert Grosseteste

Born 1170

Master Robert is an official of the bishop of Hereford, and acts as his delegate in judging some legal cases. He is also a brilliant scholar, which raises the question of why, at fifty, he is still without a benefice, and thus a secure source of income.

Part of the answer lies in his background. He was born of very humble parents in the village of Stow Langtoft, which is owned by the Abbey of St. Edmund. His parents both died while he was young, and he had to beg for his bread, eventually finding himself in Lincoln. There, Adam of Wigford, a rich citizen of the town known for his generosity (and later to become the first mayor), befriended him and supported him at the local schools. There he made great progress in grammar, and soon went to the more prestigious schools at Cambridge, where he completed his education.

In Cambridge, he met the magi of Schola Pythagoranis, and while he was unGifted he quickly proved adept in natural magic. For a while he considered joining the covenant, but his natural piety and deep faith told against it: the magi were far too worldly for his liking. Nevertheless, this period gave him a certain independence of thought, and a fascination with less standard fields of study. Over the years, his growing abilities as a magician led him to a greater confidence in his own judgment.

After a brief period serving the bishop of Lincoln, in 1194 he took service with William de Vere, bishop of Hereford, partly on the strength of a letter of recommendation written by Gerald of Wales, which emphasized his medical abilities and legal knowledge. He progressed rapidly in the bishop's service, and his career seemed secure, until the bishop died in 1198 before granting him a benefice. Over the next twenty years he made ends meet by taking temporary jobs, with Hugh Foliot, the archdeacon of Shropshire, with the bishop of Salisbury, with the magi of Schola Pythagoranis, and in France, where he was driven by the interdict.

After returning to England he turned again to the service of Hugh Foliot, and when the latter became bishop of Hereford in 1219, his position seemed somewhat more secure. However, Robert is still without a benefice, and still only a deacon.

Grosseteste is a very vigorous man, of striking, though not handsome, appearance. He is very courteous and generous in his personal friendships, but stern in his official capacity. His main weakness is a tendency to take things to extremes: he works out the consequences of his beliefs, and lives according to them. Insofar as he can, he tries to compel those around him to live according to them, too. In all matters, he has a great trust in his own judgment, a trait that has brought him into conflict with more than one employer. He has said that he would defy the Pope if he thought the pontiff was in error. He does not advertise his magical abilities, although they have contributed to his vigor, and will only use them for ends that accord with Christian virtue. He is very well disposed to magi, having been friendly with all those he has known, and is not negatively affected by the Gift. However, his contact with the Order is sporadic at best, and he disapproves of its secular tone. He also loves music, and is concerned about the education of talented boys, especially if they are from a humble background.

resent most of them. This is supposed to be the holiest possible sort of life, and laymen interested in the support of the prayers of such holy people make generous donations to their houses. As a result, they have an influence beyond their numbers, although there are about 12,000 monks and canons and 7,000 nuns in the Tribunal.

The Rules

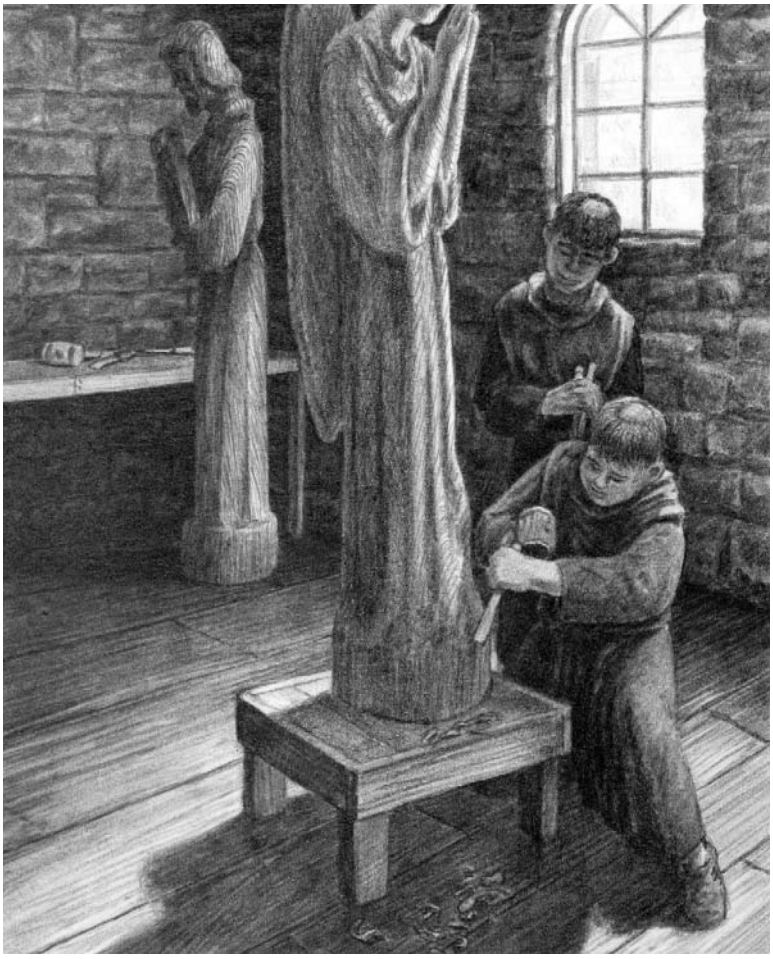
While all the regulars live under a rule, they do not all live under the same rule. There are many rules, so many that Pope Innocent III forbade the creation of new ones at the fourth Lateran Council, in 1215. This section describes the most important.

Benedictine

The oldest, and most important, rule is the Benedictine, created by Benedict of Nursia for his monastery at Monte Cassino in Italy around 500 AD. It was not supposed to be rigorously ascetic, rather requiring the monks to live a simple and disciplined life, separated from the world. Their most important occupation is the *opus dei,* the mass, which is supposed to be said or sung at each of the canonical hours (see page 64). They are also supposed to engage in manual labor to support themselves, but that has fallen out of fashion, so that monks normally employ servants for such tasks. Benedictines are known as black monks, from the color of their habits.

The monks are required to be chaste, and to obey the abbot of their monastery. They are also supposed to remain within the monastery at which they took their vows for the rest of their lives ("stability"). It is now common for monks to leave the monastery grounds for various reasons, but actually changing monasteries is still rare. Monks are not supposed to have any personal property, and they are not supposed to eat meat, although the latter rule is relaxed in the cold English climate. Although the monasteries were supposed to be separate from the world, many of them are now inside, or just on the edge of, towns, and some actually have jurisdiction over that town. The monks all meet daily in the chapter (so-called because a chapter of the rule is read to open the proceedings), at which the business of the monastery is dealt with.

The Benedictines arrived in England with St. Augustine, a monk himself, in 597, and established themselves wherever the church went. In the tenth century St. Dunstan led a reform of the English monasteries, which gave them new vigor. At this time a number of cathedral chapters adopted the Benedictine rule, a practice that is almost unique to Britain. Important Benedictine abbeys in England include Glastonbury (see page 84); Bury St. Edmunds (see page 82); St. Albans, an important center of art and learning; St. Augustine's; Canterbury, founded by



St. Augustine in the early days of his mission; and Battle Abbey, which was founded by William the Conqueror on the site of the Battle of Hastings, with its high altar marking the spot where Harold died. In total, there are around 200 Benedictine monasteries in England, housing about 3,800 monks.

The Cluniacs are a group within the Benedictines of houses that depend on the abbey of Cluny in France. No other Cluniac house has an abbot, rather having a prior who is, in theory, the deputy of the abbot of Cluny. The Cluniacs place great emphasis on the *opus dei*, to the extent that it is going on almost constantly, and there is certainly no time for manual labor. They are also prone to building splendid churches for their monasteries. The Cluniacs only came to England in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and there are only about 30 houses, with 500 monks. Castle Acre and Thetford in Norfolk were founded directly from Cluny, while the French house of La Charité founded five priories, including Bermondsey priory in London.

Most convents of nuns follow the Benedictine rule, which requires them to have a man living nearby to act as priest in the Divine Office. This can cause problems, and the vow of stability is taken more seriously for nuns than for monks. Nevertheless, abbesses are among the most influential women in the country. Important nunneries include Godstow, near Oxford, which was founded in the twelfth century and houses the tomb of fair Rosamund, the mistress of Henry II; Shaftesbury, founded by Alfred the Great; and Wilton, in Wiltshire, where the widow of Edward the Confessor and the daughter of Harold Godwinson lived after the Norman Conquest. There are, in total, about 7,000 nuns in England.

Cistercian

The Cistercians were founded by Robert of Molesme at Cîteaux, in 1098, but their extraordinary growth was due to Bernard of Clairvaux, the most influential churchman of the twelfth century. They follow the Benedictine rule, and in origin did so more strictly than most other Benedictine monasteries. They wear habits of undyed wool, and thus became known as the white monks, and build simple monasteries far from civilization. These areas have turned out to be excellent for sheep farming, and the Cistercian monasteries of Yorkshire are among the largest suppliers of wool in Europe. From the beginning there were laymen, the *conversi*, associated with the Cistercians, who were responsible for helping the monks with the farming. There are about 3,250 Cistercian monks in England and Wales.

The Cistercian monasteries are grouped into a well-organized order. Every house is founded from an already-existing monastery (with the obvious exception of Cîteaux itself); the founding house is the mother house, the founded the daughter. The abbot of the mother house is responsible for visiting the daughters and ensuring that they are well run, and all the abbots meet every year in September, at Cîteaux, to discuss the issues facing the order.

By 1220 the Cistercians are less rigorous-

The Enemy of My Enemy

If the covenant has chilly relations with the local church and nobility, have a band of robbers set up and start causing them real trouble. It turns out that these robbers are all ordained. The local lord refuses to do anything, citing (correctly) benefit of clergy. The Church sends an official to preach to the bandits, but they ignore him. If the covenant dares to deal with them itself, all its members are excommunicated.

The Coming of the Monks

The covenant has managed to keep its existence secret from everyone, pretending to be an ordinary village. Now, the lord of the manor has given the village to the Cistercians, who have come to drive the villagers off their land. If the covenant is well hidden, the magi might simply lose their source of labor and food. Since covenants and Cistercians tend to seek out the same sorts of areas, conflict between the two orders is likely to be common.

ly simple than they used to be, and some of the monasteries have built spectacular churches. They are still isolated, however, as they refuse to allow villages to grow up on their lands, and if they acquire an inhabited area, they drive the inhabitants out.

The first Cistercian monasteries were founded in England around 1130, and the order was very popular for the rest of the twelfth century, so that almost all new monastic foundations were Cistercian. Important Cistercian monasteries include Waverley, the first to be founded in England, Rievaulx in Yorkshire, and Fountains Abbey (see page 83). Most of the other English houses are daughter houses of one of these three.

Some convents of nuns are part of the Cistercian Order, albeit reluctantly on the part of the monks. They are not part of the normal chains of filiation, rather being placed under the control of a nearby male monastery.

Augustinian

The rule of Augustinian canons is derived from a letter written by St. Augustine of Hippo (*not* the St. Augustine who converted the English), but has been much expanded from those bare bones. The canons are not monks, because they are not supposed to be sequestered from the world. They are bound to poverty, chastity, and obedience, but they are expected to involve themselves in work with the laymen near their canonry. The canons have a common life, but they are attached to a cathedral, collegiate church, or hospital, and thus have pastoral duties like a secular priest.

There are a number of orders relying on the Rule of St. Augustine, including the Gilbertines (below), the Premonstratensians, and the Dominicans (page 64). These orders differ a great deal, and there are also many unaffiliated houses following the rule, some of which contain women rather than men. Thus, it is impossible to generalize about the behavior of regular canons, of whom there are about 3,500 in England and Wales.

Gilbertine

The order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham is unique in two ways. First, the order is confined to the east of England. Second, it has both male and female members. The women all follow the Benedictine Rule, and are rigorously enclosed. The clerical men follow the Augustinian Rule, and the laymen follow the Cistercian customs. The canons' first responsibility is to provide priestly services for the nuns, and despite careful precautions there are occasional scandals. The lay brothers do the farming, and the lay sisters act as servants for the nuns. There is an annual general chapter of the order, as for the Cistercians, which is attended by the prior of each house, who is always a canon. The most important house of the order is the first one, at Sempringham. There are about 1,000 members of the Gilbertine order, including both canons and nuns.

The Military Orders

The military orders are orders of monks who are also knights. The most famous are the Knights Templar, founded by Hugh de Payns and Godfrey of St. Omer in 1118, and strongly supported by Bernard of Clairvaux, and the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. They have rules which allow them to fight, primarily against the Moslems, but they hold land all over Christendom, and both orders have a number of houses in England. These houses do not hold active knights, although retired warriors may be accommodated; rather, they gather funds and supplies and send them on to the Levant. The Templars are also notable for their involvement in banking, generally in lending money to help with Crusading, and for their tendency to build round churches, including one in London.

The Friars

There are no friars in England. The Dominicans, or Black Friars, arrive in 1221, the Franciscans, or Gray Friars, in 1224. The Dominicans are devoted to preaching and teaching in resistance to heresy, and are officially called the Order of Preachers. The Franciscans are devoted to being poor and imitating the life of Christ and the Apostles as far as possible, renouncing learning along with wealth. They are officially called the Order of Little Brothers, or Friars Minor.

Monastic Organization and Property

Although individual monks are not allowed to own property, the same does not apply to their monasteries, and many are very wealthy. This property requires a rather more elaborate organizational structure than the rule originally allowed for, and this structure has developed. The only official recognized in the Benedictine rule is the abbot, who has absolute authority over the monks. He is supposed to listen to their advice, but they cannot overrule him. The prior, the abbot's deputy, is a common officer.

To this basic structure has been added the structure of obedientiaries. These are monks with responsibility for particular expenses of the monastery, such as the upkeep of the church (the sacristan), the choir and library (the precentor), food (the cellarer), and the giving of alms (the almoner). Some part of the monastery's property is assigned to each of these functions, and the obedientiary is responsible for managing that property, collecting the income, and spending it. This has obvious potential for abuse, and indeed most religious houses are deeply in debt, often to the Jews, as a result. Many bishops are now encouraging the institution of a single treasurer who handles all income and gives money to the obedientiaries, and presents his accounts to the chapter several times a year.

Some of the monastic property can be a long way from the monastery, making its management difficult. In response, many monasteries have established cells for a small number of monks, often less than half a dozen, on distant plots of land, and have delegated management of that land to those monks. Some cells have only one monk, which often leads to disciplinary problems and is a gross violation of the spirit of the Rule. Cistercian monasteries have remote farms called granges which are largely staffed by conversi, although they may be supervised by a monk.

The monastery normally has a great deal of property within the cloister as well. The church, cloister, abbot's house, refectory, dormitory, and chapter house are normally substantial stone buildings, and the church may be decorated with gold furnishings. All monasteries have a library, from which the monks are encouraged to borrow books for personal reading. The largest libraries contain several hundred volumes, including the works of pagan Romans as well as Christian literature.

The Canonical Hours

The canonical hours are the services which structure the day in a monastery. The day and the night are both divided into twelve roughly equal portions, called hours, with the first hour of the day starting at daybreak, and the first hour of the night starting at nightfall. At England's latitude, this means that a day hour in summer is twice as long as a day hour in winter. At each of the hours, psalms are sung, and at some masses are performed — at all in the Cluniac tradition, but in other traditions only at three.

Matins is held at the seventh hour of the night, while Lauds marks daybreak. Prime marks the end of the first hour of the day, and is followed by the Morrow Mass ("morning mass"), and the meeting of the chapter. Terce marks the end of the third hour, and is followed by a sung mass. Sext marks noon, and is followed by a sung mass dedicated to the

Virgin Mary. None ends the ninth hour, and Vespers the eleventh. Compline marks the close of the day and the beginning of the night. The monks are allowed to sleep between Compline and Matins, and Matins and Lauds. The rest of the time is split between labor and reading. The bells of the monastery church are rung to summon the monks to the various services, and to wake them up for the night office.

Most of the day is spent in silence, and during meals the monks are supposed to listen to a reader, rather than speak. This has led to the development of fairly elaborate sign languages in some monasteries, although in others they have not got beyond "Please pass the bread." The monks are usually allowed to converse after chapter, and possibly in the evening as well. Of course, a monk engaged in managing the monastery's property will not be able to maintain silence all day. Much time is spent in reading and copying manuscripts, now that manual labor is discouraged, and the Benedictine monastery of St. Albans is a notable artistic center, both in manuscript illumination and in other arts: Walter of Colchester, a monk of St. Albans, was employed to design the new shrine for St. Thomas at Canterbury.

Pastimes

As mentioned above, the monks have many opportunities for reading, and this is one of the few pastimes which is universally approved. They also play chess, and occasionally dice, although the stricter moralists disapprove. Most monasteries have a pack of hounds, and many abbots enjoy the hunt. Indeed, sometimes it is necessary to remind them that they are supposed to remain at the monastery. Minstrels and actors are also hired, on occasion, to entertain the monks, and the obedientiaries sometimes keep their own tables, where their friends can enjoy good food and wine. The monks also spend much time outside the cloister, socializing in the local town, although this is generally frowned upon. Occasionally, these visits are to women, or women are entertained within the cloister. However, actual violations of the vow of chastity seem to be rare, as it is rarely mentioned in the reports of visitations. This particular vice seems to be more common among nuns, although this may just be because it is easier to catch guilty women.

The Sacraments

The seven sacraments are the centerpiece of the Church's work. Without them, no one can be saved, and everyone is damned to hellfire for eternity. Despite the warnings of priests, many people believe that you will be saved if you get the right sacraments at the right times, no matter how you live. The sacraments are effective if performed correctly, irrespective of the intent or status of the priest, and in some cases even if performed incorrectly, provided that the intent was to perform the sacrament. This is because the sacrament is the display of God's power through the priest, not a display of the priest's own power. However, it is generally believed that a sacrament is more effective if the celebrant is virtuous.

Baptism

Baptism is the most important of the sacraments, as far as the individual is concerned. Anyone who has not been baptized will go to hell, no matter how they live, as they are tainted with Adam's Original Sin. Accordingly, children are baptized as soon as possible after birth. If the child is healthy, this will take place within a couple of days. The mother cannot go to the church, as she is ritually unclean after the birth, so the infant is taken by the midwife, godparents (traditionally three, two of the same sex as the child), or father. The priest meets the group at the church door, and asks the baby's name — this

is the point at which the child gains its true name, which is normally the name of one of the godparents. He then exorcises the child to drive off evil spirits, and makes it a catechumen before leading the party to the font. The priest asks the child questions based on the creed, and the godparents answer "I believe" on its behalf. The baby is then stripped naked and plunged into the water three times, while the priest says, "I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." Immediately afterwards the child receives its first communion, in the form of a sip of wine, and if a bishop is present (which is rare) it may be confirmed. The religious ceremony is then followed by celebrations.

Because of the vital importance of baptism to the child many precautions are taken to ensure that it can always be administered. The resident priest is always to be available, or have a deputy ready, and is not to refuse to baptize, no matter when he is asked. Holy water is to be kept in the font at all times, and the font is supposed to be kept locked to guard against desecration, although it often isn't. If the baby is so sickly that it might not survive being carried to the church, the midwife may baptize it by sprinkling water on it and repeating the formula. This is true even if the midwife is not Christian (a Jew, for example), and even if she totally mangles the formula, provided that her intent is right. Midwives and other women who attend at births are taught the formula, and encouraged to baptize in emergencies, or when they think that there may be an emergency. It is even permissible to baptize the child when it is only half out of the mother, and if necessary the midwife is to cut the child out of the mother so that it can be baptized, even though this will almost certainly result in the mother's death.

It is believed to be unlucky to baptize a child on Easter Eve or the Eve of Whitsunday, and the clothes and vessels used in the process are believed to have magical properties.

Confirmation

Confirmation can be administered only by a bishop, and it involves drawing a cross in oil on the forehead of the recipient while saying, "I sign you with the sign of the cross and confirm you with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." Since there are few bishops and many people, many people are never confirmed. Some bishops, when on visitation, make sure that they wear their vestments at all times, so that they can confirm anyone they meet who asks for it, and others confirm whole crowds at once.

Penance

Although baptism wipes away the stain of original sin, people are still capable of sin-

ning on their own account, and confession, penance, and absolution are required to remove the stain of personal sin. Children are held to be incapable of personal sin until the age of twelve, because they cannot understand what they are doing. After that age, however, all Christians are encouraged to confess and do penance at least once a year, as specified by the fourth Lateran Council.

Confession, penance, and absolution are all private matters, unless the crime for which penance must be done is a public scandal. Confession is not a simple affair, as the priest is supposed to ask many questions, probing into every aspect of the penitent's life, from "Have you ever left the churchyard gate open so that beasts got in?" to "Have you killed any man in anger?" and covering superstitious and magical practices in between. Priests were provided with books of questions and suggested penances for sinners; these were called penitentials, and the laity were not allowed to read them in case it gave them ideas. Penances usually involve fasting, prayer, and the giving of alms, which are all things that can be done without drawing attention.

Confession is clearly a substantial burden on the priest, even if only done once a year, especially as most people confess during Lent, in preparation for taking communion at Easter. However, laymen are required to confess only to their parish priest, unless they are travelers or soldiers about to go into battle.

The Eucharist

The mass is the central feature of the church's liturgy. It was first celebrated by Christ himself on the night before he was crucified, and it constitutes a reenactment of his saving sacrifice. As the words of consecration are spoken unleavened bread — the Host — becomes the body of Christ, while the wine becomes His blood. Although they remain bread and wine in appearance, their substance is that of God Himself. (Thus, consecrated bread and wine are totally immune to magical, faerie, and demonic powers.) Only an ordained priest can perform the consecration itself, although those in lesser orders and laymen assist at the service.

The mass is performed entirely in Latin (and is named from the final words: "Ite, missa est" — "Go, it is finished") and for most of it the celebrant has his back to the congregation, and is largely hidden behind a screen. This is not calculated to hold the congregation's attention, and indeed it is normal for people to talk through the mass, and for people to go purely to meet their lovers. Immediately after consecration, however, the priest raises the Host above his head, so that the congregation can see it. This is the elevation of the Host, and is accorded great importance: seeing the Host at this point is an assurance of salvation, and possibly mundane help. Some people wait outside the church, talking and playing, and rush inside to see the elevation before leaving again.

Very few of the laity take communion because it is necessary to have received absolution beforehand, and to fast and abstain from sexual relations for three days. Thus, most laymen and women communicate once a year, or even less, although the Lateran Council in 1215 tried to set once per year as the minimum. When they do take commu-

The Mass of St. Gregory the Great

A certain woman used to provide the bread for the altar at which Pope Gregory said Mass, and one Sunday, when she was going to receive communion, Gregory held out the Host to her, saying "May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ benefit you unto life everlasting." The woman burst out laughing, as if he had told a joke, and Gregory drew back the Host, laying it on the altar. In front of the whole congregation he asked her why she was laughing. She said, "Because you called this bread, which I made with my own hands, the Body of the Lord." Gregory was troubled by the woman's lack of faith, and lay before the altar in prayer. When he stood, he found the Host transformed into a finger. When the woman saw this, her faith was restored, and on Gregory's prayers it was turned back into bread, which she received in true piety.

— From the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine.

nion, they receive both the bread and the wine, although there is a movement to give them the bread only, to avoid the possibility of spilling the wine and thus showing disrespect to the blood of Christ.

The consecrated substances, particularly the Host, are credited with many powers. Bleeding Hosts are commonly reported, and many hedge wizards try to use the Host in their rituals. Common report falsely attributes the same thing to the Jews. (It is very easy to obtain a consecrated Host: take communion, but don't swallow. The wine is harder to obtain, and has fewer superstitions around it.) Peasants also use the Host in charms, crushing it and sprinkling over a field or burying it in the floor of a house to bring divine blessings.

Marriage

Marriage is the sacrament which causes the Church most trouble, because the material interests of great families are closely bound up with it, and marriages which were convenient to them might not fit with the Church's regulations. The theological position is that if a man and a woman, alone in a room at a tavern, say something like "I take you as my wife/husband" to each other, then they are married as long as there is no legal impediment. If they say "I will take you as my wife/husband," then they are married as soon as they have sex. No priest is required, no witnesses, and no consent from parents. Legal impediments can arise from a number of sources. If one partner was already married, then he or she cannot marry again. A man ordained to holy orders cannot marry anyone, and incestuous marriages cannot be contracted. Incest is defined as a marriage to anyone with whom you share an ancestor in the last four generations (that is, back to great-great-grandparents), or to someone who is a godparent. The incest taboos are carefully observed by the peasantry, who, as a result, generally know their ancestry at least four generations back. Nobles, who want advantageous alliances, will often obtain Papal dispensations to allow them to marry within the more distant incestuous degrees.

The church strongly encourages a more elaborate ceremony, and most people want one, so that it is clear that they are married. The couple declare their intentions at a troth-plighting. They join hands in the presence of their families, and other friends, give and receive a ring, and declare their assent to marriage. If the couple are old enough, they then retire and consummate the marriage. This ceremony, clearly, constitutes a canonical marriage. Some time later, generally when the bride is pregnant so that the groom knows she can bear children, the couple go to church. The priest meets them at the door and inquires whether there is any impediment to the marriage. The groom states the dower he is settling on his wife and gives her a ring and a small gift of money on the spot. They then declare their assent again, and the priest leads them into the church for the nuptial mass, which is followed by a feast. The elaboration of these ceremonies depends on the wealth of the parties to the marriage, but some peasants do not marry formally because they cannot afford the proper ceremonial.

Despite the church's emphasis on the consent of the people involved, marriages among the upper classes usually revolve around political and territorial alliances, with young girls being married off to old men, and boys to widows, and marriages being contracted between children of four and babies of a few months. Many people regard such practices with distaste, but there is no sign of them ceasing.

Ordination

The sacrament of ordination sets men apart for the service of God. It can only be performed by a bishop, and a man can only be ordained to each degree once. There are two classes of ordination: minor orders and holy orders. The minor orders are doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, and acolyte. Ordination to these orders requires little more than getting a hair-

cut. This, the tonsure, is distinctive and worn by all clerks. It is cut bald on the top of the head and short around the sides. Minor orders impose few duties, and in particular they do not prevent a man from marrying. Thus, most scholars are in minor orders, since this leaves a worldly career open to them.

Clergymen, even those in minor orders, are not supposed to get involved in the shedding of blood, whether as a robber, soldier, executioner, or judge handing down capital sentences. They also supposed to avoid dishonorable professions, such as moneylending or petty trading. However, since there is no record kept of those in minor orders, leaving them involves little more than growing your hair out again.

Holy orders are a much more significant step. The four holy orders, in ascending order of status, are subdeacon, deacon, priest, and bishop. A man ordained to holy orders must take a vow of celibacy, show that he is of legitimate birth (that is, that his parents were married at the time), and that he has some means of support which is appropriate to a clerical station. He should also pass a test of his learning, and be of good moral character. Papal dispensations can easily be obtained for illegitimate candidates for holy orders, and bishops are not always very thorough in checking education and means of support. For a man to be ordained priest, he must also be at least twenty five years old, although this can, again, be dispensed from by the Pope, and often is. Note that deacons and subdeacons cannot perform Mass or grant absolution, and their main role is to assist priests.

While not all monks and canons are clergy (and the original Benedictine rule assumed that few would be), it is normal practice in the thirteenth century for them to be ordained to minor orders, at least. Roughly speaking, about a quarter are ordained to the priesthood, about a quarter to the diaconate, about a quarter to the subdiaconate, and about a quarter are in minor orders only.

Extreme Unction

Extreme unction is an anointing with oil, given in preparation for death. It is normally given by a priest, as it is part of a sequence which starts with confession and absolution, followed by the anointing, and concluding with the eucharist. Most people do not receive it, however, because it is widely believed that if you do receive it, you will definitely die. People also believe that if you receive it and survive, you must then live a celibate life. The church rejects both beliefs as superstitions, but few outside monasteries and nunneries receive the sacrament, all the same.

Ecclesiastical Organization

Bishops

The bishops are the most important part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy — even the Pope's authority comes from his position as bishop of Rome. All bishops must be ordained bishop by at least two other bishops, and the line of ordination is believed to be unbroken all the way back to the twelve apostles, who are regarded as the first bishops. Every bishop is ordained to a diocese, and can only move to a different diocese by Papal dispensation.

In theory, the bishop is elected by the chapter, the group of clergy attached to the cathedral church. In England, about half of these chapters are made up of monks (Canterbury, Carlisle, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester), while the others are made up of secular clergy. The dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield and Bath and

Wells both have two groups of electing clergy; Coventry and Bath are monastic, while Lichfield and Wells are secular. In practice, influence can be brought to bear by the king or the Pope. Ultimately, the king can do nothing about the election if the chapter resists him (although he can make life difficult for the bishop), but the Pope can refuse to consecrate the elected bishop, and, if the election was disputed (which it must have been if the Pope is unhappy with the result), he may set aside the chapter's decision and install his own man.

The bishop gains a substantial income from his diocese, ranging from about £200 per year for Rochester to £3000 for Winchester. Durham, Canterbury, and Ely are also particularly wealthy, with incomes over £2000. It is not unknown for favored clerics to be moved from a poorer to a richer see. With such incomes, bishops normally live like members of the nobility, with large retinues, fine clothing, and superb meals.

The bishop's job is to support and oversee the clergy of his diocese. He has two main ways of doing this. The first is the diocesan synod, which is supposed to be held every year, usually in the autumn. All the clergy of the diocese are supposed to attend, although in the larger dioceses, such as Lincoln and York, the clergy of distant parishes rarely do. At these synods decrees are issued which deal with problems in the church; forbidding those in holy orders to keep women, for example, or requiring all priests to obtain a mass book.

The second, and more useful, episcopal power is the visitation. The bishop travels round his diocese, visiting the parish churches and religious houses and examining their behavior. It is very rare for the bishop to deprive someone of a benefice as the result of a visitation, but he will often require improvements to be made. Three things limit the effectiveness of visitations. First, the bishop may well be part of the royal administra-

Dioceses and Bishops in the Stonehenge Tribunal, 1220

Province of Canterbury

Diocese	Bishop
Canterbury	Stephen Langton (Archbishop)
Bath and Wells	Jocelyn of Wells*
Chichester	Ralph Wareham
Coventry and Lichfield	William of Cornhill
Ely	John de Fountains
Exeter	Simon of Apulia
Hereford	Hugh Foliot
Lincoln	Hugh of Wells*
London	William de St. Mere Eglise
Norwich	(Pandulf)†
Rochester	Benedict of Sawston
Salisbury	Richard le Poore
Winchester	Peter des Roches
Worcester	William of Blois

Welsh Bishoprics
(part of the Province of Canterbury)

Diocese	Bishop
St. Asaph	Renier
Bangor	Cadwgan
St. David's	Iorwerth
Llandaff	William

Province of York

Diocese	Bishop
York	Walter Gray (Archbishop)
Carlisle	Hugh of Beaulieu
Durham	Richard Marsh

* Jocelyn of Wells and Hugh of Wells are brothers.
† Pandulf is the Papal legate, and was elected bishop of Norwich in 1215. He has not yet been consecrated, because the Pope does not want his legate to be under the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury.

tion, in which case he will have little time for diocesan affairs. Second, many monasteries are exempt from the authority of their bishops, including all Cluniac and Cistercian houses. Finally, some of the dioceses are simply too large for one man to cover in any reasonable length of time, so that even the most conscientious bishop could only visit a parish once in several years. Of course, some bishops are simply lazy, and do not carry out their duties as well as they should.

Archbishops, as well as serving as bishops of their own dioceses, are supposed to oversee all the dioceses in their province. They call provincial synods from time to time, which are attended by all their subordinate (or suffragan) bishops and the heads of major religious houses, and some of them attempt to carry out visitations of the whole province, although this takes place even less often than an ordinary episcopal visitation. Since the archbishops have spiritual authority over large areas of the kingdom, the king usually tries to ensure that the person installed is favorable to him. This doesn't always work, and Thomas Becket is the most famous error.

Archdeacons

The archdeacon is the most active of a bishop's subordinates. He is responsible for enforcing canon law in a specified area of a diocese, known as an archdeaconry, for collecting fines, and for advising the bishop on the appointment of rectors. Archdeacons are not popular, as they are almost purely concerned with discipline and taxation, and they have a reputation for corruption that many of them bear out. An archdeaconry is, however, an important step in an ecclesiastical career. The number of archdeaconries depends on the size of the diocese. Chichester has two, while the immense diocese of Lincoln has eight.

Canon Law

Canon law is the law of the Church, binding on all its members, wherever they live. It is based on the law of the Roman Empire, as extended and modified by the decrees and decisions of the Popes. The line between ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction is not well defined, and is constantly disputed.

A Miracle of St. Wulfstan

Some merchants from Bristol were sailing to Ireland when they were caught up in a dreadful storm. The wind and rain raged, and the ship lost its oars, the ropes snapped, and finally the mast broke. The storm passed, but the ship was now drifting helplessly. The men on the ship saw nothing but death ahead of them. On the fourth day, one of the men was inspired by God, and spoke to the crew, "Those of you who are so lucky as to have Wulfstan as your bishop, pray now for aid."

Desperate, they did so, and it seemed to them as if Wulfstan himself came to ship, and went round it repairing the ropes and the mast. He encouraged the men to hoist the sail, telling them that he would see them safely to port. Then the vision disappeared, and the ship came safely home.

When this tale was reported to Wulfstan, he would not comment on it, other than to praise the mercy of God, but the report gave him great authority with the men of Bristol, and enabled him to abolish the slave trade there.

(Wulfstan was the bishop of Worcester for many years both before and after the Norman Conquest.)

— From the Life of St. Wulfstan by William of Malmesbury

The Visitation

The bishop comes to carry out his visitation of the parish church near the covenant. If the covenant gets on well with the priest, the bishop is likely to find the man's preaching a little dubious. If they are hostile, the priest has the perfect opportunity to report the covenant to someone powerful enough to do something about it. If they have done away with the priest altogether (visitations did sometimes discover that there had been no resident priest for years), then the bishop is likely to be very annoyed. Add to this a retinue of fifty people, and the situation could be very tricky indeed. If the covenant is pretending to be a religious house, then the bishop will come to visit *them*.

St. Thomas Becket was martyred in the course of a dispute over jurisdictions, showing how important these issues can be.

At one level, canon law is having an important influence on the development of political institutions. The notion of a corporate body was first developed to handle monasteries and cathedral chapters, and is now being applied, occasionally, in the secular world. Canon law also defines the duty of a ruler to take counsel and gain the consent of the ruled, precedents which are influencing the development of royal councils throughout Europe. In particular, the idea that a corporate body consents when a majority of its members do is well established, as is the idea that a small body, such as a cathedral chapter, can represent a much larger one, such as all the Christians in a diocese. Recently, canon lawyers have begun to suggest that subjects may violently resist a tyrannical ruler; indeed, some have suggested that this is a duty.

The influence of canon law on daily life is more important to most people. Canon law, as would be expected, controls the administration of the sacraments. This does have a few wide-ranging consequences. First, anyone who has been ordained, even to minor orders, is entirely under the jurisdiction of the canon law. Any crime that he commits, even murder, must be judged by a church court. Since ordained judges are not allowed to spill blood, the worst that is likely to happen is that the criminous clerk will lose his ordained status and be set a heavy penance, probably involving a pilgrimage. He cannot be tried in civil courts for the same offense. (This privilege was won by Becket's martyrdom, and no lord or king would dare to ignore it.) This protec-

Stephen Langton

Archbishop of Canterbury, born 1165, archbishop since 1207

Stephen Langton was born in Langton, in Lincolnshire, the eldest son of a minor landowner. He was an intelligent youth, and wished to enter the church. In 1180 he traveled to Paris, to attend the university there. He remained until 1206, a canon at the cathedral of Notre Dame, lecturing on theology. In that time he became the most noted teacher of theology in the university, and in 1206 he was made Cardinal Priest of St. Chysogonus.

In 1207 the monks of Canterbury elected him archbishop, and he was consecrated at Viterbo. However, he could not at this time move to England, as King John was hostile to the church, and the country was under interdict. Instead he resided at the abbey of Pontigny, where St. Thomas Becket had taken refuge, making occasional journeys to England in an attempt to bring the king to an agreement with the Pope. The dispute was over ecclesiastical elections, and at length King John came to terms, and Langton entered Canterbury in 1213.

He arrived in a divided country, and immediately set about trying to bring peace. He was influential in the drafting and signing of Magna Carta, but when the Pope declared that agreement null and void, and civil war broke out, Langton left the country, suspended from office by the Pope. He traveled to Rome for the Lateran Council, curing a demoniac on the way, and eventually had the suspension lifted, although he was not allowed to return to Canterbury until 1218.

In the last two years, Langton has played a minor role. Pandulf, the papal legate, took over from William Marshal as the regent for the young king, and the archbishop has had little to do with politics. That may be about to change. He has just completed an inquiry into the sainthood of Hugh of Lincoln, and will be involved in the formal coronation of Henry III in May. He plans to ask the Pope to remove the legate's authority, thus leaving the archbishop of Canterbury as the highest ecclesiastical authority in the land.

Langton is a tall and thin man, with a full head of graying hair. His voice is powerful, and he is an excellent public speaker, his skills honed over years of lecturing in Paris. His main aims are to see England at peace, with the church ruled by canon law and the realm by common law, and to ensure that the reforming decrees of the Lateran Council are implemented throughout his province. A scholar himself, he is sympathetic to scholars, and all too aware that good men can honestly differ on important points. He is, however, of the highest morals, and will tolerate error, but not sin.

tion also applies to layfolk closely associated with the church, most notably nuns.

The second large area that the sacraments bring under the church's notice is marriage. Some issues related to marriage, including many of those relating to property, fall within the purview of the civil courts, but most are church business. Thus, the church must decide whether a marriage is valid, which may be difficult if it was contracted secretly (see "Marriage," page 68). This can be important if one partner wants to marry someone else, or if the couple have died and their children wish to inherit as legitimate heirs. Church courts can also annul marriages, finding that the couple were never really married in the first place, because they were too closely related, or one partner did not give free consent. Canon law also covers all sexual misdemeanors, from fornication to sodomy.

Walter de Grey

Archbishop of York, elected 1215

Walter de Grey is the son of an important family, and was educated at Oxford, although he is no scholar. In 1205 he paid John 5000 marks for the office of chancellor, and devoted himself to carrying out the king's will. While this did not make him generally popular, he was well rewarded. In 1210 he was elected bishop of Lichfield at John's insistence, but the monks of Coventry elected Prior Josbert to the same post. In the end, both elections were quashed by Pandulf. In 1213 Walter temporarily resigned the chancellorship while he was sent as an ambassador to Flanders, but he took it up again in 1214. In the same year, he was elected bishop of Worcester.

In early 1215 John tried to impose him as archbishop of York, reputedly in fulfillment of a promise that he should have the next available archbishopric. The monks elected Simon Langton, Stephen's brother, instead. The king objected, and the election eventually found its way to the Pope, and the Lateran Council. The monks laid their case before the pontiff, as did Walter's supporters. The Pope refused to install Langton, probably in part because Stephen Langton was still suspended and Simon was suspected of worse crimes. He told the monks to hold a new election, and they elected Walter. He was present for the council, so he was immediately invested as archbishop and presented with the pallium.

On his return to England, Walter supported the young king, and Henry likes him. He was seriously ill for much of 1219, and thus has not done much since taking up his see. He has, however, got into a quarrel with Stephen Langton over whether he has the right to have his cross borne in front of him while he is in the southern province.

Richard de Marsh

Bishop of Durham, elected 1217

Richard's origins are obscure, and he is almost wholly a creature of King John. In 1197 he was an officer of the exchequer, and from 1207 he was in constant attendance on the king. From 1210 he advised the king on how he might extort the most money from the religious houses in England, particularly the Cistercians, thus making himself very unpopular with the church. John was reputed to have said that Richard de Marsh was his god during one dispute with an abbey. In 1214 he became chancellor, and he still holds that office today.

In 1217 he was, on Papal recommendation, elected bishop of Durham. This puts him at the head of one of England's two palatinates, giving him authority equal to that of the king within County Durham. Almost immediately he became embroiled in a quarrel with the monks of the cathedral priory. They accuse him of encroaching on their rights, and of other dreadful misdeeds. Reports of these vary, from fornication, through sodomy, to devil worship, depending in part on how far from Durham the story is being told.

Richard is greedy, authoritarian, and completely unscrupulous. He is ordained, but has shown no sign of respect for any part of the church other than himself. He owes his bishopric entirely to the Pope's effort to ensure that Henry is supported by friendly bishops in the first part of his reign.

The final such area is that of wills, where the church's responsibility for the dead brings then within its jurisdiction. The church encourages people to make wills, in part because the church cannot inherit by the laws of intestate succession, and it is the job of church courts to decide whether a will is valid. Canon lawyers hold that a person may leave his property to whomever he wishes, even if it seems unreasonable, but a will including a substantial donation to the church is, perhaps, more likely to be upheld.

Heresy is another area that falls under the church courts. However, this is not a major issue in England, which does not have a large heresy problem. The aim of the court is not to find and burn all heretics, but to bring people back into the fold of the church, so that repentant heretics will be let off with a penance. Further, the rules of evidence (see below, pages 75-76) make it very difficult to convict heretics in most cases.

Canon law also regulates a few rather less obvious areas of life. Defamation falls within the purview of the church courts. If one person accuses another of criminal behavior — calling them a thief, whore, perjurer, or sodomite, for example — then a prosecution can be brought in the church courts. If the insult is merely unpleasant — bastard, liar, or serf, for example — then there is no ground for legal action. If the case is brought, truth is no defense, unless the accusation was made and sustained in court. That is, even if a woman has been convicted of being a whore, you can still be successfully prosecuted for defamation if you call her such outside a court case.

Much of trade and industry also falls under canon law. It specifies days when people may not work — Sundays and Holy Days (holidays). More generally, it covers the rules of fair trade. The accumulation of wealth by honest labor or trading is seen as perfectly acceptable, and some canonists even encourage it. Once you have accumulated this wealth, you may do whatever you want with it. In particular, if the king tries to force you to give it to him, he is acting as a tyrant, and you may oppose him. This does not apply if you have consented, and so taxation can only be imposed with the consent of the realm.

The limits of honest labor are also set by the church. First, there are three different classes of occupation. Most respectable are those suitable for clergy, the clerical jobs. These are those jobs involving reading, writing, meditation and mental work. In the second category fall manual jobs which do not naturally tempt one towards sin, such as farming or most crafts. The third category contains jobs which put you at severe risk of sin, such as acting, tavernkeeping, and fortunetelling. The position of trading is somewhat ambiguous. While it does not involve much manual labor, it does involve temptations to usury (see below), and thus could be placed in the third category. Even such respectable positions as estate management or royal service are regarded as dubious, because of the temptations towards corruption.

Within any business, canon law forbids a number of unfair practices. First, it is illegal to charge interest on loans. This is usury, and is regarded as a major sin. One saint refused to eat a particular dish of meat, because the calf was descended in the seventh generation from a cow purchased with the profits of usury. The law is enforced quite rigorously against small-scale pawnbrokers and the like, but rich merchants can generally disguise the interest as something else — a share in profits, or a penalty for late repayment, for example.

It is also illegal to manipulate prices. The fair price is the market price: what the buyer is willing to offer and the seller, to accept. Any attempt to manipulate this, by, for example, cornering the wheat market in a particular town, is illegal. There are terms for many of these techniques. If suppliers withhold a product to drive the price up, that is forestalling, while buying up all supplies and then selling at a higher price is engrossing. However, buying something cheaply in one place, transporting it a substantial distance (not just from the market town to the village), and then selling it at a profit is regarded as fair. The profit is the merchant's recompense for the risk he has undertaken.

Canonical Procedure

In theory all canon law cases are judged by the bishop of the diocese, but in practice most now appoint deputies, known as their officials or officials principal, to hear the cases for them in what is known as the "consistory court." The bishop may still hear cases in person, and this is called the "court of audience."

If someone wishes to bring an action in the church courts, they must convince the judge, or more likely his clerk, that the case falls within that court's competence, and that there is a case to answer. If he agrees, the court sends a summons to the defendant, requiring him to appear in ten days' time to answer the accusations. If he fails to turn up, a second summons is sent, and a third, but if he fails to turn up a third time a summary judgment will be given, which becomes binding if the defendant does not turn up within a year to answer the case. Thus, the defendant gets thirty days to prepare a defense.

Once the defendant appears, the plaintiff must submit the libel, a formal, written account of the charges. The defendant then has the option of asking for twenty days in which to decide what to do, and, if necessary, to plan his defense. In this period, he can also raise "exceptions" against the libel. Peremptory exceptions allege that there is some fundamental error of fact or law, and if the judge rules for the defendant the case is dismissed. Dilatory exceptions allege some procedural error, such as that the judge chosen by the plaintiff is biased. The exceptions must be determined before the case can proceed, and the defendant pays all costs if the decision goes against him. However, since the ruling on an exception can be appealed to the Pope, these procedures can be used to delay cases almost indefinitely. Sometimes, cases are settled out of court while the exceptions are being determined.

If the preliminaries are got through and the case actually comes to trial, the plaintiff and defendant must both swear that they are undertaking the prosecution and defense honestly, and not through malice. The plaintiff must then produce good evidence. Essentially, this means either a confession from the defendant (given in court), or two witnesses who have both seen and heard the relevant event. "Witness" is interpreted very strictly. If a priest is accused of concubinage, the witnesses must have seen and heard him engaging in coitus with the woman. Seeing

An Engrossing Problem

If a covenant is living off stores of anything but cash, they could be brought before the church courts on a charge of engrossing. As long as their contacts are happy with them, there is unlikely to be a problem, but if they annoy a merchant he would probably have enough evidence to start proceedings against them. This could also apply if the covenant creates large quantities of some substance (to save vis), and then sells it off slowly to avoid flooding the market.

that they live together, and even seeing them naked in bed together, do not qualify. Thus, some crimes are very difficult to prosecute successfully.

After a decision is taken, either side may appeal. They may always appeal directly to the Pope, but that is very expensive. If the presiding official is a bishop, they may appeal to his archbishop. This can stretch the case out even further, because the same procedure applies again.

Criminal charges must be brought by an accuser, who faces severe penalties if the case is not proved. This discourages frivolous accusation, but also discourages genuine accusation of hidden crimes, such as heresy. Accordingly, the church has instituted two new procedures.

The first is investigation "through notoriety." If everyone knew who the criminal was, then the judge could pronounce sentence without going through the details of the procedure. However, it is obvious to everyone that this procedure is wide open to abuse, and thus it is not widely used. Indeed, some academic lawyers claim that for an offense to be truly "notorious," it must be committed in front of the judge, while he is sitting in court, with a large enough audience to constitute most of the community. (So calling someone a perjured sodomite during a court case for usury is probably a bad idea.)

The second is the inquisitorial procedure, and it has been introduced over the last twenty years. It is not much used in England, but is growing in popularity elsewhere. A judge may initiate an investigation on the basis of widespread belief that a crime has been committed, without waiting for an accuser or true notoriety. The judge decides which charges to bring, which witnesses to call, and how to rule on the case. The normal rules of evidence apply, in theory, and some judges think that confessions gained under torture are good evidence. Most disagree, however, pointing out that people will confess to anything while you are pulling out their toenails.

The accuser in a criminal proceeding, and both plaintiff and defendant in a civil proceeding, may employ a proctor, or legal representative. These individuals need not have formal training, but generally have extensive experience of the courts, and have full authority to make decisions on their clients' behalf. The defendant in a criminal proceeding may not employ a proctor, nor may he or she receive legal advice.

Punishment

The judge in a church court has wide discretion over the punishment of convicted criminals. The aim is to make the punishment fit the crime, and, if at all possible, to help with the reform of the criminal. There need be no correlation between the apparent severity of the crime, and that of the punishment. For example, a rich engrosser might be fined a very large sum of money and sent on a pilgrimage to Rome, because otherwise he would sin again, while a poor and repentant heretic might be set to fast for two weeks and abstain from sex for a year, just to make sure that his repentance is genuine.

Church courts may not invoke punishments that involve the shedding of blood, and imprisonment is not an option in most cases. Thus, their punishments involve fines, imposed fasting or sexual abstinence, pilgrimages to distant places, enforced labor in some good cause, confinement in a monastery (a good approximation to imprisonment), or, in extreme cases, excommunication. An excommunicated individual cannot take the sacraments, testify in trials, or, in theory, deal with anyone who is still in communion with the

Notorious Heretics

The local bishop sends an agent to the covenant, indicating that many people accuse them of heresy, that, indeed, their heresy is almost notorious, and that they should think about proving their fidelity to the true church by undertaking some task for him. If the claim is even half convincing (for example, most magi never attend mass) the magi would be well advised to comply, or they may face summary judgment. Once the task is completed, they might want to work on their public image.

church. Anyone who does deal with an excommunicate may be excommunicated himself. Thus, this is a terrible punishment, unless the victim is powerful, and might well prompt people to flee to a covenant.

In very serious cases, the court has the option of relaxation to the secular arm. The criminal is handed over to the secular authorities, who have the ability to maim, torture, and execute.

The Pope

The Pope is the head of the church, the source of canon law, and he must approve the appointment of bishops. He is also the ultimate court of appeal. In general, however, he has little to do with the day to day activities even of kingdoms. At present, however, there is a Papal Legate, Pandulf, in England. He has full papal authority, and, since King John swore fealty to the Pope, he is in theory the most powerful man in England, outranking both the king and the archbishop of Canterbury. England also pays an annual tax to the papacy, known as Peter's Pence. In theory, this is one penny for every household, but the actual amount is set by negotiations between the king and the Pope.

Popular Religion

Most Christians do not express their beliefs in the ways that learned theologians would choose, and sometimes not even in ways that their parish priest entirely agrees with. The line between popular religion and superstition is blurred, so that burying the consecrated Host under a floor could count as either, depending on whether the priest in question approved of it.

Saints

Saints, especially the Virgin Mary, are perhaps the most important feature of popular religion. Most people do not pray directly to God, rather asking a favored saint to intercede for them. This saint may be a personal favorite, or one with an acknowledged concern for a particular area of endeavor. Saints are generally believed to have more power in certain areas, generally near their earthly remains or other relics. The relics themselves are invested with a great deal of the saint's power, and the possession of relics is essential for a church.

This localization of power often leads to contests over the bodies of saints, with several churches wanting to be the burial place. Sometimes the body is split to accommodate this, at others the clergy of one church will take and keep the body by force. Occasionally

the saint will intervene in person, indicating where the body should be kept. This competition may not end when the body is installed, although then it becomes a case of "Our saint is better than your saint." Some recipients of miraculous cures testify that they visited several shrines before finally coming to the saint who succeeded in removing their affliction. This can lead to absurdity when two places claim association with the same saint, such as claims that the Virgin of Walsingham is more powerful than the Virgin of Ipswich.

Prayers to saints usually take the form of bargains — "If you save me now, I will do such and such for you." A common bargain is to vow a penny, by bending it between the fingers as the prayer is uttered, or to offer candles with a wick the same length as the body of the person to be healed. If the saint is deprived of his due, he can become quite vengeful, inflicting the disease again. Sometimes, the saint will do this if not offered the exact penny that was vowed.

The miracles, and behavior, attributed to saints were varied — see the legends in the sidebars for examples. Their essential attribute was their thaumaturgical power, and this could maintain a cult even when the church authorities did not fully approve. Of course, such a cult would be discouraged, possibly even persecuted, and so would most likely not last, but not all local saints were ever canonized by the Pope. (Theologically, this was not a problem, as canonization was merely human acknowledgment of a divine decision, and it was widely admitted that there were many saints who had not been canonized.)

A Miracle of St. Thomas Becket

A bird that had learned human speech was being chased by a hawk. As it fled, it cried out a phrase it had been taught, "Saint Thomas, help me!" At once, the hawk fell dead from the sky, and the bird escaped.

— From the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine

A Miracle of St. Erkenwald

After a fire in London, a new reliquary was being constructed for St. Erkenwald, whose relics had miraculously survived. A foolish man named Eustace was in the habit of visiting the place where it was being built, and distracting the laborers with drunken jokes and antics.

One day, he entered while the wooden sepulcher that was to hold the saint's relics stood open and, seized by a greater madness than usual, he lay down in the open shrine and began to call out, "I am the most holy Erkenwald; bring me gifts; ask for my help; make me a sepulcher of silver!"

As he was shouting these blasphemies, he was suddenly seized by a severe pain. His friends snatched him from the coffin and took him home, but he died within a few days, struck down by divine judgment.

— From The Miracles of St. Erkenwald

(St. Erkenwald was bishop of London in the seventh century, and is the patron saint of the city.)

Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage is an important part of devotion to the saints. It usually involves a visit to the saint's tomb, but other holy sites also attract pilgrims, such as sites of martyrdom, or of important visions. It is common to vow to visit a saint's tomb if he helps you out of trouble, particularly if the saint is local. Pilgrimages are also imposed as penances for serious sins. They may also be undertaken as a kind of holiday, especially by the well off, although as pilgrims are seen as holy, they can often live by begging. This is discouraged, especially for women, as they can be driven to prostitution if their money runs out.

Many pilgrims travel simply for the spiritual benefits, or for the break, but others go in the hope of seeing, or receiving, a miracle. It is believed that the closer you can get to the body of the saint, the greater your chances of a miracle, so the tombs are designed with holes into which a hand or head can be thrust, to touch the inner coffin. Sometimes people manage to climb inside the tomb, and

lie next to the coffin, although the tending monks don't much like this. People will often wait for some time near the tomb, to give the saint a decent chance to perform, before leaving, possibly to visit another saint.

The tombs themselves are quite ornate, and pious visitors often leave offerings of money on them. Candles and wax images of body parts that either have been healed or need healing are also popular, and other images, representing particular kinds of aid given or sought, are also left. These are cleared up to a certain extent, but as their presence is evidence of the saint's power and popularity, many of them are left in place. Some unscrupulous folk steal coins by pretending to kiss the tomb, but this invites divine wrath. To one side sits a literate clerk, assessing claims of miracles and recording those that seem to be genuine.

The four most important pilgrimage sites in England are the tomb of St. Thomas at Canterbury (see page 44), the tomb of St. Cuthbert at Durham (see page 45), the tomb of St. Edmund at Bury St. Edmunds (see page 82), and the tomb of St. Etheldreda at Ely. Sites of lesser, but growing, importance include the tomb of St. Godric at Finchale, near Durham, and the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham, in Norfolk.

Festivals

There are many festivals and holidays during the year, invariably connected with some saint or other major event of the Christian calendar. Although the main festivals are constant across Christendom, the way in which they are celebrated varies greatly from place to place. This section describes those customs that are common to most of England.

Christmas is the most important festival, although Easter is a more important religious date. Christmas sees the greater festival because it occurs in the middle of winter, when there is little work to do in the fields, and people thus have time to celebrate. The celebrations start on or a little before Christmas Day, and continue for the full twelve days of Christmas. Churches and houses are decorated with evergreen branches, particularly holly and ivy, and noble households hold great feasts. The greatest feast is often held on Twelfth Night, rather than Christmas Day, and the main dish is traditionally pork, with the boar's head forming the centerpiece of the display. At these feasts the Wassail Bowl or Cup will be passed round. This is a large bowl full of wine, which the host holds up, saying "Wassail." He is answered by the guests saying "Drinkhail," and he drinks from the bowl before passing it to the person next to him, who repeats the process. It is customary to give gifts around this time, whether on Christmas Day, January 1st, or Twelfth Night.

Saint Acies of Flambeau

Magi fulfill most of the criteria for sainthood: they have great power, being able to heal the sick and change the weather; they are more powerful in certain areas; and they are willing to smite their enemies and aid their friends in return for gifts. Thus, the local people might well decide that the magi are saints. This would draw the attention of the church, but if the magi spoke in support of the priesthood, paying tithes, and obeying the secular lords, and made a convincing show of orthodoxy, the priests might well confirm their sanctity, rather than stir up pointless trouble. They might even be convinced. The Order would not approve, but they can hardly declare a Wizards' March against acknowledged saints.

Pilgrimages to Adventure

Pilgrimages are a good way of getting characters to travel long distances. A pious character can have one imposed as penance (most player characters commit lots of sins), and even impious ones can have them imposed as penalties in a church court, perhaps as the result of a judgment from notoriety. Indeed, a court could impose the penalty on a fairly arbitrary group of characters, and the other members of the covenant would want to encourage them to go, to avoid further trouble. The pilgrimage could be to Canterbury, or to Rome, or to Jerusalem. On the way, the characters stumble across the storyguide's latest plot.

A custom observed at many cathedrals around Christmas is the Boy Bishop. One of the choristers is chosen on St. Nicholas's day to take the place of the bishop until Holy Innocents', the 28th of December. He wears full regalia, sings the services, and is treated with due reverence. As he is not ordained, he cannot actually celebrate the sacraments, but he takes on the other functions of the bishop. The Church generally looks favorably on this custom, only intervening when it threatens to get out of hand. More general "misrule" events are frowned upon, as they can involve mock services in praise of demons.

The 2nd of February is Candlemas, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. On this day everyone is expected to attend church, bringing a candle to be blessed by the priest, as they celebrate the coming of light into a dark world, both physically and spiritually. The candles are placed before the high altar, sprinkled with holy water, and perfumed with incense while the priest pronounces a blessing over them. After mass, the candles are carried round the church, but they are then kept and only lit in times of trouble, as a way of invoking divine aid.

Easter is preceded by the forty days of Lent, when all good Christians are supposed to fast, abstaining from meat in particular. Lent starts on Ash Wednesday, and so the preceding day, Shrove Tuesday, serves among the aristocracy as an opportunity for a feast. This doesn't extend to peasants, whose normal diet meets the church's requirements for a fast. Cock fighting is a traditional entertainment for the day. Nevertheless, people are expected to confess before the day ends, so that they start Lent with a clean slate.

On Ash Wednesday itself people are supposed to go to church in penitence, where they kneel before the priest. He blesses ashes, mixes them with holy water, and then either gives some to each person, or places some on their forehead, saying, in Latin, "Remember O Man that you are dust, and to dust you shall return." The more pious folk make the sign of the cross in the ash. In some churches the rood (the image of the cross) is covered with a veil on this day, and not uncovered until the end of Lent.

The Feast of the Annunciation, Lady Day, is the 25th of March, and thus falls within Lent. It is the first day of the New Year for many purposes. (Easter, January 1st, and the date of the king's accession (October 18th for Henry) can all serve this purpose as well.)

The end of Lent is first heralded on Palm Sunday, the Sunday before Easter, when Christ's entry into Jerusalem is remembered. The laity bring branches, usually of willow or yew, which are green at this time of year, to the church to be blessed, and then bear them in procession behind the priest, who carries the consecrated host. This procession goes out of the church, round it, and then back inside, where the story of the crucifixion is read. The priests and choir boys make small wooden crosses from the branches, which are distributed among the laity, and kept for their protective influence.

The Thursday before Easter is Maundy Thursday, and on this day the king recreates Christ's actions at the last supper. He washes the feet of thirteen paupers, and gives them a purse containing some money with which to buy clothes. The ceremony usually takes place in Westminster Abbey. A similar custom is also followed by high ecclesiastics.

Throughout the country the altars are washed on Maundy Thursday, while people have their hair cut and confess in preparation for Good Friday. Bishops also bless oil for use in extreme unction. Before the altars are washed there is an unusually solemn mass, to which the people are summoned not by bells, but by wooden clappers or rattles. At this mass, two additional hosts are consecrated.

On Good Friday, the crucifixion is commemorated. Mass is not celebrated, and the whole story of the Passion is read from St. John's gospel. At the end, the crucifix is placed on the altar steps and the priest and people crawl to it, on hands and knees, and kiss its feet. Communion follows, using one of the hosts consecrated on Thursday. The cross and the other consecrated host are then wrapped in cloths and placed in a sepulcher, a special niche on the north side of the church, which is closed with a cloth.

On Easter Sunday, before dawn, the host and crucifix are removed from the Sepulcher, often as part of a play in which the discovery of the empty tomb is recreated.

At Easter it is traditional to give gifts of colored eggs. These are usually hard-boiled, and are dyed while they are being cooked. Sometimes they are dyed a single color, and at others they are painted with elaborate designs. The royal household even gilds its eggs. These eggs may then be used in a variety of games: they may be rolled down hills, or used as weapons in an attempt to break other people's eggs. Generally, the owner of the egg that wins the race, or is the last unbroken, is held to have some special status, which varies from place to place.

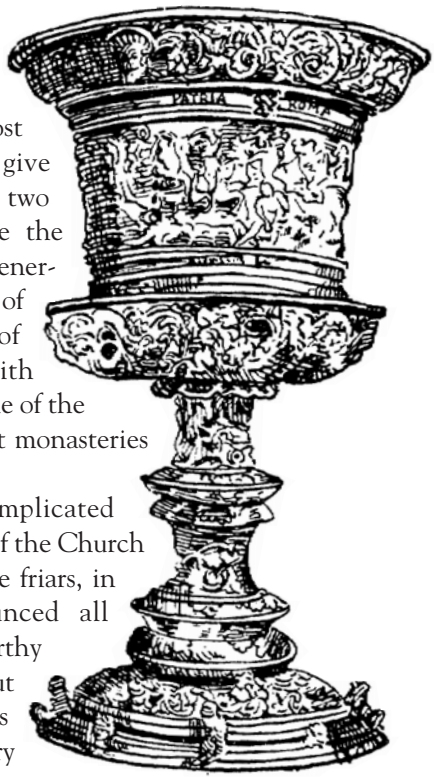
The first of May marks the beginning of summer, and is celebrated by going Maying. This involves bringing flowers from the surrounding country into a village. In some places a large pole is decorated with these flowers, and serves as the centerpiece of drinking and reveling which is universal.

Pentecost, or Whitsunday, which occurs seven weeks after Easter, celebrates the granting of the Holy Spirit to the early church, after Christ had ascended to heaven, which happened on Ascension Day, forty days after Easter. It is an occasion for feasting and games, as there are two holidays following it. The Sunday itself sees processions round the boundaries of the parish, which are often used to display pride in the community, and can lead to fights with members of neighboring parishes. The week after Whitsun is Trinity Sunday, which marks the end of the winter festivals.

Midsummer festivals are concerned with fire. The festivals are held on the 23rd of June, the eve of St. John's Day, and the 28th, the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. At these feasts three great fires are lit, one made of clean bones, called the bonfire, one of wood, called the wakefire because people sit by it and stay awake, and one of a mixture, called St. John's Fire. The smell of the burning bones is thought to drive away dragons and other malicious creatures. On the same day a large cartwheel is swathed in straw, so that none of the wood is visible, pulled to the top of a hill, and ignited before being allowed to roll down. If it reaches the bottom without being extinguished, this is a good sign.

The first of August is Lammas, the beginning of harvest, when God's bounty is celebrated. This day is a common one for fairs, the appointment of officials, and similar things, and is marked by games and celebrations. These cannot be too rowdy, however, as the harvest must be brought in. At the end of harvest, in September, the workers are feasted by the lord of the land. The last day of October is the feast of the dead, and is followed by All Saints, when all those in heaven are remembered. In November, around Martinmas, the eleventh, animals are slaughtered for winter, and this is usually the occasion for a feast, as some of the meat can be eaten fresh. Advent, the approach to Christmas, begins on the fourth Sunday before Christmas, at the end of November, and the cycle of the year is complete.

Alms



Almsgiving is a Christian duty, as well as an expression of the virtue of charity, and most of those with money give some of it away. The two recipients of charity are the Church and the poor, generally in that order. Most of the great cathedrals of England were built with donations from the people of the diocese, and all the great monasteries had their origin in a gift.

The picture is complicated because many members of the Church are regarded as poor. The friars, in particular, have renounced all wealth and are thus worthy recipients of charity, but as monks also take vows of poverty, a monastery

serves as an equally worthy recipient.

Slightly less worthy, but still with a strong claim, are those who have been impoverished through no fault of their own, and who do not complain about their state. "Impoverished" is a relative term; a knight who could no longer afford to maintain a horse might count, even though he were vastly richer than most peasants. Sometimes, these people are not really poor, but rather powerless: widows and orphans fall into this category. These people seldom need financial assistance, but might be desperate for other kinds of aid. However, hard-working peasants facing starvation as a result of a poor harvest have a very strong claim on charity, and some relief will almost always be provided.

Those who are poor through their own fault, or who rail against their lot in life, are regarded as least deserving, perhaps not even deserving at all. Wastrels who spent all their money, or peasants who grumble about the relative wealth of the nobility, fall into this class.

Gifts are given both in life and at death, although the church encourages people to give while they are still alive, as the deed garners greater merit. Testamentary gifts are often to priests for the purposes of praying for the departed, and for feeding a number of paupers at the funeral, thus guaranteeing a good crowd.

Private Devotion

Devotion in 1220 is still centered on the parish church, and private chapels are very rare. Nevertheless, people do extend their religious practice into their daily lives. One way is to extend some approximation of the canonical hours to domestic life. This could be as simple as morning and evening prayers, or, for the wealthy, as elaborate as any monastery.

Few people have access to devotional literature, as it is still written almost exclusively in Latin. Thus, much private devotion takes forms at which the church might look askance. Particular prayers are recited to ward off harm, or blessed items, such as candles, are taken from the church to perform some other function. In the overwhelming majority of cases such actions have no pagan undertones; the people are simply acting out their Christianity as best they can.

Religious gilds are also an important part of private devotion. These groups dedicate themselves to a saint, usually the patron of the parish church, and commit themselves to giving alms to living members in difficulties, and to burying and praying for members who die.

Heresy

There is little heresy in England in 1220, in marked contrast to other parts of Europe. Certainly, many of the laity hold beliefs that are not quite what the Church teaches, but priests are instructed not to pry into these as long as the person expresses a desire to believe as the Church believes. While there are, no doubt, a number of isolated heretics throughout the country, there are no organized groups or heretical churches to compare to the Cathars in southern France.

Places

Bury St. Edmund's

The abbey was founded in 633 by King Sigebert, and around 900 the body of King Edmund, who had been martyred by the Danes, was brought there, and the monastery was rededicated to the royal martyr. The king was decapitated on his death, and his head guarded by a wolf until a priest was led to it by a dream. King Cnut built a fine, round shrine for the royal saint in the early eleventh century, and it still stands in the Abbey Church.

The abbey is extremely wealthy, having been richly endowed by its founder, Cnut,

and Edward the Confessor. It is also exempt from visitation by the bishop of Norwich and the archbishop of Canterbury, thus answering only to the Pope. Within a mile of the abbey, the abbot has the authority of a bishop, and thus the right of visitation in the parish churches. The abbot is also the king's representative in the whole of West Suffolk. The abbot is responsible for collecting taxes, seeing justice done, and enforcing royal writs; the sheriff has no authority in the area.

The town of Bury St. Edmund's is wholly under the abbey's control, a situation that does not please all the citizens. The abbot expelled the Jews in 1190 after the citizens rioted against them, and thus secured some degree of popularity. However, as more towns in England gain borough charters the citizens of Bury are starting to seek more freedom.

The abbot of St. Edmund's is Hugh, who was elected in 1215 after a long and bitter dispute that involved the king and Pope, as well as the monks of the abbey. The monks elected Hugh in 1212 without making reference to the king's will, and, while this was perfectly in accord with canon law, it did not please King John. About half of the monks thought that Hugh should be ejected and the king's man installed, and the dispute was heard before many judges. In the end, it was settled at Runnymede, the day before Magna Carta was signed.

As befits a wealthy house and center of pilgrimage, the abbey has glorious buildings. There are two parish churches, those of St. James and St. Mary, within the boundaries of the abbey, and the abbey church itself is one of the largest churches in Europe. The west entrance is flanked by two great octagonal towers, topped with spires, and the crossing point is surmounted by a further tower. Until recently, the crossing tower was also topped by a spire, but that fell in 1210.

Fountains

Fountains Abbey is a Cistercian foundation, one of the largest in England and the motherhouse of a filiation extending throughout the country and as far as Norway. It was founded in 1132 by monks from York. They had been inspired by the example of the

Henry of Essex

Henry of Essex was one of Henry II's constables, and a great and powerful man. Alas, he not only failed to give St. Edmund his due, but also tried to take the saint's privileges away. The wicked man unlawfully deprived the saint of rents worth 5s, and tried to have a case transferred from the saint's court to his own on false grounds.

But wicked men do not enjoy prosperity for ever, and in March of 1163 he was accused of treason by Robert de Montfort. Henry declared that he was innocent, and refused to back down before the accusations, so the king ordered that the matter be resolved by a duel.

The duel was held at Reading, on an island near the abbey, and a great crowd of people came to see it. Robert fought well and courageously, and struck blow after blow, slowly gaining the upper hand. At this point Henry looked around, and was astonished by what he saw.

There, at the water's edge, was the glorious figure of St. Edmund, king and martyr, dressed in armor and apparently floating in mid air. The saint looked at Henry with angry eyes, shaking his head repeatedly and gesturing in an angry fashion. With him was another figure, of lower rank and head and shoulders shorter than the saint, who also looked on him with fury. This was Gilbert de Ceriville, whom Henry had had put in chains and tortured to death, on the basis of a false accusation from Henry's wife.

Henry was frightened by this vision, and sure that his wicked deeds were catching up with him. In desperation he turned to the attack, striking out violently. But the more he struck out, the more he was struck, until he fell to the floor and was left for dead. At the plea of his relatives his body was taken up by the monks of Reading, and when he recovered from his wounds he took the monastic habit, so as to finish his days in virtue.

— From Jocelin of Brakelond, Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds

Cistercians to seek a reform of York Abbey, but the abbot had refused. In the end, the archbishop took them under his protection, and gave them some land to support their new home.

At first, things were very hard. The monks had to shelter among the rocks and caves, before they managed to build a temporary house under a large elm tree, which is still standing. In 1133 they applied for membership in the Cistercian Order, and were admitted as a daughter house of Clairvaux. In the same year a wooden monastery was built, finally giving the monks adequate accommodation. Unfortunately the harvest failed, and the monks were reduced to eating a gruel made from the leaves of their elm tree. In 1134 it seemed clear that the community would fail, and Abbot Richard obtained St. Bernard's permission to abandon the abbey.

While he was away, however, the community's fortunes had changed. Three wealthy churchmen had joined the abbey, bringing their status and their wealth with them. The money was split into three equal parts: one for the poor, one for immediate needs, and one for a building fund. With their immediate survival assured, the monks began to attract benefactions, and the abbey started to grow. In 1135 the abbey was formally admitted into the Cistercian Order.

The abbey's new prosperity allowed it to build in stone, and to begin founding daughter houses. In total, eight other monasteries were founded from Fountains, including one at Lysa in Norway. In 1144 a new abbot, Henry Murdac, was sent from France to bring the abbey into line with current Cistercian practice, and to oversee rebuilding. This he did enthusiastically, but he also involved the abbey in a dispute over the election to the archbishopric of York. In 1147 the sitting archbishop was deposed, and Henry elected in his place. However, feeling against him ran so high that he was unable to enter the city, and a mob sacked and burned Fountains.

Over the next thirty years the abbey was greatly expanded, to nearly its current size, and greater ornamentation began to be used in its decoration. There followed a period of consolidation, but the opening of the thirteenth century saw renewed building, extending the choir of the church in a fine Gothic building. A new abbot, John of Kent, has just been elected to replace John de Fountains, who has just become bishop of Ely. He has further plans for expanding his monastery.

The abbey has about 120 monks and 400 lay brothers at Fountains, and more lay brothers at outlying granges. It owns a great deal of property in Yorkshire, and some in Cumbria, all of which it manages directly. It produces more than it needs, and owns properties in a number of towns, including York and Boston, to help it trade the surplus.

Glastonbury

Glastonbury is the oldest and richest monastery in England, the isle of Avalon, and the burial place of Arthur. It stands on an island in the fens of Somerset, near the commanding height of Glastonbury Tor. The first church on the site was built by Christ himself when he visited the country with Joseph of Arimathea, and dedicated to his virgin mother.

Joseph later stood at the foot of the cross as Christ died, catching Christ's blood in a vessel which he took away with him. Joseph buried the body in his tomb, and after the resurrection he was imprisoned by the Jews for burying Jesus. He was miraculously released, and left the Holy Land, traveling west with eleven companions. At length they reached Glastonbury, and found the church waiting for them. They built twelve huts, and lived holy lives there. The local kings, impressed with their sanctity, granted them twelve hides of land, one for each of the priests, which are still held by the abbey.

At length, these men all died, and the monastery was abandoned for some time. In the second century St. Phagan and St. Deruvian came to Britain and converted the natives, finally coming to Glastonbury, where they established a new community. Later, just before the time of Arthur, St. Patrick came

from Ireland to Glastonbury. The monks, seeing that he was a holy man, demanded that he became their abbot, and he reluctantly agreed, bringing them all under a rule of life.

In the time of Arthur, the abbey was the most important in his realm. St. Gildas was a monk at the abbey, but his brother Hueil was a king in Scotland, and fought against Arthur. The saint reconciled them, and finally died and was buried under the pavement of the old church.

St. Collen lived around the same time, a hermit closely associated with abbey, living on the side of the Tor. One day he heard two men discussing Gwynn ab Nudd, saying that he was king of the faeries and Annwfn. He was exasperated, and told them that the faeries were nothing but pagan demons. The men told him that he would soon see Gwynn ab Nudd himself, and indeed a finely garbed messenger came that very night and took him to a fine castle on the Tor, where beautiful maidens served valiant knights. He was taken before Gwynn, seated on a golden throne, who asked him whether he had ever seen men in finer clothes than his in red and blue. The saint replied that the clothes represented punishment, the red being fire and blue extreme cold. He then sprinkled holy water over them, and they, and the castle, disappeared.

After the death of Arthur and his burial at the abbey, the times were hard, and the monastery was nearly deserted. Indeed, the very location of Arthur's grave was lost. In the sixth century St. David came from Wales to rededicate the old church, but was told in a dream that God himself had dedicated it, and it would be sacrilege to repeat the ceremony. He was wounded in his hand as a sign, and then healed as he consecrated the host in the church. St. David returned to Wales to die, but the monks claim that his relics were brought to Glastonbury in the ninth century. The cathedral chapter of St. Davids disagrees.

In the tenth century St. Dunstan was closely associated with Glastonbury. He was a handsome man, a skilled craftsman and artist, as well as a learned man and superb administrator. Although he lived chastely all his life, he was greatly attracted to women and found this a great trial. One time, while he was yet young and working in his shop in the abbey, the devil took on human form and came to stand outside the window and talk to him. The saint seemed willing to talk, as he was finishing his labor, and the devil quickly turned the conversation to women, seeking to distract the saint with ribald stories. Dunstan merely nodded, heating his tongs in the forge. Then, as the devil talked, he turned and seized his nose with the tongs, twisting it. The devil, maddened by the pain, fled screaming "What has that man done! What has that man done!"

St. Dunstan went on to be archbishop of Canterbury and led a great reform of the

Abbot Thurstan

A wicked dissension arose between Thurstan and his convent. He rejected the Gregorian chant, and tried to force the monks to use that of William of Fécamp. He also spent the abbey's wealth on his own business, and reduced the food given to the monks. They, especially the older ones, took this ill, and found his foreign habits hard to tolerate.

One day Thurstan entered the chapter in an agitated frame of mind, and began to address the monks angrily on these matters. They refused to bend to his will, and, in a moment of rage, the abbot summoned his soldiers to arms. The monks were terrified when they saw this, and fled to the church.

The servants of Belial followed them, however, breaking down the doors and attacking them with bows and arrows. Reverence for the holy place and the saints did not stop them until they had killed one of the monks, transfixing him with a lance as he embraced the holy altar, and had slain another with arrows at its foot. The monks then defended themselves as far as they were able, and drove the attackers from the choir with benches and sticks.

One of the soldiers, more tenacious in wickedness then the others, saw a monk holding up a silver cross as a shield, and let an arrow fly at him. By God's grace the arrow wounded the Lord's image, striking it below the knees and bringing forth a stream of blood. The sight of this drove the man who had fired the arrow mad, so that he left the church and fell, breaking his neck and giving up his soul. The others fled at the sight, but they did not escape divine punishment.

— From John of Glastonbury's Cronica

English church, revitalizing monasticism everywhere, but Glastonbury retained a special place in his heart. The monks of the abbey claim that they rescued his relics from Canterbury during the Danish raids of the eleventh century, but the monks of the cathedral claim that they are still there. King Edgar, who was greatly guided by St. Dunstan, gave many gifts to the abbey and was, at the end, buried there.

The monastery then lived peacefully until the Norman Conquest, when the Conqueror installed a Norman Abbot, Thurstan. He tried to impose foreign customs, with disastrous consequences. (See insert, page 85) As a result of this scandal Thurstan was removed, but in later life he bribed William Rufus to restore him to the abbacy, although it brought him no joy.

In 1184 the abbey was smitten by a terrible fire, which destroyed all the buildings, including the old church. Work immediately began on rebuilding, and a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary was built on the site of the old church. The rebuilding of the great monastic church was also begun, and the monks first used it at Christmas 1213, although it is not yet complete.

From 1195 to 1219 the abbacy was united with the bishopric of Bath. This was a bad time for the abbey, as its revenues were appropriated to serve the bishop's political ends. In 1219 the monks obtained a privilege from Pope Honorius III dissolving the union, and confirming the abbot's right to wear a bishop's miter and bless clerical vestments. The first abbot elected freely under this regime was William of St. Vigor, who is still the abbot now.

Chapter 7
The Nobility

The nobility are at the top of the feudal hierarchy. Most of the nobility of England are descended from men who came over with William the Conqueror, and some of them still speak Norman French as their first language. It should be remembered that Henry is also lord of a large portion of France and Ireland, and a number of English nobles hold, or held, land across the seas. This is less common than it was before 1204, when Philip of France expelled John from Normandy. All landholders were required to choose their English or French lands, and many families split into two branches, appointing a younger brother as lord of one set of holdings. There were a few exceptions, most notably William Marshal, who managed to hold on to both sets of land.

The only noble title in England is that of earl. Anyone who holds land directly of the king is a baron, even if he holds only a single manor, and other landholders are knights or lords. An earl (count, if his lands are in France — either way, his wife is a countess) holds extensive lands directly of the king, and has been granted the title by his liege lord. The title is not hereditary, although the lands are, and it is common for the king to grant the title to an earl's heir. The title of earl entitles you to a third of all royal fines imposed in the county, but grants no special legal authority.

There are three important foreigners who hold land in England. Their English fiefs tend to be used to provide political leverage, either by the holders or by those who want to influence them. For example, the English king can threaten to confiscate the lands if the holder acts against England. Alexander II, king of Scotland, holds the earldoms of Cambridge, Northampton, and Huntingdon, and his cousin John holds them as his vassal. Peter de Dreux, duke of Brittany, claims the title of earl of Richmond, and Aimory de Montfort, count of Montfort and Toulouse, claims the earldom of Leicester.

Daily Life

Diet

Bread and ale form the basis of the aristocratic diet just as of the peasant's. The nobility eat white bread and drink good ale, and both are normally prepared at the noble's residence. The nobility differ from the peasantry in the amount of meat and fish that they consume; at least one will be served at every meal. Fish is eaten on Fridays and Saturdays, and often also Wednesdays, during the six weeks of Lent, and on the days before major feasts (the vigils). Otherwise, meat is eaten. This means that fish and meat are eaten in approximately equal amounts over the year.

Fresh meat is eaten all year round, as the aristocracy can afford to keep animals alive over the winter, although some salted meat is also consumed. Roughly half the meat eaten is beef, a quarter pork, and an eighth each for

mutton and poultry. The animals slaughtered are generally older ones, except in the case of pigs and poultry, which are often slain after one year. Thus, the meat is often quite tough.

Game, such as rabbits and game birds, provides an important prestige component to the diet. Venison, in particular, while not eaten in large quantities, is very important as a mark of status, as it is only eaten by those who can afford to maintain a deer park, and then hunt them.

All households maintained a stock of preserved fish, dominated by "white" (salted) and "red" (smoked) herrings, along with salted or dried white fish, such as dried cod ("stockfish"), ling, or winterfish. Salt salmon and salt eels are also stored. These stores are supplemented by regular purchases of fresh fish. Fresh sea fish is available anywhere in the country, as no part of England is very far from the coast and fishmongers are skilled at keeping their wares fresh for transport. Whitefish, shellfish, crustaceans, and marine mammals such as porpoises are all consumed on a regular basis. Freshwater fish, such as eels and dace, form a basic part of the diet, while the larger species, such as pike and bream, serve as prestige dishes.

Wine is mainly imported from Gascony, and is thus quite expensive. Only the richer magnates can afford to drink it on a regular basis, while knights holding a single manor have to settle for occasional indulgence at feasts.

Spices are also eaten, and the term covers two types of food. First, there are dried fruits (currants, dates, figs, prunes, raisins), almonds, and rice. These are relatively cheap, and consumed in some quantities by all levels of the aristocracy. Second, there are the condiments, such as cinnamon, cloves, ginger, mace, pepper, and sugar, which are used

mainly by the higher nobility. Saffron is in an expensive class of its own, and is restricted to the very highest nobility. The lower nobility often substitute locally produced flavorings, such as onions, garlic, salt, vinegar, and mustard, for the more expensive imported spices.

Eggs are eaten in substantial numbers, often with fish, but dairy produce and vegetables play a minor role in the diet. Fresh fruit, mainly apples and pears, is occasionally used to make delicacies, but garden produce is generally associated with poverty and penance.

The aristocratic diet is maintained throughout the year, and despite anything short of the most major famine. It also draws on recipes from all over Europe, so that the nobility in England eat similarly to those in the Holy Roman Empire or southern France. There are regional differences, but a noble traveling to other households would find much that was familiar.

Clothing

Both sexes wear linen undergarments, a shirt and shorts for men and a long smock for women. Men's shorts are held up with a cord, to which stockings and even pouches are attached.

Men wear tunics, either short, reaching to the knee or calf, or long, reaching to the ground. A girdle is usually worn, and the tunic hitched through it to raise the hem. There are two main styles of sleeve, both tight at the wrist, but one opening all the way from the shoulder to the waist at the top, and then narrowing rapidly. The skirt is usually slit in front up to the girdle.

Over the tunic, men wear either a tabard or a herygoud. The tabard consists of two panels, front and back, reaching down to calf level or lower. The neck is wide, and the two

panels are sewn or clasped together for a short distance at the waist. The herygoud is a voluminous garment, hanging to the ankles or just below the knees. It has large tubular sleeves, reaching well below the hands, with vertical slits in the upper part through which the wearer can put his arm. It is usually hooded. Cloaks are sometimes worn over this layer, and these are often lined with fur, and hooded for traveling.

Short and long stockings are worn, and they may have feet, stirrups, or open ends. Short stockings are often decorated at the upper border, while long ones are generally attached to the shorts tie. Shoes and boots are both worn, shoes often being open over the top of the foot, and cut high behind the ankle.

On their heads, men often wear separate hoods, which sometimes extend into a gorget covering the shoulders. The coif, which fits close to the whole head, closing under the chin, is also popular, as are hats with large brims, especially for traveling. Men wear their hair with a center parting or fringe, and waved to the nape of the neck, with moderately long beards and mustaches. Young men wear their hair shorter and bobbed, and are clean-shaven.

The highest ranks wear gloves, which reach either to the wrist or the elbow. They are often decorated with a broad band of embroidery, reaching down the back to the knuckle, and royal gloves may be jeweled. Gilded or silver buttons are used as ornaments, and all garments may be decorated by bands of embroidery, or by patterns dyed into the cloth.

Women wear a kirtle, which is very long, often with a train, and belted with a girdle. The neckline is around the collarbone, or has a V-shaped opening which is closed at the throat with a brooch. Over the kirtle they wear a voluminous surcoat, which has a wide neck opening. If it has sleeves, they end at the elbow and are very wide, but a sleeveless version is common. The surcoat is often lined with fox or squirrel fur. Women's cloaks are very long, with a train, and are often hooded for traveling. Stockings, generally reaching to the knee and kept up by ties, are worn. Long stockings are not, because women have nothing to tie them to at the top. Shoes are similar to those worn by men.

Headwear is quite varied, but women must wear something on their heads. The veil is a piece of cloth placed on the head so that a straight edge hides the hair on the forehead, while the rest drapes over the head and neck, and is crossed in front of the neck. The wimple, made of fine white linen or silk, covers the neck, and drapes down over the bosom. The ends are drawn up to frame the face, and

Major Nobility

Main Holdings in England
Ranulf, earl of Chester (absent on Crusade)
William de Albini, earl of Arundel (absent on Crusade)
William de Beauchamp of Bedford
Henry de Beaumont, earl of Warwick
Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk
Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford
Gilbert de Clare, earl of Hertford and Gloucester
Henry de Coleville of Bytham
William de Ferrers, earl of Derby (absent on Crusade)
William de Fors, count of Aumale*
Walter de Lacy of Ewias Lacy and Meath
William Longespee, earl of Salisbury
William de Mandeville, earl of Essex
Roger de Quency, earl of Winchester
Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon†
Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford
Robert de Vieuxpont, lord of Westmoreland
William de Warenne, earl of Surrey

Main Holdings in Wales
Reginald de Braose
William Marshal, earl of Pembroke
John of Monmouth
Hugh de Mortimer of Wigmore

** The county of Aumale is in Normandy, and was seized by Philip of France. William de Fors retains the title, but not the land.*
† Baldwin is two years old, so the county is ruled on his behalf by Falkes de Bréauté.

pinned to the hair over the ears, generally under the veil. Alternatively, women may wear a barbette, a linen band passed under the chin and pinned on top of the head. The hair is kept under the barbette by a hair net, and a fillet, a stiffened linen circlet of varying width, is worn over the top. A gold circlet or coronet is often worn inside the fillet. Hair is generally invisible in married women, turned back from the forehead and twisted or plaited into a roll at the back of the head. Unmarried girls, however, wear it long and loose, often with a chaplet of flowers or gold.

Gloves are often worn, to protect the hands from sunburn, and chaplets, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and ornamental buttons are popular forms of jewelry.

Very young babies are swaddled (wrapped in bands of material), and young children are dressed like women, whatever their sex. From the early teens, they dress similarly to adults of their own sex.

Property

Nobles, naturally, own particularly fine versions of all the necessities of life: furniture, tableware, and so on. The main areas of extravagant consumption are in textiles, silver, and buildings. Elaborate tapestries are a popular form of decoration, and are used as bed covers, or as hangings around the bed. Silver items come in many forms, in particular, bowls, jugs, plates, and spoons. Both of these sorts of things vary enormously in value depending on the craftsmanship, and, in the case of silver, the weight. Silver is often bought as a good way of storing surplus wealth, and thus is often sold when times are hard, or when the noble otherwise needs ready cash.

Most members of the nobility do not live in castles, which are reserved for the highest ranks and the most wealthy. The houses for most nobles are built around a great hall, usually with the private, or solar, wing at one end, and the kitchen wing at the other.

The hall itself is usually approximately

Noble Incomes

Noble incomes are derived almost exclusively from land. An annual income of £5 or more from rents on land makes you a minor member of the gentry, and an income of £20 qualifies you for knighthood. The incomes of the greatest nobles can reach several thousand pounds per year.

Noble Prices

Good Ale	1/2d per gallon
Wine	2d – 6d per gallon
Wine is often bought in pipes (120 gallons) and tuns (240 gallons).	
Spices	
Dried fruit, almonds, rice	1d – 3d per pound
Cinnamon, *etc.*	1s – 3s per pound
Saffron	10s per pound
Feeding a lord	3d – 1s per day
Maintaining a horse	1/4d – 3d per day
Warhorse	£20 – £80
Riding Horse	£10
Draught Horse	10s
"Chariot"	£2
A large, four wheeled coach drawn by five or six horses.	
Barge	£2
Tallow candles	1/2d per pound
Wax candles	2d per pound
A play, or similar entertainment	3s
This is the total cost of production, not a "ticket price".	
A suit of armor	£6
Tapestries	10s – £6
Bed clothes	5s – £1 per bed
Silver bowl/jug *etc.*	10s
Silver cutlery	2s per piece
A book	10s
Fur trimmings for one set of clothes	£1 – £1 10s
Manor gatehouse (stone)	£15
Manor gatehouse (timber)	£7
Manor house (timber)	£10
Manor house (stone)	£20
Castle (timber)	£20
Minor castle (stone)	£500
Moderate castle (stone)	£1500
Major castle (stone)	£10000
Castle maintenance	£40/year
Castle wall tower (stone)	£100
Marriage of a daughter	One and half years' income
Funeral of a lord	One year's income

twice as long as it is wide, and divided into three aisles by two rows of pillars, which support the roof. These pillars define a number of bays, normally three to five. The largest halls are around one hundred and twenty feet long, although a length of around fifty feet is more usual. The walls normally reach at least two floors, or about twenty feet, in height, and the roof is pitched, rising another ten to fifteen feet. Ceilings are rarely installed, so the beams are visible, and these include large beams across the width of the central aisle, supported on the pillars. These beams support a small central pillar, the crown post, which in turn supports the ridge of the roof.

The solar wing contains the private quarters of the lord and his family. It extends at least the width of the hall, often extending beyond to form a wing, and has at least two floors, to match the height of the hall. Three floors are common. The rooms in this wing are usually about half the size of the great hall, with lower ceilings, and are often provided with fireplaces. Latrines are usually built into the corners of the structure, sometimes extended out a little way to reduce the smell. The ground floor is sometimes vaulted in stone, and only accessible from the lord's chamber above, forming a secure storeroom for valuables and records. The kitchen wing is at the other end of the great hall, and generally has only two floors.

The main entrance to the building is in the great hall, at the kitchen end. Sometimes, there are two doors opposite each other, in which case some kind of screen is normally built to reduce drafts, creating an entrance passage. Doors are normally topped with a pointed arch, while ground-floor windows are often little more than slits in the wall. Higher windows generally have two lights, separated by a pillar, and the tops of the windows are normally in the form of a rounded trefoil. Both lights may be surrounded by a pointed arch, in which case the space above and between them is often pierced, either with a circle or some more elaborate shape, such as a quatrefoil. Glass is still very rare, even in the richest houses.

Floors may be tiled, covered with rushes, made from wood, or flagged in stone, but they are never carpeted, as such textiles are far too valuable to be walked on. Walls are usually painted with scenes drawn from legends or religious texts, although richer households will hang tapestries.

Household

All lords have a household, and its size and splendor are an important way of maintaining position. The lord's immediate family — his wife and children — form the nucleus of the household, and the wife might have considerable influence, especially if her husband is absent. A widow might well take control of the whole household, especially if she has no adult sons.

The other members of the household fall into three groups: the knights, the clerks, and the servants. Household knights are normally landless, supported by the lord from his own income. This usually involves some cash payment, but also the provision of robes at great holidays, particularly Christmas and Whitsun, and of horses and armor. This group of knights, known as the mesnie, is expected to be totally loyal to the lord, and since their careers depend entirely on him, they usually are. Only the richer members of the nobility can afford to support knights, and the very largest mesnies, with the exception of those in the royal family, have about a dozen members.

All households also have a group of clerks, both in minor and major orders. While a few, the chaplains, are responsible for the spiritual needs of the lord and household, the others, simply called clerks, are responsible for book-keeping, drafting letters, and monitoring legal cases. Written records are of increasing importance in law and the management of estates, and many lords can read and write their native language (sometimes English, usually still French). However, they are rarely able to read Latin, and could not, if great lords, handle all their business in person anyway, so the retention of clerks is essential. Even the lowest nobles generally employ at

least one clerk, and the highest can have as many as a dozen.

Both the mesnie and the clerks can be close friends of the lord, as well as his employees. They generally expect to profit from their association, and lords who acquire influence are expected to use it to benefit their household. Genuine loyalty and affection are fairly common, although antagonism between the knights and the clerks is equally frequent.

The servants are not in the confidence of the lord, but no less essential to the household. They cook, clean, and maintain the lord's property. A major lord would have several dozen servants, with maybe two dozen traveling with him while the others remain at his various seats to keep them in good shape. A minor lord might have only a handful.

In the larger households some members may be appointed to positions of authority over the others. In general, the marshal is in charge of the mesnie and the servants, while a chancellor may be appointed to keep an eye on the clerks. Seneschals are appointed to look after castles or manors while the lord must be elsewhere, and are drawn from the knights if fighting is expected, and the clerks otherwise, since the clerks are more familiar with the details of administration.

Unexpected Guests

A covenant built in a royal forest and protected by *The Shrouded Glen* would be almost immune from discovery. However, *The Shrouded Glen* is a Mentem spell and so does not affect animals. If a hunted deer fled towards the covenant, the hunters would be able to follow it, thus stumbling across the covenant. If this was handled right, the covenant could become known as a faerie castle, impossible to find under normal circumstances. If handled wrongly, it could be disastrous.

Rules for Households

Frequently tell both high and low to obey all your orders fully, promptly, and eagerly, without grumbling or contradiction, unless the orders go against God.

Inquire often and carefully whether any member of your household is disloyal, ignorant, vile, indecent, habitually drunk, or not useful. If anyone is so, or reputed to be so, turn him out.

Order your knights and gentleman who wear your livery to do so every day, especially at the table and in your presence.

Allow your household as little leave as possible to visit their families, and give them only short leave when you do.

Forbid people to eat outside the hall in hiding-places or chambers, as this leads to waste and brings no honor to you.

— From Robert Grosseteste's Rules

Pastimes

There are two main noble pastimes: hunting and tournaments. These are both acceptable as they are seen as preparation for war. Feasting and entertainment from minstrels and players are very important, but are accorded less emphasis. They are seen as accompaniments to another event, rather than as entertainments in their own right. Feasts are held at tournaments and hunts, and when other nobles visit, or someone gets married, or on religious holidays.

Hunting takes place on horseback, with hounds, and chases various animals: red deer, fallow deer, roe deer, wild boars, and hares. Much of the land in England is reserved for the royal hunt, and this land is the forest. It need not be wooded, but it is protected by harsh laws which place the interests of deer above those of people. The right to hunt in a certain area of forest can be given to members of the nobility by the king, and this is a valued privilege. Hawking is also popular, and many nobles maintain a master of hounds and a master of hawks as important members of their household.

The tournament is a miniature war, held at an agreed time and place. Two teams are drawn up, generally of knights from certain areas, and areas are roped off where the combatants can retreat to safety. The two teams then fight until the end of the day, roaming the area as they wish. The participants try to avoid killing each other, but sneaky tactics are entirely legitimate, and injuries are common and expected. During the tourney knights try to take one another prisoner,

claiming the loser's horse, armor, and a ransom if they succeed. It is therefore possible for a poor knight to make his fortune at the tournament. The two sides often contain several teams, which dress in matching colors. These are led by the richer knights, and often consist of their mesnie.

The amount of pageantry surrounding a tournament is gradually increasing. Feasts are now common before and after, and the melee is often preceded by challenges to single combat between two knights. Occasionally, tournaments are held in fancy dress, particularly Arthurian dress, under the influence of the romances. This usually involves nothing more than carrying "Arthur's" coat of arms, but can be more elaborate.

It is not uncommon for knights to die at a tournament, often by being dragged behind their horse after being knocked off in a lance charge. If the victim is important enough, the tournament may be brought to a close prematurely.

Tournaments are very popular with the nobility, less so with other authorities. The church has repeatedly condemned and prohibited them, and kings are not always happy about allowing them. It was not until the reign of Richard the Lionheart that tournaments were legal in England, and during the minority of Henry III very few licenses have been issued. Neither of these prohibitions stops the nobility from holding them, and they can be used as an opportunity to plan rebellion.

Social Role

Chivalry

Chivalry is beginning to be rather more than simply the skill of fighting on horseback. Knighthood is commonly seen as an "order," even for laymen, and by fulfilling its duties a man can enter heaven just as well as a clerk. It is important that a knight be brave, strong, and skilled at arms, but he must also be courtly — capable of hiding his emotions, and dealing with the intrigues of court. They should defend the weak, but in time of war they cheerfully burn crops in the fields and whole cities, even if they will also help women and children to escape the flames

Tournament Assistance

The local lord approaches the covenant and asks for magical assistance for an upcoming tournament. He argues that since it is merely an entertainment, not a serious battle, such assistance would not be in breach of the Code, and suggests that it might stop him from denouncing the magi. If the covenant do assist him, he takes advantage of the melee to kill an old rival, and one of the covenant's rivals hauls them before the tribunal for interfering with mundanes.

The Tourney of the Virgin

A group of knights were traveling to a tournament, hurrying because it was late afternoon, when they passed a chapel where the priests were about to celebrate a mass to the Blessed Virgin. One of the knights wanted to stop, but his companions refused. "If we stop here, we will miss the tournament." Faced with such obstinacy, the knight told them to go on ahead, and dismounted to enter the chapel.

The knight heard mass, and offered his devotion to the Virgin. Afterwards, he ate a meal with the priests, so as not to be discourteous, and then hurried to leave. To his surprise, the sun was still high in the sky, but when he reached the tournament, he found that it was over. As he rode through the tents people kept hailing him, and, confused, he called back. When he reached his tent he found his squires marshaling strange horses and sorting equipment, while his clerk approached him to ask about a particular ransom.

He was thoroughly confused, and when one of his companions approached to offer his congratulations, he asked what he was talking about. His companion, surprised, said that he had been the best knight at the tournament, taking many prisoners over the three days. The knight protested that he had only just reached the tournament, having stopped at the chapel to offer his prayers to the Virgin.

A search for the knight who had worn his colors yielded nothing, and the knight decided that the Virgin had sent one of her angels to fight in his place, so that he should not lose by his piety.

— From Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium

they themselves set.

The entry into knighthood, dubbing, is acquiring more ceremony. There are three essential elements: spurs and a sword are given to the aspirant, and placed on him, and then he is struck a symbolic blow by the officiating individual. Any knight can make a knight, but the more important the man who dubs you, the higher your status. Thus, there is a strong motivation to be knighted by a king. Kings and other high nobles make the dubbing of their sons into a major event, and often knight many other men at the same time.

This elevation of knighthood is making it more expensive to maintain. As well as his expensive armor and warhorse, the knight must maintain servants, and a particular standard of living. This expense is leading more men to avoid the honor, and this tendency is causing some concern in royal circles, as mounted warriors are essential to the defense of the realm.

Feudalism

Feudalism in its pure form is failing. Men still hold land from the king for the service of a number of knights for forty days each year, but that service is required in person less and less often. Indeed, Magna Carta includes a clause specifying that a knight who wishes to perform his service in person must be allowed to do so. Some knights are supported by "money fees," where the lord gives them a certain sum of money every year, rather than settling land on them, while other land is held for various services, such as finding lodgings for a noble when he attends the king in London.

Knights still play an essential part in war, but they are likely to be paid members of the household, or mercenaries, rather than the feudal levy. They also retain a central function in law courts, where most decisions must be made or witnessed by knights if they are to have full legal force. Land is still held in the feudal pyramid, with the tenants-in-chief, or barons, holding of the king, while lesser tenants, vavasours, hold of the vassals. Knights are still expected to be loyal to their liege lords, and to respect their vassals, but other, more personal, ties of loyalty may take priority, particularly for members of a mesnie.

Castles

Castles are the preserve of major lords, because their cost puts them out of reach of the lower reaches of the nobility. They serve two purposes, providing both a military stronghold and accommodation for the lord and his retinue. Thus, most castles include a hall, chambers, and service section, just like a manor house.

In older castles, these are all contained in a single large tower. In castles dating back to the Norman Conquest, this tower may be made of timber, and stand on an earth mound. The mound usually rises about twenty feet, and forms an important part of the

William Marshal

1147–1219, earl of Pembroke from 1199

William Marshal, who died on 14 May 1219, was the greatest knight in Europe, the earl of Pembroke, and, from the death of King John until shortly before his own death, the regent of England. His family were the hereditary marshals of England, and he was known as "the Marshal" from an early age, although he did not inherit the office until his older brother John died in 1194. His career perfectly fulfilled knightly aspirations, raising him from the younger son of a minor lord to the greatest noble in England.

He was born during the anarchy of Stephen's reign, and was sent by his father as a hostage to the king in 1152. His father, John Marshal, promptly broke the terms of his agreement with the king, and Stephen tried to convince John that the boy was about to be executed. This had no effect, and Stephen could not bring himself to kill the child, so the Marshal survived his first brush with royal politics.

In 1160 he was sent to the household of William de Tancarville, in Normandy, to be trained as a knight. By 1167 his training was complete, and war had broken out between Henry of England and Louis of France. Normandy was part of Henry's land, and the Marshal joined Tancarville's forces defending the town of Neufchatel. It was in camp with this army that the Marshal was made a knight. He was enthusiastic for battle, pushing himself to the front of the army and fighting hard before being pulled from his horse, which was killed. However, he failed to secure prisoners and booty, a fact that the other knights mocked him with after the Normans had won. He took this lesson to heart.

Peace was made, and it briefly looked as though the Marshal's career had foundered. There was no war, and Tancarville had no further need of him in the household. He was saved by a tournament in Maine, which Tancarville decided to attend, taking the Marshal as part of his team. He did well in the tournament, and afterwards returned to England, taking service with his uncle, the earl of Salisbury. This service took him to Poitou, where the earl was killed in an ambush and the Marshal was captured as he strove to avenge his death.

He was ransomed by Eleanor, queen of England, and entered the royal household, where he remained for many years. At first he was associated with the king's eldest son, Young Henry, leading his mesnie at tournaments and winning great renown, before falling prey to court intrigues in 1182. This fall from favor was brief, as he was recalled to Young Henry's court in 1183 to help in the rebellion against Henry II. During the campaign, Young Henry died of dysentery, having taken a crusading vow. On his deathbed he asked the Marshal to take his cloak to the Holy Sepulchre in fulfillment of the oath, and the Marshal agreed. He spent two years in the Holy Land, returning to England in 1186.

Here, he joined the household of the king. In 1186 he was granted the wardship of John of Earley, the son of the royal chamberlain, and a man who was to remain his loyal knight throughout his life. In 1187 he was granted extensive lands in Cumbria, and in the final war between Henry II and Richard, he got Richard at his mercy, refraining from killing him because he was unarmored. Instead the Marshal killed Richard's horse, and left the man to the devil.

Henry died soon after, and Richard, now the king, summoned the Marshal to his presence. He accused the Marshal of attempting to kill him, and William indignantly responded that if he had been trying, Richard would now be dead. Richard then pardoned him, and married him to Isabel of Striguil, daughter of Richard Strongbow and heiress to major lands in Wales and Ireland. She was to bear him ten children, and took an active part in his affairs, despite being almost twenty years younger than her husband.

After John came to the throne, the Marshal quickly received more lands and castles, being made earl of Pembroke. However, he fell from favor around 1205, and in 1207 found himself recalled from Ireland, where he was trying to pacify his vassals. A rebellion broke out in his absence, but his men, led by his wife and John of Earley, managed to defeat the rebels. By this time John was beleaguered, and he made his peace with the Marshal soon after. William was on the royal side in the wars around Magna Carta, although his eldest son fought with the barons.

After John's death, with Louis of France in the country with an army, the Marshal was appointed regent. He drove the French from the country and restored some sort of order, before he was taken ill early in 1219. He retired to one of his estates, and prepared for death, joining the Knights Templar, and finally being buried in their church in London. He left the county of Pembroke to his eldest son William, while his second son Richard received lands in Normandy and England. Gilbert, the third son, was a clerk and had a benefice in Exeter cathedral. His fourth son, Walter, received some manors in southwest England, and his fifth son, Anselm, lands in Ireland.

defenses. Timber castles are no longer very effective, however, with the development of siege engines, and so all new castles are built in stone, while lords with timber castles are replacing them.

A minor castle might consist of nothing but the central keep, but most have a perimeter wall as well. Only major castles have many towers on the outer wall, and gatehouses are found only on the newest structures. The great keep can be over a hundred feet tall, with walls fifteen feet thick. They are usually square or rectangular, and are up to a hundred and fifty feet long on a side. Round towers are coming into increasing use, as it is harder to undermine and batter them.

In newer castles the great keep is falling out of favor, as lords want more privacy. There is an increasing tendency for the lord to build a private tower at one end of the great hall, substituting a small courtyard for the solid tower of earlier castles. Additional rings of walls increase security.

Castles are not always sited in the most defensive locations. Sometimes this is for strategic reasons, such as the need to control a river crossing, but sometimes it is purely for convenience. However, an increasing number of castles are being built on rocky outcrops, to avoid mining and to gain additional defense, or with water-filled moats. A castle is almost always close to a town or village: if there wasn't one when the castle was built, one usually grows to provide goods and services to the inhabitants.

Castles were introduced to England by the Normans, and are used to control the surrounding territory, rather than to defend it. The Tower of London, for example, exists to ensure royal control of the city, not to protect

Ranulf de Blundeville, earl of Chester

Earl since 1180

Ranulf is one of the elder statesmen of England, accorded personal respect as well as the respect due to his power. He is also the head of one of the two palatinates in England, the county of Cheshire, within which he has all the authority of the king. (The other palatinate is County Durham, where the bishop of Durham holds the power.) At present he is on Crusade in the Holy Land, something that will only enhance his prestige when he returns.

He is the son of Hugh, the last earl of Chester, and inherited the lands and title in 1180. In 1187 he married Constance, the daughter and heir of Conan, duke of Brittany, and the mother of Arthur of Brittany, and thus became the warden of all the duke's lands. He was in high favor with Henry II and Richard, and carried the crown at Richard's coronation. In 1190 his sister, Maud, married David, the earl of Huntingdon and brother of the king of the Scots, thus linking him to another royal family.

His relations with Constance were not happy, however, and in 1196 he confined her to a castle. Her son, Arthur, raised troops to try to rescue her, but failed. In 1199 she did manage to desert him, and married one of his enemies in France, and Ranulf then married his current wife, Clemence.

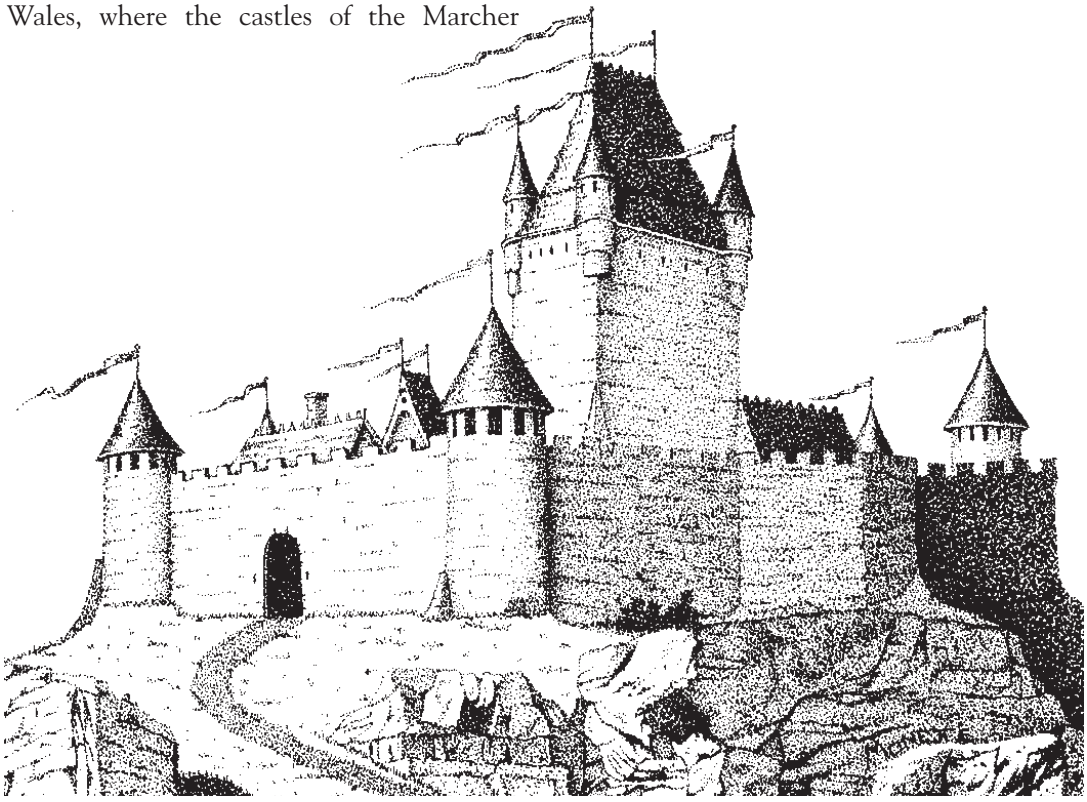
His closeness to Henry and Richard meant that John initially suspected his loyalty, but Ranulf attended the coronation, and then served John loyally for the rest of his reign. After the loss of Normandy, he was given the honor of Richmond to compensate him for land he had lost, thus making him lord of a substantial portion of Yorkshire as well as Cheshire.

From 1209 onwards he was in almost constant conflict with the Welsh, and on one occasion he was trapped and besieged in Rhuddlan castle. The siege was lifted by a mob brought from Chester fair by his constable, and his supporters never tire of reminding the Welsh of this.

He remained on John's side throughout the civil war, and supported Henry when he came to the throne. The choice for regent lay between him and the Marshal, and he stepped back, allowing the other man to take on the task. It is possible that he later regretted this, but he certainly never ceased to cooperate. He fought for Henry until the French had been driven out, but then left to fulfill his oath to go on Crusade.

He left England at Whitsuntide 1218, with Earl Ferrers of Derby, and visited Jerusalem as a pilgrim. He then aided in the capture of Damietta, in 1219, and impressed those who were there with him. He is currently making plans to return to England. This could be important, as he has a long-standing (and rather obscure) rivalry with Hubert de Burgh.

it from invasion. This purpose is less important in England by 1220, but still vital in Wales, where the castles of the Marcher lordships play a central role in subjugating territory.



William de Longespee, earl of Salisbury

Earl since 1198

William is a bastard son of Henry II, and he was married to Ela, countess of Salisbury, in 1198, and invested with the earldom in the same year. He was close to King John, and in 1200 he was made sheriff of Wiltshire, an office he still holds. In 1208 he was appointed warden of the Welsh Marches, and in 1209 he was sent on an embassy to Germany. Between 1210 and 1212 he was a commander on expeditions to Wales and Ireland, and in 1213 he led part of the forces embarked on John's campaign against the French king.

When he was sailing to the Low Countries, he found Philip of France besieging Ghent, with his fleet moored at Damme. There were so many French ships that they could not all fit in the harbor, and William managed to capture or destroy several hundred that were moored outside. When William moved in to attack the city and the ships in the harbor, however, Philip lifted the siege of Ghent and drove him back. While the military action was not spectacular, it did force Philip to abandon his plans to invade England. This was just as well, as the battle of Bouvines went disastrously for the English. Their army was routed, and William himself was captured, being ransomed in an exchange of prisoners.

In all this time William was so close to John that he was regarded as one of his evil counselors, a man who would do and say anything to retain the king's favor, and act as wickedly as the king himself. Indeed, he remained loyal to John for most of the civil war, only deserting to Louis in early 1216, when the French controlled most of southern England. He was the ambassador Louis sent to try to convince Hubert de Burgh to surrender Dover Castle after John's death. Instead, Hubert reproved him for fighting against a child who was his own nephew. William returned to Henry's side in January 1217, partly as a result of this rebuke, but claimed that he was taking the cross as a crusader, since the papal legate had declared that the war against the French was a Crusade.

William has been in England ever since, disputing for Lincoln with Nicola de Hay (see page 49) and generally trying to increase his own power. He is a ruthless opportunist, and lets no one stand in his way.

Chapter 8
Law and Governance

England has one of the most centralized and effective system of law and governance in Europe. All men have access to the king's justice in major matters, and can pursue cases against the mightiest of lords with a chance of success. Criminals are punished, and malicious folk brought to book if they issue false accusations. Nevertheless, the land is violent — it is only three years since the civil war was brought to an end — and many cases are resolved in favor of might rather than right.

Common Law

The common law is so called because it is common to all inhabitants of the kingdom. Every area, even every manor, has its own customs governing minor matters, but all important issues that do not involve the Church (see "Canon Law," page 71) can be taken to the king's courts and brought under the common law.

Most of the common law derives from the customs of the realm, and there is no authoritative written source. A compilation was made at the end of the twelfth century, and was in common use among the justices, but it is now out of date, especially since the issue of Magna Carta. The Great Charter is almost the only example of written law in England, outside the Church; its provisions can be enforced in the courts, even against the king, and take precedence over claims of other customs.

Although little of the law is written down, the customs and procedures are well understood, and must be followed if a case is to be successfully pursued. As a result there is a growing demand for individuals with legal knowledge and experience, and some lords even retain royal justices to advise, and sometimes decide, on their cases.

Courts

There are many courts in England, ranging from the humble manor court to the court coram rege (in the presence of the king). None of them have particularly fixed procedures, although the broad outlines, as described in this chapter, are prescribed by custom. No courts are officially in constant session, although the court of the King's Bench does sit most of the time. The others have specified intervals at which they meet, and criminals are imprisoned until they can be brought to trial.

The hundred court, which is very local, might meet every week, while the county court meets roughly once a month (the precise interval varies from one county to another). People are reluctant to have the courts meet more often, as many people owe suit of court, which means that they are required to be present when the court is meeting. Since this can mean a long journey to the county seat, fewer meetings are better.

The king's justices often travel round the country on an eyre, when they investigate all pending cases of the king's pleas. One such general eyre is currently in progress, and has been since 1218, as civil war tends to produce many cases. The justices in eyre summon courts when they arrive in a county, generally in the county town, and leave when they have heard all the cases. Eyres come in several kinds. General eyres deal with all offenses, and are the most common type. Special eyres are given particular terms of reference, such as investigating the behavior of local officials. A particularly important kind of special eyre is the eyre of gaol (jail) delivery, which simply goes around the country trying everyone held in prison, so that they can be either hanged or released.

The court of the King's Bench sits at Westminster, and is one of the highest courts of appeal. Important civil cases and cases of treason are often tried there, and cases may be taken there between eyres if a royal decision is required. Indeed, one of the provisions of Magna Carta is that it must sit in one place, rather than following the king around the country, so that people can find it easily. This court also issues the writs which begin civil actions in the county courts. For a writ "of course" (see page 103) it is only necessary to talk to one of the junior clerks — they are issued automatically. The senior professional justice at this court is Martin of Pattishall.

The highest court of the land is the court coram rege, where the king himself sits in judgment. This sits wherever the king is, whenever he wants, and the only way to get its decisions changed is to convince the king or his successor to change his mind. Magna Carta constrains the king to follow the rule of law to a great extent, but royal favor is still a very important element in winning cases here. Only the most important cases reach this level — there is no right of appeal to higher courts.

Crimes and Writs

The division of the law into criminal and civil cases is newly established, but has one important consequence. The accuser in a criminal case may not come to an agreement with the accused and have it confirmed by the court, while the parties in a civil case may.

Bricstan's Case

A man named Bricstan lived on the estate of the abbey of Ely. He was neither rich nor poor, but was content with his own goods. He lent money to his neighbors when they were in need, but because men are untrustworthy he took pledges against repayment. Thinking that he had no enemies, and inspired by God, he resolved to take the vows of a monk at Ely.

Alas, there was an evil minister of King Henry, named Robert "Malarteis," which means "evil doer," because he would try to catch men through lies and deceit, so that he could bring them to ruin. Robert accused Bricstan of having found a hidden treasure, and using it to become an usurer. He claimed that he only sought to become a monk to avoid prosecution for usury and larceny. He was taken before the court, and falsely accused, and the accusers mocked him, because he was short, fat, and ugly. In the end, he was unjustly condemned, all his goods were confiscated, and he himself was handed over to be imprisoned.

He was taken to London, loaded down with heavy chains, and locked in a dungeon. He cried out for aid to St. Benedict, under whose rule he wished to live, and St. Etheldreda, at whose abbey he wished to take the vows. After five months of misery he came to an extreme of misery, having gone three days without food, and he called once more on the saints, in a feeble voice.

Suddenly, in a blaze of light, St. Benedict, St. Etheldreda, and St. Sexburga her sister appeared before him. St. Benedict broke the fetters from his legs, and then struck the ceiling so hard that the guards sleeping above awoke in terror. Afraid that the prisoners had escaped, they rushed downstairs, and were relieved to find the doors undamaged and locked. When they entered, however, and found the man they had fettered standing free, they all marveled greatly.

— From a letter of the bishop of Ely

Criminal cases can be brought in the king's courts for major offenses — essentially, those for which the penalty could be death or mutilation. Treason, homicide, rape, arson, robbery, wounding, forgery, and breach of the king's peace are the main categories. These are the pleas of the crown, and may only be tried in a royal court. There are two ways in which a suspect may be brought before the court. The first is by appeal. The victim of an offense (or someone who witnessed the crime or saw the body in the case of homicide) appeals the suspect to the sheriff of the county. The accused must then appear before the court. Alternatively, the suspect may be presented. Juries of presentment, groups of twelve free men from an area, are gathered by the justices, and required to present anyone they know to be suspected of a crime. They can be amerced (fined) if they fail to do so, so juries do present people they know to be suspected but believe to be innocent.

Once someone has been accused, he may be taken into custody and held until the next court — this is known as "attachment." If an attached suspect escapes, the officers responsible for holding him will be amerced. If the accused is not in custody, it is the responsibility of his tithing to bring him to court. The tithings are groups of men, often of ten, but not always, who are responsible for each other's behavior. In theory, almost every man is supposed to be a member of a tithing, but this is not true in practice. The most important legal exemptions are for knights and clerics, but not everyone who should be a member is. If the tithing fails to present the accused, they will be amerced. If the accused is not in a tithing, the whole village where the crime took place may be amerced if he fails to appear. If the accused is a woman, it is the responsibility of the man under whose authority she is to present her — usually her husband or father.

If the accused fails to appear in court, he is summoned to the next court. If he fails to attend three times, he is declared an outlaw. At that point, he faces summary execution if caught, unless he takes sanctuary in a church and then abjures the realm — promises to leave England and never return. If the accuser does not appear, then he will be amerced, and the case will usually be dropped. (Thus, out of court settlements can be reached, particularly if the accused is prepared to pay the accuser's amercement.) If both the accused and the accuser appear, the case can proceed. The justices then try to reach the truth of the matter. The jury consists of local men with knowledge of the case, and they are asked to swear to the facts of the matter. The justices may question other people, and may question the jury if they think that the truth is being concealed. A jury which interferes with the course of justice can be amerced.

If the court decides that the accused is guilty, he will normally be hanged. He might instead be mutilated, losing a limb or extremity. Blinding and castration are sometimes used as a punishment for robbery, while petty theft is often punished by the loss of an ear. People who lose an ear for some other reason can obtain a written statement from a court that they are not convicted criminals.

In some cases, justice can be more summary. Many lords have the right of infangtheof, which means that they can hang a thief taken in the act without further ado. If a

Royal Justices, 1220

John of Guestling (knight)
Ralf Hareng (knight)
Thomas of Heydon (clerk)
Robert of Lexington (clerk)
Stephen of Segrave (knight)

Pleas of the Crown

The magi, as is normal, keep order within their own covenant, punishing any offense. One of the grogs murders a local villager and, after some investigation, the magi try and execute him. A couple of weeks later, the sheriff arrives to summon the dead grog to the king's court. The magi find themselves appealed before the court for homicide or, if they're really unlucky, treason, for usurping the powers that rightly belong to the king.

crime is discovered while the perpetrators are still present, the hue must be raised. Once the hue is raised, the whole community is supposed to pursue the malefactors. If they are killed by the hue, the killers are held innocent, but if the hue was not called, they may be accused of homicide in turn. If the criminals escape the hue, they may still be summoned to court. Offenses such as simple theft, brawling, and assault can be dealt with at the lord's court, or even more local courts, and do not bear such heavy penalties.

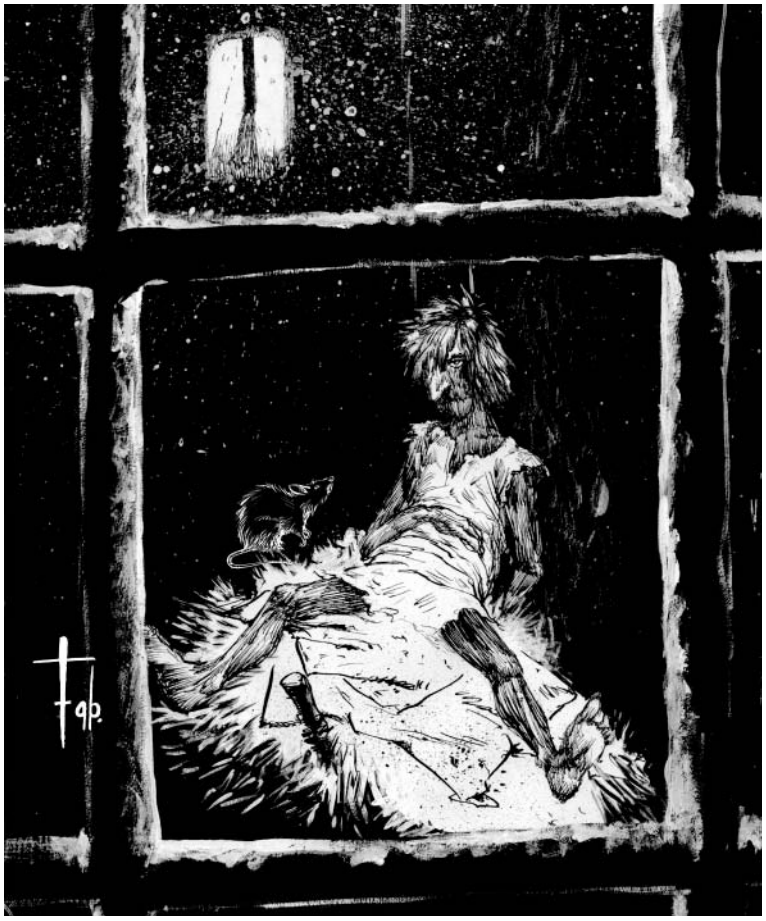
Civil actions usually concern land. These actions are initiated by writs, which must be obtained from the king. The common types given below are writs "of course," which are issued on request for a nominal fee, at least if the case does not draw the attention of the king. Other writs may be obtained by those in favor with the king, but they often cost more. People may proffer as much as £100 for a writ to have their claim to land investigated.

The most fundamental writ is the writ of right. This starts an investigation into who has the right to hold a given piece of land, and the decision reached in such a case is final. The two parties in the case are allowed a number of essoins (permitted failures to attend court), and the case cannot proceed until they are both present in court. At that point, they can resolve ownership either by battle or by going on the grand assize. In the former case, the two fight, and the victor keeps the land. In the latter, twelve knights from the surrounding area are impaneled, and they make a declaration as to who is the rightful holder of the land. The grand assize is more popular than trial by battle, but both are still legal.

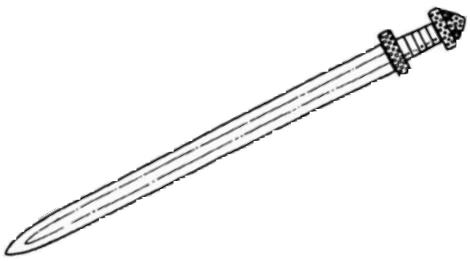
Since the writ of right can take a long time to resolve, there are a number of faster writs designed to get the appellant (the person making the claim) possession, or seisin, of the land. These do not determine final right to the land, but they do determine who should have immediate use of it. The most important is the writ of novel disseisin. If someone has been recently ejected from some land, he can obtain this writ, and the assize will determine whether he was in possession at the appropriate time. If he was, he will be put back in possession. The other party may bring a writ of right, but may not use the land in the meantime. The intent of the writ of novel disseisin is to stop the powerful seizing land and then forcing the victims to go through lengthy court proceedings without the land. Thus, the parties are only allowed two essoins, and if they fail to turn up to the third session the case will go against them by default.

Of similar importance is the writ of mort d'ancestor. This writ is used to claim that the petitioner's ancestor was seised of the land at his death, and that the petitioner, as his heir, should now be in possession. Again, only two essoins are allowed, and this writ aims to prevent lords from taking advantage of a death to eject a tenant.

A writ can be challenged on technical grounds. It may be poorly drafted, referring to the wrong land or to the wrong people, or it may claim that one party possesses land he obviously does not. The writs of novel dis-



seisin and mort d'ancestor cannot be brought against close relatives, so the defendant can claim to be related to the plaintiff. Either party can also appeal directly to the king, although this only works if you already have a good relationship with him or one of his close counselors.



Novel Disseisin

The covenant acquires a vis source by certámen, and ejects the other covenant's guards. The guards bring a writ of novel disseisin in the county courts, and the characters have no legal case, since certámen is not a recognized part of the common law. It would even be difficult to show that the magi had refused to respect certámen, as the legal action was initiated entirely by mundanes. Unless the covenant can gain some powerful mundane allies, it will lose the vis source again.

Magna Carta

Selected clauses from the 1217 reissue:

1. In the first place we have granted to God, and by this our present charter confirmed for us and our heirs for ever, that the English church shall be free, and shall have its right undiminished and its liberties unimpaired. We have also granted to all free men of our kingdom, for ourselves and our heirs for ever, all the liberties written below, to be had and held by them and their heirs of us and our heirs.

11. No one shall be compelled to do greater service for a knight's fee or for any other free holding than is due from it.

12. Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some fixed place.

31. No bailiff shall in future put anyone to trial upon his own bare word without reliable witnesses produced for this purpose.

32. No free man shall be arrested or imprisoned or disseised from any free tenement, liberty, or custom, or outlawed or exiled or victimized in any other way, nor will we attack him or send anyone to attack him, unless through the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. To no one will we sell, deny, or delay justice.

Forest Law

The forest law applies in those regions of the country designated royal forest. While its original aim was to protect game for the king's hunt, it now has rather broader functions, allowing the king to draw more revenue from these areas than from non-forest land. The Charter of the Forest, issued in 1217 when Magna Carta was reissued by Henry III, restricts the king's rights here. He may not create new forest, and he must disafforest all those forests created by Henry II, Richard, and John. Since the records are not entirely clear on this matter, there is considerable controversy over which land should be disafforested.

Forest law prohibits hunting game without specific royal permission, cutting wood, and lighting fires, among other things. Justice within the forest is meted out by the foresters and forest eyres, a completely separate system from the common law. The Charter of the Forest limits them in a fundamental way: they may not hand out penalties in life or limb. That is, they are effectively limited to amercing those convicted of offenses against the forest law.

Rule

In theory, all lay governance is the activity of the king. This was not the case in practice even under John; now that the king is a twelve-year-old boy, his control is even more a matter of principle rather than reality. The ramifications of the king's minority are discussed in the Politics chapter (see page 136). This section will outline the machinery of royal rule, used by whoever is in charge.

The crown has two main concerns: upholding justice, and enforcing the king's rights. The rights enforced tend to be ones with financial implications, since the crown needs money to pay for armies if other methods of enforcement fail. One result of this is

that the king will often grant privileges to specific people or areas, in return for a substantial amount of money. No such grants can be made in perpetuity until the king is of age, however.

The Royal Court

The royal court has four main branches: the King's Bench, the Exchequer, the Chancery, and the Chamber. The court of the King's Bench (described above, page 101) always sits at Westminster, as required by Magna Carta, but the other branches follow the king around the country. They are often to be found at Westminster, but the court spends quite a lot of time at Winchester. It rarely travels to the north of England, East Anglia, or the West Country.

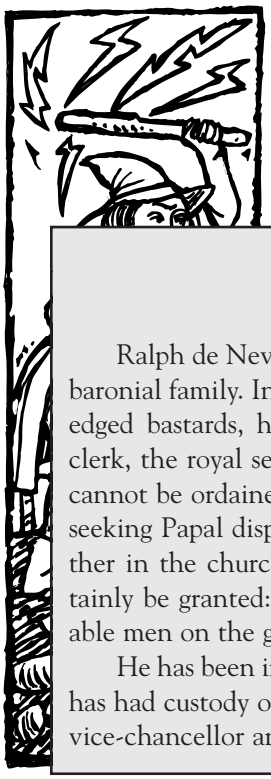
The Exchequer, headed by the treasurer, Eustace de Faukenberg, sits twice a year, at Michaelmas (the end of September) and the end of March. It is responsible for checking that all moneys owed to the crown are paid, and for issuing receipts. The sheriffs must account for their shires at the Exchequer, as must the holders of borough liberties. The administrators of the Exchequer are called the Barons of the Exchequer, and have the power to amerce anyone who fails to pay all that they owe.

The Chancery, headed by the chancellor, Richard de Marsh, is responsible for issuing statements over the king's Great Seal. At the moment, there is no Great Seal, because the king is not of age, so documents are issued over the seals of the justiciar or other high officials. (See the Politics chapter.) The Chancery clerks are also responsible for keeping the records of government, and they do this extremely efficiently. The Pipe Rolls contain records of all court cases, payments of dues and taxes, and petitions to the king. They are large rolls of parchment, made of sheets sewn together, and are recorded in the order that decisions were made. This makes it virtually impossible for anyone who is not a chancery clerk to find anything in them.

The Chamber, headed by the chamberlain, is responsible for purchasing the things that the king needs. This ranges from food to castles, although at the moment the king is not buying many castles. The chamberlain also controls the king's Privy Seal, which he can use to seal purely personal documents. The distinction between the two seals is not at all clear, since both indicate the king's will, but the Great Seal is more official, and people seeking important charters try to have them sealed with the Great Seal.

Local Rule

The king acts on a local level through the shire and hundred courts. The sheriff of the county is the agent of the king, required to collect taxes and dues, and enforce writs issued by the chancery. He does not, usually,



have the authority to judge pleas of the crown, but lesser offenses, such as disputes over escaped animals, can be heard in front of him.

Twice a year the sheriff's tourn travels round all the hundred courts, taking the view of frankpledge. (The tourn is the sheriff's formal visitation of his shire, to collect taxes and enforce the law.) The view of frankpledge requires all the local men over twelve to attend, and each tithing must present any of its members who are known criminals for

Ralph de Neville

Vice-chancellor

Ralph de Neville is the bastard son of an important baronial family. In a common career move for acknowledged bastards, he has entered the church and, as a clerk, the royal service. His illegitimacy means that he cannot be ordained to major orders, but he is currently seeking Papal dispensation so that he can advance further in the church. This dispensation will almost certainly be granted: the church does not normally refuse able men on the grounds of their birth.

He has been in the royal service for many years, and has had custody of the royal seal since 1213. He is now vice-chancellor and, in the absence of a Great Seal, he does almost all the work normally done by the chancellor, overseeing the issue of charters and writs and attesting that they are valid. Indeed, people often forget that he is not the chancellor, even, on occasion, people like Peter des Roches (see page 138).

He holds many benefices, employing priests as vicars to perform the duties, and is quite wealthy. However, he is holding out hope for a bishopric, just as soon as he gets a papal dispensation from his bastardy. Ralph is an ambitious man, and not particularly pious, seeing the church mainly as a source of income. He is also a very efficient and effective bureaucrat, and a decent politician.

Falkes de Bréauté

Falkes is the son of an unmarried Norman peasant, and possibly the most powerful individual in England. Indeed, hostile chroniclers have described him as "more a king than the king". Certainly, the royal court does not at present have the power to confront him when he disobeys its commands.

Falkes's rise has not made him popular. In part, this is the hostility of the aristocracy to powerful men who are not of their class, but in part it is due to the methods by which he rose. He is a military adventurer, and a brave, skilled, and utterly ruthless warrior. He served King John well and loyally, and thus earned the enmity of many barons.

In 1211, he was made sheriff of Glamorgan, and by the end of John's reign he was sheriff of seven counties, forming a bloc in the center of the country. Early in 1215, John rewarded Falkes by marrying him to Margaret, the widow of the earl of Albermarle and the daughter of the earl of Devon, thus giving him personal control of many lands. He also holds about a dozen castles, some of them officially on the king's behalf. However, Falkes has refused to give up any of his charges until the king comes of age, and the government cannot compel him.

Falkes is particularly unpopular with the church, because he does not respect its immunities. On one occasion he rode into St. Albans abbey with his men, killed a monk who was fleeing for the chapel and refused to let any of the others enter it, so that they could not claim sanctuary on holy ground. He then demanded one hundred pounds from the abbot, and got it. Afterwards, he had a dream in which a stone fell from the abbey church and crushed him to death, and his wife interpreted it as a sign that St. Alban would take revenge. Afraid, Falkes went to St. Albans, and appeared before the monks stripped to the waist. He had some of his men beat him with sticks, and then begged the abbot's forgiveness. It was granted, and he stood and dressed, and then turned to the abbot and said, "My wife sent me here because of a dream, but do not think for a moment that you will recover what I took from you."

Late in 1217 he was made guardian of the young earl of Devon, and thus effectively earl. He was also supposed to hold the shrievalty of Devon, but Robert de Courtenay refused to surrender it, and claimed that he should have had the wardship of the heir. Relations between the two men are very hostile, and constantly threaten to break out into warfare.

judgment. Some lords have view of frankpledge, which means that they take the sheriff's place at this court. Since one of the things that tithings are required to denounce is sorcery, it would be useful for covenants to obtain view of frankpledge over their residents, especially if they do not have totally harmonious relations with the covenfolk.

The sheriff also collects all the money due to the crown. Generally, he farms the shire, meaning that he pays a fixed sum to the Exchequer, and then keeps whatever he collects. This can lead to abuses, which can be raised with the king. There is a tendency away from giving the sheriffs farm of the shire, and to require them to account for all the money they receive, but this requires much closer oversight.

The exceptions are the two palatine counties, Cheshire and Durham. Within those, the lord of the county has all the authority of the king. He may hear pleas of the crown, collect taxes on his own authority, and so on. He need not account for himself at the Exchequer, and will only be called to account at all if suspected of treason. He is required to pay taxes to the king, and to be loyal to the monarch, but his activity is unregulated within his palatinate.

Proof of Wrongdoing

The magi get some evidence that a rival covenant has been paying the king to assist them in their mundane affairs — a clear breach of the Code. The other magi will clearly deny everything, but the chancery records will contain the king's copy of any agreement. If the magi can convince the chancery clerks to let them examine the records, they might be able to produce damning evidence. Of course, they can't afford to offer the clerks too much, because that will also be against the Code.

Sheriffs of England, 1220

Bedfordshire	Falkes de Bréauté
Berkshire	Richard fitz Regis
Buckinghamshire	Falkes de Bréauté
Cambridgeshire	Falkes de Bréauté
Cheshire	Palatinate: the Earl of Chester
Cornwall	Henry fitz Count
County Durham	Palatinate: the Bishop of Durham
Cumberland	Robert de Vieuxpont, lord of Westmoreland
Derbyshire	Philip Mark
Devon	Robert de Courtenay
Dorset	Peter de Maulay
Essex	Aimery de St. Amand
Gloucestershire	Ralph Musard
Hampshire	Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester
Herefordshire	Walter de Lacy of Ewias Lacy and Meath
Hertfordshire	Aimery de St. Amand
Huntingdonshire	Falkes de Bréauté
Kent	Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar
Lancashire	Ranulf, Earl of Chester
Leicestershire	William de Cantilupe
Lincolnshire	William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury*
Middlesex	None (direct governance by royal court)
Norfolk	Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar
Northamptonshire	Falkes de Bréauté
Northumberland	Philip of Oldcoates
Nottinghamshire	Philip Mark
Oxfordshire	Falkes de Bréauté
Rutland	Falkes de Bréauté
Shropshire	Ranulf, Earl of Chester
Somerset	Peter de Maulay
Staffordshire	Ranulf, Earl of Chester
Suffolk	Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar
Surrey	William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey
Sussex	Matthew fitz Herbert
Warwickshire	William de Cantilupe
Wiltshire	William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury
Westmoreland	Robert de Vieuxpont, lord of Westmoreland
Worcestershire	William de Beauchamp of Bedford
Yorkshire	Geoffrey de Neville

* *contested by Nicola de Hay*

Chapter 9
Wales

In 1220 Wales is split into two parts. In the south the land is controlled by Anglo-Norman lords, while in the north native Welsh princes retain control. Both sets of lords swear homage to the king of England. The political realities are dealt with in the Politics chapter, while this chapter deals with the difference between Welsh and English customs. These differences affect the whole country, but are more in evidence in the north.

Daily Life

Wales is a poorer country than England. The climate and topography restrict the possible farming, and the people rely more heavily on pastoral farming than is common in England. In general, property in Wales is less spectacular than its English equivalent. The defining difference between Wales and England is that in Wales, the native language of the peasantry is Welsh. In the north, this is also the native language of the nobility.

Welsh law and society classify men into bond and free. The sharpness of the distinction is gradually eroding, but it is still of great social importance. A poor free man is still a free man, and, in Wales, can claim to be a noble. The purest form of bondage, amounting to slavery, is found in the villages set aside to supply the courts of the Welsh princes.

One reason for the erosion of differences in social class comes from Welsh inheritance customs. Unlike in England, where the eldest male heir gets almost everything, property is divided more or less equally among the sons, or other male relatives if there are no sons. Traditionally, the youngest divides the property, and then the sons pick a section in order of age. Thus, over a few generations holdings can become very small. Among the nobility, it is not uncommon for one heir to mutilate his rivals (usually blinding or castrating them) so that he gets the entire holding.

This practice contributes to the importance of kinfolk in Welsh society. A man can only inherit from a man in his *cenedl,* the group of men descended in the male line from a single ancestor. This ancestor is generally located more than a century in the past, so that this group can be very large and diffuse. More important is the kindred, the group of men descended in the male line from a common great-grandfather. The kindred is responsible for keeping order among its members, and if one of them is accused of a crime, he may be cleared if the others swear that he

Celtic Survivals

Wales and Scotland are not the only Celtic survivals in Britain. The people of Cornwall still speak Cornish, and some of the people of Cumbria know another language, compounded from Celtic and Norse roots. The Cornish community is fairly vigorous, but Cumbrian is a dying language. Neither language is written to any great extent.

is innocent. Homicide may trigger a blood feud, or *galanas*. In general, the kindred of the dead man restrict themselves to plundering the property of the kindred of the killer, although they may accept a payment in compensation, to cleanse their honor. This payment, also called *galanas*, is paid by the entire kindred, the amount contributed by each man depending on his relationship to the killer. It is distributed among the kin of the dead man in a similar way.

The kin group is also important in daily life, being responsible for looking after orphans and widows, and for resolving minor disputes. They must also agree to sales of land, as they would have a right in it if the current holder were to die. No land can be truly given away or sold without their consent. Despite the important role played by the kindred, however, the nuclear family is still the most important unit of kinship in daily life — people do not live in extended families, nor carry on their business in such groups.

Marriage is the central element in forming the kin-group, and the Welsh attitude to it differs from the English. While it is a woman's solemn duty to be a virgin at her first wedding, the Welsh see marriage as a contract rather than a sacrament, and as such it can be dissolved at any time, leaving the couple free to marry again. As a consequence of this, a man may adopt any of his sons as an heir, irrespective of whether he was married to the mother. The church strongly disapproves of both aspects, but its fulminations have had little effect.

The Welsh climate, and the demands of pastoral agriculture, lead to the use of summer and winter pasturage for the animals, mainly cows with a few sheep. The summer pastures are in the highlands, while in winter the animals are brought down into the valleys. The valleys may be used in summer for growing crops, which requires cooperation, as very few Welshmen own their own ploughs.

Much of Wales is heavily wooded, and the country is undeveloped compared to England. This is changing, in the south under the impact of Anglo-Norman lords, and in the north as a response to changes in the south and east. The changes are also a response to a steady growth in population, both of native Welshmen, and of immigrants in the south. However, there are still few towns in Wales (Cardiff is the most important), and the economy uses very little money, relying almost entirely on barter, and the use of cattle to pay taxes.

Law & Governance

Most Welshmen have a great respect for the law, at least as an abstract concept. The laws of Wales were created by Hywel Dda many centuries ago, and are much the same as they were then. They have been written down, but they are known by wise men all over Wales, and all Welshmen know the general outline.

The community of the village is the main court of justice, both for civil and criminal offenses. This is beginning to change, as the lords of Wales start to demand jurisdiction over criminal offenses, and the people begin to rely on the strength of the lord to enforce the law. Nevertheless, most justice is still delivered through the mediation of kin-groups, and a desire to reach a settlement that restores the peace, rather than necessarily keeping to the strictest interpretation of the law.

Wales has never been a unified principality, although Lord Rhys of Deheubarth nearly managed it in the twelfth century and

Problems of Death

A covenant in Wales is built on land owned by the senior magus. He has no children, as is normal, and finally dies. His male relatives arrive at the covenant claiming ownership of all of it, and showing no desire to have sorcerers living on their land. The law is entirely on their side: the magi must either move, leaving much of their property behind, fight, or reach a political compromise. If they fight, they will be in trouble with the mundane authorities and the quaesitores.

Llewelyn the Great, the prince of Gwynedd, is making an attempt now. The complexity and sophistication of princely administration is increasing, but is nowhere near the level found in England. There are three ancient Welsh principalities: Deheubarth in the south, Powys in the central regions, and Gwynedd in the north. Each is centered on a fort, which is the primary residence of the prince's court (Aberffro in Gwynedd, Mathrafal in Powys, and Dinefwr in Deheubarth). These are not towns; rather, they are ancient settlements with great mythic resonance for the people of Wales. The major lords frequently style themselves with the fort's name, for example "lord of Dinefwr." However, the Welsh courts, like the English, move around the country and dispense justice where they are.

Each court has a warband, and its head, the *penteulu*, is the highest official of the court, beyond the immediate royal family. The prince also has a council of leading nobles, whose advice he is expected to take, and their head is the *distain*. The distain is gradually taking on more functions as government expands, overseeing justice and administration. There are clerks attached to the court to deal with written records, although nothing as advanced as the English chancery, and the *gwas ystafell*, originally the keeper of the king's chamber, has evolved into a treasurer of sorts. For local government, the land is divided into commotes, and the highest official in each is the *rhaglaw*. However, the prince as yet has only a minor impact on these areas, and local custom is still the main guide to governance.

Llywelyn ab Iorweth, called the Great

Prince of Gwynedd since 1194

Llywelyn ab Iorweth ab Owain is the only legitimate heir of Owain Gwynedd, the prince of North Wales. However, his inheritance was seized by Dafydd, his half-brother, and he was born and raised in exile in England. In the late twelfth century he allied with his uncle Rhodri against Dafydd, and they drove him out of Gwynedd in 1194. Llywelyn became the Prince, and spent the next nine years consolidating his power, fighting against his Welsh neighbors and rebels in his own principality. Gwenwynwyn of Powys was a particularly persistent foe, but he was unable to defeat Llywelyn. In 1203 Dafydd died in exile in England, and Llywelyn's power was secure.

Around the same time, King John began trying to enlist Llywelyn as an ally, and in 1206 he married the king's illegitimate daughter, Joan. As John's ally Llywelyn was able to take control of Powys from Gwenwynwyn, and then tried to push further south. This was not to John's liking, and war broke out between the English and Welsh lords in 1209. He was pushed back to Gwynedd, and in 1211 John led an army that managed to push him back into the mountains of Snowdonia. He might have been defeated had it not still been early in the year, because John's army had to withdraw due to difficult conditions. In the summer, however, John returned, and captured Bangor. At this point Llywelyn's chieftains forced him to sue for peace.

In 1212, Llywelyn managed to put together a Welsh federation, including Gwenwynwyn, to fight against John, and he regained all the land that he had lost. As John lost support from the English nobles, Llywelyn pushed south. He was able to have many of his gains confirmed in Magna Carta, and in 1215 the southern Welsh rose in revolt, giving him control of all of Wales apart from Pembroke. His growth in power alarmed his allies, and in 1216 Gwenwynwyn went back to John. In response, Llywelyn invaded his lands, and took them under his own control.

While England was distracted by the threat of French invasion, Llywelyn attacked the regent's lands, and extended his power somewhat further, but in 1218 he was forced to swear fealty to the young King Henry. Since then he has held on to his gains by political guile, and it seems that he may be able to weld Wales into a single, unified principality.

Llywelyn is a great warrior, and brilliant war leader, and a superb politician. He has come nearer to unifying Wales than anyone before him since the Romans. He is also renowned for his generosity to the church and to Welsh bards, meaning that the written ecclesiastical records and the tales told throughout Wales are all full of praise for him.

A perennial problem in Welsh government is the tendency of lords to change their allegiance, whether between the native Welsh lords, or from those lords to the king of England. This is usually a matter of political expedience, or even survival, but it undermines the attempts to develop a strong state. As a result, Welshmen have a reputation for treachery.

The Marcher Lords

The marcher lords are the Anglo-Norman lords who hold land in Wales, or along its borders. The Marshals, de Braoses, Mortimers, and Bohuns are the important families. The lordships originated soon after the Norman Conquest, as the Normans tried to push into Wales. They made less headway there than in England, and the division between the native Welsh and the marches has been established for well over a century.

A marcher lordship differs from a lordship within England in a number of ways, which combine to make it much like a palatinate (see page 107). In particular, the lord is assumed to be pacifying hostile territory, and he is thus allowed to fortify towns and build castles without royal permission. Since the Welsh are not very happy with Anglo-Norman rule, the marcher lords do build a lot of castles, with the result that southern Wales and the border with England are the most heavily fortified areas in the country.

This degree of independence makes the marcher lordships a good place to build a power-base, and as a result the king keeps a close eye on these lords. The Welsh princes may also want to ally with the marchers, and this provides opportunities for the lords to play one side off against the other.

The Church

The Welsh church is undeniably part of Western Christendom, but it does have a couple of distinctive features. The first is a relic of its past, the second a new addition. The relic of the past is the *clas* church, a church supporting a college of priests and serving a large area. The priests at these churches are not under monastic vows, and were often married, even in the recent past. Married priests are now rare, as the Church's prohibition has become part of the general culture, and the areas that the clas used to serve are being split into parishes. This process is complete in the south, but still in progress in the north. Nevertheless, there are still some clas churches, and the right to present a priest to them usually belongs to local families. Indeed, as the right is treated as a partible inheritance, there are sometimes dozens of people with a say in the appointment of a priest.

There are many churches which used to be clas churches, but which have been reformed. Sometimes they have been turned into normal parish churches, with single priests and narrower areas. Others have been converted to houses of Augustinian canons, cathedral chapters (at Bangor and St. Davids), or collegiate churches. Gerald of Wales, has spent much of his life campaign-

A Welsh Relic

A staff which is said to have belonged to St. Curig can be seen in the church of St. Germanus. It is all encased in gold and silver, and the top is in the rough shape of a cross. It has many miraculous powers, but is most effective in curing tumors. Anyone who presses it against a tumor and makes an offering of one penny will have the tumor removed.

One time, a man with a tumor gave a halfpenny, and half of his tumor went down. Some time later he gave another halfpenny, and the other half was cured. Another man promised to give the penny later, and his tumor was cured. Once he was healthy he forgot his promise, and soon the tumor swelled again. In fear, he offered three pence, and the staff healed him.

— From The Journey Through Wales by Gerald of Wales

The Dream of Rhonabwy

Rhonabwy was a warrior of Powys, and one night he took shelter in a hall foul beyond imagining. The floor was covered with mounds and pits, and on the mounds one could hardly stand for they were slippery with cow-dung, while the pits would soak your feet to the instep with water and urine. The air was filled with smoke, and the beds were thin sheets drawn over sticks with a few wisps of straw, filled nonetheless with fleas. Rhonabwy could not sleep there, and saw a yellow ox-skin on the platform at the end of the hall. Thinking he might sleep there, he lay down on it, and quickly fell asleep.

In his sleep, he dreamed, and in his dream he was pursued by a man on a powerful horse. When the horse exhaled, he got ahead of it, but when it inhaled, he was drawn nearly to its chest. Finally, the man caught him, and he begged for mercy.

"You shall have mercy," replied his captor. "I am Iddawg son of Mynyo, and I will take you to Arthur's court." He led Rhonabwy across the sea, to the fort where Arthur was holding court. Iddawg took Rhonabwy into the presence of the king and said,

"Do you see that stone, in the ring on his finger?"

"Yes, I do," replied Rhonabwy.

"Because you have seen that stone, you will remember everything you see here. If you had not seen it, you would have remembered nothing."

Gwenn, the white mantle, was spread on the ground, and Arthur sat on it. One of the properties of the mantle is this: that anyone wrapped in it can see everyone, although no one can see him. Owein, son of Uryen stood before Arthur, and the king said to him,

"Come, let us play gwyddbwyll." Owein agreed and sat down, and the servants brought a gwyddbwyll set whose men were of gold and whose board was of silver.

They were deep in the game when a messenger came into the hall and spoke to Owein.

"Lord, is it with your permission that Arthur's young lads and servants are harassing your ravens? If not, please have him call them off," he said. Owein spoke to Arthur.

"Do you hear what he is saying, lord? Please call them off." But Arthur merely said,

"Your move."

They finished their game and started another, and half way through another messenger came to Owein, saying "Lord, Arthur's pages are stabbing your ravens, killing some and wounding others." Again, Owein appealed to Arthur but again, Arthur said simply "Your move."

They finished that game and began another, and a third messenger came for Owein, bearing a standard. He was very angry, and he said, "Lord, the noblest ravens have been killed, and the rest are so wounded that they cannot raise their wings from the ground." Again, Owein appealed to Arthur, but he said only "Your move."

So Owein turned to the messenger and said "Go to the fiercest part of the fighting, and there raise the standard."

As soon as the messenger reached the place and raised the standard, the ravens were filled with energy and rose up in the air, attacking violently the men who were fighting them.

Arthur and Owein were still playing gwyddbwyll, and a messenger approached Arthur, saying that the ravens were killing the young men. Arthur said "Call off your ravens," but Owein replied "Your move, lord."

They finished their game and began another, and another messenger approached Arthur, telling him that the ravens had killed his pages and squires, and the sons of the nobles. Arthur said "Call off your ravens," but Owein merely said "Your move, lord."

They finished their game and began another, and another messenger came to Arthur, saying that the ravens had killed his retinue and the sons of the nobles of the island. Arthur looked at Owein and, saying "Call off your ravens," he took the golden men from the board and squeezed them until they were dust. Then Owein sent word for his servant to lower the banner, and peace was restored.

Then Rhonabwy woke up, and found that he had slept for three days and nights.

— Adapted from The Mabinogion

ing for St. Davids to be made into an archbishopric with authority over the Welsh sees, but he has not succeeded.

The recent change is the growth in Cistercian monasticism. There are many monasteries of this order in Wales, and they have the main hold on benefactions. Most of these houses have been founded since 1130, but they have already taken over the roles of repositories of history and the mausoleums of the princely dynasties. The monastery of Strata Florida, in Powys, is particularly important.

Chapter 10
The Order of Hermes

This chapter describes the current state of the Stonehenge Tribunal. It has recently taken on new vigor, and has nine active covenants, all with a substantial number of members. The history of the tribunal is recounted in the History chapter, and the current politics in the Politics chapter. This chapter is devoted to providing a snapshot of the Hermetic landscape.

Daily Life

Daily life in a covenant depends greatly on the nature of the place, and some guidelines will be given in the individual descriptions below. However, there are a few things that can be said in general. First, none of the covenants of Stonehenge are completely isolated from the mundane world, so the descriptions of mundane life given in earlier chapters should be taken as a starting point. Many things will be brought in from outside, and if a covenant recruits new staff, they will bring current customs with them.

Second, the members of covenants will tend to be less pious, on average, than normal people. They will often not have easy access to a church, and they are the sort of people willing to risk their souls working for magi. Third, they are familiar with magic, and will not be deeply shocked to see magical effects. This also means that they won't be too bothered by the Gift — they are used to dealing with people who give them the creeps, and used to being polite. These two aspects should be played up. Usually, the player characters will feel more at home in a covenant than outside, even if they are visiting their enemies.

Finally, anyone dealing with a magus at sunrise or sunset will stop a moment before it happens, so that the magus can restore his Parma Magica, and so that any expiring spells won't cause major problems. In covenants where a lot of magic is used, people might even scramble for floors they know are real, and make sure that they aren't leaning on anything.

Customs of Stonehenge

All tribunals have their own customs, and these customs almost have the force of law. You could even be hauled up before the tribunal for breaking them, if you had enough enemies. They vary across the Order, so magi who trained in another tribunal might be a bit surprised at some aspects of life in Stonehenge.

The Redcaps

The unGifted Redcaps are not attached to any particular covenant, instead traveling constantly around the country. There are five of them, all men, as they have to travel alone: Jocelin, Perceval, Great William, Little William, and Edgar. They are based at a substantial house, called Mercer House, a little way outside Coventry. Mercer House is built in a weak magical aura, and contains a Hermes Portal which connects to Harco, the domus magna of House Mercere in the Roman Tribunal. Each Redcap has an enchanted item which can cast a higher level version of Leap of Homecoming once per day. This effect will bring a Redcap and his horse back to the central courtyard of Mercer House from anywhere in the tribunal.

The Redcaps, therefore, travel to covenants by mundane means, and use the magic to return to Mercer House, usually leaving from just outside a covenant's Aegis of the Hearth. Each covenant is visited every other month, and unless something goes wrong the Redcap will arrive two days after the full moon, and stay for three days. Blackthorn, Semitae, Schola Pythagoranis, Burnham, and Ungulus are visited in one month; Cad Gadu, Libellus, Nigrasaxa, and Voluntas in the next.

It is customary to give the visiting Redcap three purses, each containing twenty-eight pennies. The first is given when he arrives, in thanks for the messages. The second is given at noon on the second day, for his goodwill, while the third is given when he leaves, to speed the delivery of those messages entrusted to him. This money pays the Redcap's general expenses, and also pays for the maintenance of Mercer House.

Normal messages are delivered to a covenant the next time it is visited, which will be one or two months later. Messages for other tribunals are taken to Harco once a month, and messages for other tribunals from Stonehenge are collected from there. Thus, it will take one or two months for a message to be delivered, and at least the same length of time for a reply.

The Redcaps

Jocelin: Jocelin is in his late twenties, and has brown hair and beard, and green eyes. He has a soft spot for new covenants, and is usually the only Redcap a new covenant sees for a few years. He tends to ride his horses a bit harder than necessary. He has a ring that gives him magic resistance, and an enchanted shield.

Perceval: Perceval is in his late forties, and is thinking about retiring. He is married, and his wife, Lucy, and children live at Mercer House. His eldest child, Guy, is only ten, as he married quite late. Lucy thinks that Maud, their two-year-old daughter, has the Gift, and Perceval thinks she may be right, although he fears that this is just wishful thinking. He is tall and thin, and rapidly going bald. He refuses to take his red cap off, even when he is inside, although it is not enchanted. He will offer help to any covenant in a crisis, but thinks that people should be able to handle daily life for themselves. He has a brooch which can make him and his horse invisible.

Great William: Great William has giants' blood, and is just under eight feet tall, and broad in the shoulders. He is in his mid thirties, and wears his blonde hair and beard unfashionably long. He is very interested in the theory of magic, and has a quick mind and surprisingly wide knowledge. He has boots that allow him to walk faster than normal, and a large axe enchanted to be more accurate — he is not a very skilled fighter.

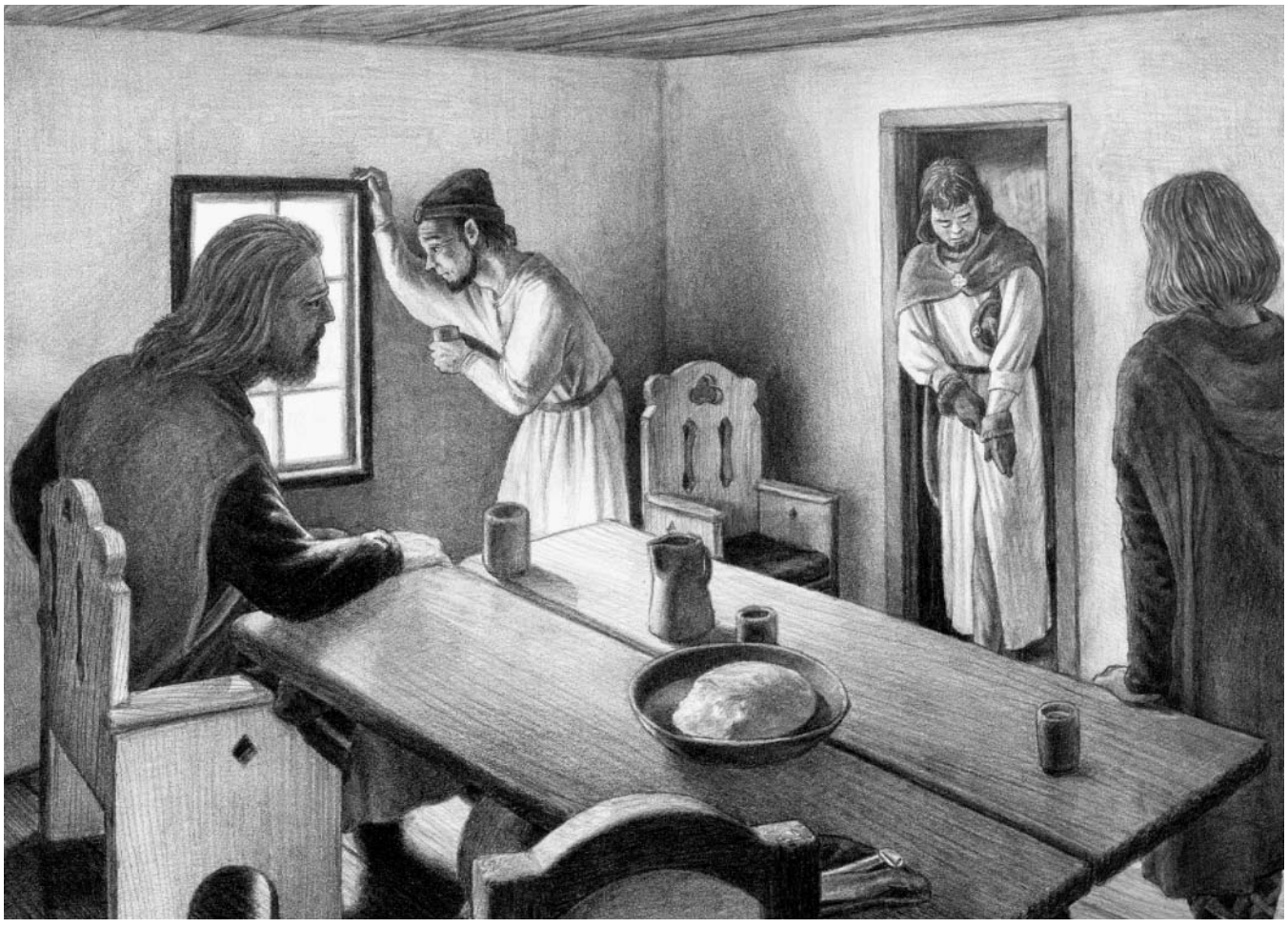
Little William: Little William is only little next to Great William — he is well over six feet tall, and even more solidly built than Great William. He is in his late thirties, but has managed to get a longevity potion out of one of the magi in the tribunal — he will not say who, or why. He is the only Redcap to wear armor as a matter of course, and he normally wears chainmail armor enchanted to be lighter. He is a very skilled fighter, and carries a sword and shield. He takes great pride in his fighting prowess, and relishes opportunities for practice or training.

Edgar: Edgar is the newest Redcap in the Tribunal, in his early twenties. He is very good looking, with light brown hair and gray eyes, and he has a definite way with women. He doesn't have any magical items yet.

More urgent messages can be sent. Generally, a Redcap will only be able to deliver one urgent message, as he would not have time to visit more than one covenant in the month before he is due elsewhere. Redcaps will also take messages to places other than covenants, but only as special journeys. The covenant must give the Redcap a gift in return for this favor, and the minimum acceptable is 28d. Larger, or magical, gifts will make you popular with the Redcaps, however.

It is also possible to convince a Redcap to stay longer at your covenant, perhaps to give you time to write a reply to a message. This simply requires inviting the Redcap, and if he wishes to stay, he will. Obviously, if his stay is being made pleasant, he is more likely to stop — using magic to influence him is against the Code, as is threatening him if he doesn't want to. The only limit to this is that he will leave in time to reach the next covenant on his itinerary, and that he might not have time to make any special journeys.

Redcaps are required to deliver messages that they accept, to the magus to whom they are addressed, the next time they visit his covenant. A message may also be addressed to a whole covenant, in which case the Redcap must read the message out to a council meeting. They may, however, pass the duty on to other Redcaps as they wish, although there is no obligation to do so. Since the Redcaps choose which covenants they visit, a message may be delayed indefinitely if the Redcap holding it avoids visiting the addressee's covenant. The only exception is a Tribunal Summons, which must be delivered at least six months before the tribunal takes place. This custom is rigorously enforced, because Stonehenge has recently called a tribunal outside the normal cycle. Redcaps are required to accept messages for normal delivery, but have total discretion as to whether they will accept special journeys.



Tribunals

There are two features of the tribunals of Stonehenge that are obviously different from the rest of the Order. First, the tribunals are held a year later than elsewhere. This is a very recent change, being introduced in 1201 as described in the History chapter. Second, the oldest maga in the tribunal is not the praeco. Immanola, the prima of Ex Miscellanea, was blocked from the position by Blackthorn some years ago, on the grounds that she would be unduly biased towards her own house. Since then, the praeco has been Talion of Blackthorn, and the tribunals have been held at that covenant. This situation is not popular with the other covenants, but no concerted action has yet been taken.

There are a number of other distinctive features, of less substantial import. The first event of any tribunal is a highly formal introduction of all the magi. The praeco calls each magus forward, and he then gives his full Hermetic name and covenant affiliation, and affirms that he has at least one sigil, with which he intends to vote at the tribunal. The presiding quaesitor then inspects his credentials, and announces "Sic est" — "It is so". (No one has ever bothered lying here, as it would be too easy to get caught.) When the introductions are completed, the quaesitor announces whether the tribunal is quorate (at least twelve magi from at least four different covenants). It is only in the last twenty years that tribunals in Stonehenge have been reliably quorate, and inquorate tribunals have spent days debating to no useful end in the past, so the tribunal feels the need to be sure.

Although the praeco still has full discretion as to the order of business, a strong convention has grown up that matters dealing with relations between the Order and outside bodies are dealt with first, and matters dealing with relations within the Order second. After issues concerning external relations are dealt with, apprentices are admitted as magi, and the tribunal is formally closed. The youngest magus present then protests that there are matters between the sodales to be resolved, and asks for a new tribunal. The praeco then convenes one on the spot, without going through the formal rigmarole of introductions, and business continues. One important effect of this is that, legally, there are two tribunals at every meeting, and it is possible to challenge one without challenging the other.

The origins of the custom are a little hazy, but seem to date from the Schism War, when there were several extraordinary tribunals in Stonehenge, and disputes between covenants were strongly discouraged. At this time, apprentices were admitted at the end of the tribunal. After the Schism War the fiction of tribunal unity was maintained, and for a few decades inter-covenant disputes were actually dealt with at separate Tribunals. In time, this was felt to be absurd, leading to the current ceremonies.

While the formal closure and reopening of the tribunal are unlikely to be set aside, covenants and praecones use a number of tricks to make the order of business more flexible. A dispute in which one covenant accuses another of interfering with the mundanes,

The Peripheral Code

A.A. 1347 (AD 1208) • Financial Matters
No covenant may put more than a reasonable amount of magically created silver into circulation in a year. A reasonable amount is two pounds per resident of the covenant, whether magus or mundane.

• • •

Towards the end of the twelfth century, a number of Stonehenge covenants, including Blackthorn, Burnham, and Voluntas, were using large amounts of magically created silver to increase their power and wealth. The result was widespread inflation, and the value of silver halved over a couple of decades. The tribunal in 1208 decided that this counted as interfering with the mundanes, and made the above ruling to keep things under control. An attempt was made to punish those responsible, but it was easily defeated.

As gold is not used as currency in England, it was not covered by the ruling. However, the magi of the tribunal are now aware that making too much of a thing will reduce its value, and so use moderation.

for example, could be counted as external or internal business, while a dispute over a vis source might be presented as a matter concerning the mundane ownership of land, and thus an external question. The only fixed point, in effect, is that all apprentices are admitted as magi at the same time.

All the Redcaps and quaesitores of the tribunal are expected to attend the meetings. The quaesitores do not, officially, vote. However, it is customary for each quaesitor, including the presiding quaesitor, to instruct one of the unGifted Redcaps to vote a certain way on each issue. Technically, these "magi" vote with their own sigils, but everyone knows what is really going on. On occasion, the praeco has made use of the same device to get a vote, but this is less well accepted by the rest of the tribunal.

This custom seems to stem from the very end of the Schism War, when Houses Guernicus and Mercere worked together to bring peace to the tribunal. Tribunal records show that the quaesitores actually voted with their own sigils at a couple of these meetings, and it is unclear when the current arrangements started.

UnGifted Redcaps do not vote on their own account, nor are they usually counted when deciding whether a tribunal is quorate. This is because the problem was always getting enough covenants, not magi, and the unGifted Redcaps have no covenant affiliation.

The Covenants

This section describes all the "official" covenants of Stonehenge. You may start play with magi as members as one of these covenants, or change things to better suit your intentions for your saga. The simplest way to do this is simply to have the player magi, perhaps with the assistance of one or two older magi, found a new covenant. There are no covenants in the West Country — Devon and Cornwall — and the region is eminently suitable for magical colonization, being near the ruins of Sursum and Stellapser, as well as Glastonbury Abbey and other sites associated with Arthur. The information given in this chapter, and elsewhere, remains accurate, but everyone has to deal with the foundation of a new covenant.

A second option is to alter one of the covenants given here, replacing some of its members with the player magi. This allows most of the information given to remain intact, especially if the player magi are recent arrivals, and thus have not yet been able to influence the covenant's political actions. A third option is to simply add an older covenant, and alter the history and politics to reflect its presence. The new covenant can be as isolationist as you like, thus reducing the influence it could have had. Indeed, you could combine this with the "new covenant" idea, and have Castrum Antiquum or the London Covenant reappear, complete with newly gauntleted magi. This would guarantee that the players would be at the center of Hermetic attention for a few years, and provide player characters who could plausibly be as ignorant of the society around them as the players.

Of course, you can ignore all the information given here, or simply plunder it for ideas. It's your saga.

Similar considerations apply to the magi given as members of the covenants. As it stands, the numbers of members of each House roughly match the proportion of each House in the Order as a whole, with a slight excess of Ex Miscellanea as the domus magna is in the Tribunal. However, changing the names, sexes, and House affiliations of these magi will not cause any major problems in the

Magus Ages

Each magus is given an approximate age. A young magus has been out of apprenticeship between zero and 30 years, a mature magus between 20 and 70 years, an old magus between 50 and 100 years, and an ancient magus over 80 years. In a few cases, ages are given more precisely.

material. You should also bear in mind that the descriptions given are their reputations — these may be inaccurate, or carefully cultivated masks.

Blackthorn

Until recently Blackthorn was the dominant political force in the tribunal. Most meetings were not quorate, which meant that the covenant could not be called to account, and at those which were it routinely controlled most of the votes. This changed radically over the last twenty years, and the magi are scrambling to adjust.

The Hunt

One of the stories depicted on the walls of the great hall at Blackthorn is the Capture of the Wild Hunt. In the early twelfth century this group of faeries terrorized Wales and the Marches. They would appear on moonless nights, and sweep down from the sky to pursue hapless mortals across the land, finally seizing or killing them just before dawn. When they attacked a group they would only take one member, and anyone who could reach a church was safe, so the story spread.

Flumen of Tremere decided to deal with the fay, and prepared magic that would allow him to run quickly and tirelessly. He then took to wandering the area on dark nights, waiting for the Hunt. Finally, in 1154, it came for him. He fled from it, running on the strength of magic, and the howling faeries pursued him closely. No matter how fast he ran, they were able to keep up, but they always stayed just a little behind him.

He ran into the mountains, and into a cave near Blackthorn. The Hunt poured in after him, barely noticing the iron-bound doors at the entrance, or the veins of the metal in the walls. Their cry echoed in the caves, which curved back on themselves. Flumen dashed out of the entrance just ahead of the faeries, and slammed the doors shut with his magic. The cold iron was enchanted, and not even the most powerful huntsmen could break through it. Their cries of frustrated rage echoed through the mountains for weeks, and although they have now stopped, no one has seen the Hunt since.

Physical Appearance

Blackthorn is located in a warren of caves under the Black Mountains in south Wales. Some of the caves are natural, but most have been excavated by Blackthorn and Tagelyn over the last two hundred years. The main entrance is at the back of a large cave in the mountains. The door is covered by an elaborate illusion of a rock wall, which even fools the sense of touch, and is constantly guarded, from the inside, by two of the grogs. There is a small window in the door which allows them to see the cave, and this window is glazed. It is impossible to find the door by mundane means, other than by going systematically over the wall of the cave with an axe and waiting to cut into it.

The interior of the covenant is not normally lit (see "Covenfolk," page 120), but most of the passages have been altered so that they have smooth floors, an even width, and high ceilings. Much of the covenant is off limits to visitors, and most of this area is within the sanctum of one magus or another.

Most visitors only see the area set aside for tribunals. This centers on a large hall, which soars into the rock overhead. It is magically lit, and the walls are decorated with murals celebrating the glorious history of Blackthorn. There are fine wooden tables and chairs around, and an elaborate platform at one end for the praeco and presiding quaesitor. There are two doors to the hall: one behind the platform, and one at the other end. The praeco and the presiding quaesitor normally enter through the door behind the platform, everyone else using the other door.

A dozen suites of rooms for visitors surround the hall. Each suite is entered through a small guardroom, with a door that can be barred and which contains a spyhole. The guardroom leads into a common room, off which are a kitchen, latrines, dormitory, and four private bedrooms. Blackthorn will provide servants if requested, but many covenants prefer to bring their own. Supplies are normally provided by the hosts, but particularly paranoid magi may bring their own. The guest suites are well furnished, and are

decorated with yet more wall paintings exalting the great deeds of Blackthorn's magi.

Customs

Magi visiting for the tribunal will be ushered into the covenant as soon as they arrive, and shown to their suite. The seneschal always offers the use of the covenant's servants and supplies, even if the magi have obviously brought both. Delegations are welcome to stay for a month after the tribunal, at which point they are expected to leave. Very few people take up the whole of this offer, but it is not unusual for magi to stay another couple of days after the tribunal finishes to conclude personal business.

Invited guests arriving at other times will be treated in much the same way. Unexpected visitors will be stopped in the cave at the entrance, until a magus comes to decide what to do. This applies even if the visitor is a mundane; if someone knows that the covenant is there, the magi want to know what is going on. People who have been invited by a particular magus may be asked to wait in the cave until that magus can be brought. Even then, they will rarely be taken anywhere but the guest quarters, as it is necessary to pass through the sanctum of one of the members of the covenant to reach the covenant's common areas. No magi of the tribunal would risk entering the sanctum of a Blackthorn magus.

Magi

There are six magi at Blackthorn. It is generally believed that there is a strict hierarchy within the covenant, but the details are not known to anyone outside it.

Talion of Flambeau is the second oldest magus in the tribunal and, with the disqualification of Immanola, the praeco. He has weathered age and Twilight remarkably well, and is still in full possession of his faculties and, as far as anyone knows, magic. However, he is very, very careful about using spells these days. He favors elaborate robes in deep greens and blues. An ancient magus, he was renowned for his mastery of Perdo.

Iudicium of Guernicus is the senior quaesitor of the tribunal, and presides at the meetings. The combination of praeco and presiding quaesitor in one covenant enabled Blackthorn to maintain its grip for many years. He is not known for any remarkable accomplishments, although he is a solid lawyer, competent wizard, and capable politician. He even looks average, although old, apart from a writhing tattoo of a scarlet serpent on his left cheek, the memento of a long-ago Twilight. Iudicium is an ancient magus, and maintains the standard Guernicus interest in Intéllego and Mentem magic.

Golias of Tytalus is a puzzle. He is an old magus, but maintains the illusion of being just out of apprenticeship. His hair is brown and unkempt, and his eyes are clear blue and, somehow, look innocent. No one is fooled, but everyone is kept off balance wondering why he bothers. He is the best political dealer in Blackthorn, the more so because no one really knows what he is up to. No one knows his magical interests.

Goliard of Tremere is the most vigorous maga in the covenant, and is described in the insert on the next page.

Fornax of Tremere is Goliard's filia, and her parens still holds her sigil. She is a mature maga, and looks to be in her mid thirties. She is fairly ugly, with lank hair and scars on her face, and has never been known to be polite to anyone. She is rumored to specialize in Rego and Mentem, and to use them to make people entertain her.

Prelum of Tremere is also Goliard's filia, and her parens still holds her sigil. She has been a maga for less than ten years, and forms a remarkable contrast to Fornax. While not beautiful, she is certainly good looking, with long red hair and good teeth. She is always polite, and usually pleasant, although she can be very insulting while still keeping all the rules of formal politeness. She also seems to have a remarkable talent for Vim.

Covenfolk

Any person conceived or born in Blackthorn can see equally well in full darkness or full daylight. The covenant draws its covenfolk almost exclusively from those born there, so there is generally no need to light the rooms or passages. The magi either use magic, or have a servant carry a lantern.

The servants are divided into a number of groups. The guards wear chainmail, and are responsible for general security. The public staff wear dark green, with black trim for those in positions of authority, and are responsible for the guest areas. These are the staff who will be assigned to visitors. The general staff wear black, with red trim for those in charge, and are responsible for running the shared areas of the covenant. They are occasionally seen in the guest areas, usually carrying messages, and do not talk to guests.

Each magus has his own group of servants, dressed in dark red with a badge indicating the magus served. This group includes guards, and cannot be commanded by any of the other magi (although they are required to be polite). Members of this group are often seen in the guest area, accompanying their master.

It seems that Blackthorn rotates people through the groups, because visiting magi never seem to see the same people two tribunals running. For similar reasons, no one has ever been able to estimate just how many staff the covenant has, although there are dozens at the very least.

Burnham

Burnham covenant, in the far northeast of the tribunal, has little to do with the other covenants. It has only recently begun sending representatives to tribunal, and they abstain from most votes. It keeps similarly aloof from mundane affairs, relying on the grant of immunity that it obtained from Stephen dur-

Goliard of Tremere

Goliard filia Flumen is, apparently, the leading light of Blackthorn. If she is not the leader of the covenant, the members are engaged in an elaborate charade to make sure that people think she is. She is approaching ninety, and looks to be in her early forties. Her black hair has streaks of gray, and her brown eyes are slightly bloodshot. She normally wears simple clothes, often simply bleached white rather than being dyed. However, she also possesses formidably elaborate robes of purple and crimson, decorated with gold embroidery and studded with gems. She normally wears these for the formal ceremonies at tribunal — the opening, the admission of apprentices and the fake closing and opening, and the real closing — but otherwise dresses in her simple outfits.

Her parens was also a member of Blackthorn, and it is generally believed that she was actually born in the covenant. Flumen was the apparent leader of the covenant before her, and she took over when he passed into Final Twilight in 1187. It is generally believed that she is trying to regain the position of influence that the covenant lost twenty years ago, although she has not done anything overt or shocking.

A couple of incidents from her past are generally known, however. Early in her career she investigated a series of rockslides in the Black Mountains, as the involvement of enemy covenants was suspected. Instead, she found that an elemental spirit was taking revenge on humanity after breaking free from an ancient binding. She managed to restore the binding, and take control of the spirit. As far as anyone knows, it is still under her control.

Several decades later, she led an expedition into the Atlantic Ocean. She was missing for four years, and was found, unconscious and badly battered, washed up on the sand in Chester, by one of the Redcaps.

Any magus who wants to deal with Blackthorn normally finds himself talking to Goliard. She is an effective negotiator, and always does, or at least attempts to fulfill, anything she agrees to. She is quite keen to forge relationships with other covenants, but most of the established covenants are wary of getting entangled with Blackthorn.

ing the civil war and had confirmed by Henry II afterwards. This grant allows them to maintain their castle without giving anything in return — or, at least, anything obvious. No one is sure whether they are just a group of careful mediocrities, or have great and deep plans.

Physical Appearance

Burnham is a stone motte and bailey castle, with a river diverted to form a moat about both parts. Both the bailey wall and the keep appear to be of mundane construction. The wall around the bailey is simple, without defensive towers, although there is a parapet, and grogs stand guard on top of it. The bailey contains the living quarters for the covenfolk, the stables, and the workshops for craftsmen, as well as the kitchens.

The keep is reached via a steep stairway, and contains the sancta of the magi, the library, and the council chamber. The top is crenellated, and magi are occasionally seen on the top, conducting rituals. Outsiders are not allowed to enter the keep, and only certain of the servants have that privilege.

Customs

The covenant does not welcome visitors. The Redcaps are treated well enough to avoid resentment, but are never asked to stay longer. Uninvited guests, even magi, are turned away, and requests to visit are always denied. A magus with urgent news might be able to get an audience in the bailey, but such an event would be very rare.

Magi

Aindread Ex Miscellanea arrived at Burnham shortly after his apprentice's gauntlet, and has, as far as anyone knows, only left once since, to present Caitlin at tribunal. He never answers letters, nor does he write to any other magi. He is a mature magus, but his magical interests are unknown.

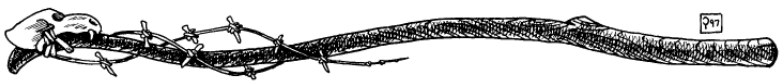
Caitlin Ex Miscellanea, Aindread's filia, sometimes represents Burnham at tribunal. She is a young maga, heavily freckled and with mismatched eyes (one blue, one brown). She dresses smartly, but not ostentatiously, and is polite to everyone who talks to her. However, she refuses to be drawn into negotiations, and has shown a remarkable indifference to very tempting offers.

Focus of Flambeau is Scintilla's filius. Nothing else is generally known about him.

Scintilla of Flambeau came to Burnham from the east of Europe at the end of the twelfth century, bringing Focus with her. She is rumored to be a powerful fire maga, but she has done nothing noteworthy since arriving in Stonehenge.

Sachiko of Merinita is probably female. Caitlin first voted with her sigil at the 1201 tribunal, and that is the first that the rest of the tribunal knew of her. Her sigil has appeared at the subsequent tribunals.

Trutina the Quaesitor joined Burnham in 1195, and has attended all the tribunals since, as custom demands. She says little, and normally instructs the unGifted Redcap acting as her proxy to vote with Iudicium of Blackthorn. She refuses to be drawn into conversation, citing quaesitorial neutrality if necessary. She is very beautiful, with long dark hair, and she normally wears dark robes, either dark blue or deep red. She always wears a silver pendant in the shape of the badge of House Guernicus. She is a mature maga, and her magical interests are unknown.



Covenfolk

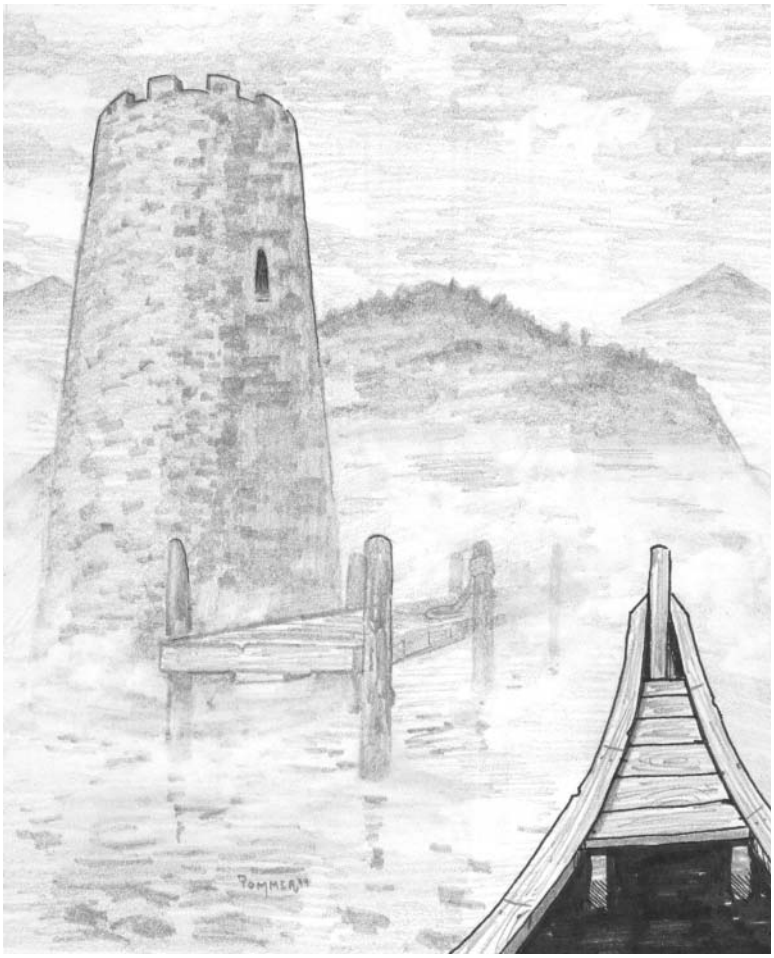
Burnham's covenfolk don't talk to outsiders. They are all well dressed and equipped, although nothing about them really draws attention. The covenant does recruit from outside, apparently from outside the tribunal as well as locally.

Cad Gadu

Cad Gadu is the domus magna of House Ex Miscellanea, and the residence of the oldest maga in the tribunal. Normally, this would give it great influence, but since most members of Ex Miscellanea neither know nor care where their domus magna is, and Immanola is not the praeco, the covenant is relatively unimportant. This doesn't seem to bother its members, and the covenant keeps largely to itself.

Physical Appearance

Cad Gadu is located in a set of regiones in North Wales. The mundane level is an island in a lake amid the mountains of Snowdonia. There is a wooden jetty, with a guardpost at the end, at the only point where a boat can be landed. The rest of the island is edged with sheer cliffs. These are only about twenty feet high, but this is enough to make landing from a boat very difficult.



The mundane level contains three stone cottages, with stables attached to one of them. These provide accommodation for visitors who do not want to risk entering the regiones, and each contains two rooms, one with a hearth. The ruins of the first covenant buildings are still visible, and the cottages incorporate parts of the old structure, so that they have unusually elaborate windows. There is nothing of value in the ruins, of course. A path starts between these cottages, although not at any of the doors, and leads off across the island. The path is paved in white stone, and edged with larger white stones. About fifty yards from the start it passes between two white pillars, and, about a hundred yards beyond that, it does so again. This path will take you between the levels of the regio.

The first boundary is between the first two pillars, and successfully crossing it brings you to the main structures of the covenant. These consist of two large U-shaped buildings, one on either side of the path. Just beyond them, the path forks, and each fork passes through a trilithon. The lintel of the left-hand trilithon is sanctum marked, but the right hand one is plain.

The building to the right of the path contains the guest magus quarters, council chamber, and library. The guest quarters form the central wing, while the library is on the left and the council chamber on the right as you face the building from the path. It is built of stone, but is not decorated. Guests are not allowed to enter the library, and there are magical defenses on it to keep them, and most covenfolk, out. The magi and servants charged with its upkeep have talismans which allow them to enter safely.

The building to the left contains the servants' quarters, kitchens, and great hall. The great hall is in the center, with the kitchens occupying part of the left wing as seen from the path. The area behind the building is devoted to grog training, and an area of trodden dirt is marked off with ropes.

This level is still on an island, and the lake can be seen from the path. A mist hangs over it at all times, however, cutting the shore off from view. Visitors are discouraged from going further into the regio, and warned to stay on the path if they do so. On the next level the path follows a ridge with long, sheer drops to either side, with occasional side tracks leading to caves, the first of which have sanctum markers over the entrance. Reports about higher levels are conflicting: one visitor found a tiny island, barely six feet across, in the middle of a stormy sea, while another found a meadow that seemed to stretch for ever. It seems likely that there are several higher levels, and the magi of the covenant may not know about all of them.

Customs

Uninvited visitors are always turned away at the jetty. Unless the characters want to make a war of it, they will have to send a letter via the Redcaps and get an invitation. This is hard to do, as the covenant does not want to encourage visitors. This is one reason why they are reluctant to host the tribunal. However, a magus offering a useful trade of books or vis may be invited to the covenant to finalize the deal, as may a magus who has particularly important information or who has done the covenant a great service.

All the magi and covenfolk can pass freely between regio levels, provided that they stay on the path. Young children are kept on the main level, and once they can move around they are kept indoors, or on a leash outside, until they are old enough to be trusted not to wander around the regio. This has become the basis of the coming of age ceremony, where the child's parent cuts the rope holding the child to her. This normally takes place around the age of eleven, but it can happen earlier or later in particular cases. Once it has happened, the person is considered an adult in all respects, so the turb has some very young grogs.

The covenant council chamber has a seat for Pralix, and any council, even when there are outside visitors present, always pauses for a few moments at the beginning, and the chairman opens it by saying "Well, it looks like Pralix isn't coming." The magi will explain that, while they don't really expect her to return, it is possible that she might, and they don't want to be disrespectful. They refuse to answer if asked where she might return from, but most people think that she went into the higher levels of the covenant's regio.

Magi

Immanola is the prima of House Ex Miscellanea, and is described in the insert on the next page.

Gharad Ex Miscellanea is the second oldest maga in the covenant, but time has taken a greater toll on her than on Immanola. She is almost blind, and repeated Twilights have left her seeing things that aren't there. Her delusions are never dangerous to her, but they can be hazardous for others. Fortunately, she rarely leaves her sanctum.

Gwrhyr Ex Miscellanea is a blustering incompetent. He is an old magus, and looks about fifty, with pepper-and-salt hair and a full beard, and always wears ornate robes embroidered with mystic symbols. He is not particularly bright, nor magically powerful, but he constantly demands the "proper respect" for his abilities. He does, however, know how weak they actually are, and doesn't put himself in situations he cannot handle. His greatest abilities, such as they are, are with Rego.

Culhwch Ex Miscellanea, a mature magus, was Gwrhyr's apprentice, and had to suffer the older magus's insecurities. As a result, he has grown into a bully, and is particularly fond of taking it out on mundanes. He has rather more talent than his pater, and will probably overtake his former master in power, a prospect he anticipates with relish. He is rather small and thin, and wears simple robes. There is usually a smell of burning about him, and he is particularly skilled with Ignem.

Findabair Ex Miscellanea can see how fallen and pathetic the magi of the covenant are, and wishes that things were different. However, she is too wrapped up in her own pleasures to do much about it but whine, which she does with delight whenever she can get an audience. Findabair is still a young maga, and is stunningly beautiful, with long blonde hair, blue eyes, and a perfect figure. She uses magic so that she can eat and drink as much as she wants without losing her looks. She normally dresses to seduce.

Covenfolk

All the mundanes at Cad Gadu are deeply grateful that Immanola is in charge, and dread the day that she dies and one of the other magi takes over. They spend most of their time trying to keep out of the way of the magi, with the exception of some of the young men, who hang around Findabair.

Gwydyon the librarian is the most important mundane in the covenant. He serves as autocrat as well as librarian, and the library is, as a result, somewhat neglected. He will not allow the books to actually become damaged, but he doesn't keep very careful track of them, with the result that some have been taken by magi and not returned, and the whole collection is poorly organized. He is in his early fifties, and a large man. Much of this is now fat, but he still has some of his youthful strength. He used to have some initiative, but he is now resigned to simply preserving the status quo.

Branwen, a woman in her early twenties, is the only member of the covenant who seems willing to act over its decay. She is trying to increase its mundane resource base, and is working on improving the defenses. She is in two minds as to the usefulness of the magi, but on the whole wants to recruit some

Immanola, prima of House Ex Miscellanea

Immanola is over a hundred and fifty years old, and looks ancient. She cannot walk without the aid of a crutch, and her hair is thin and pure white. Her face is lined with wrinkles, but her eyes are still a piercingly bright green. It is very difficult to read her emotions, and she will listen in silence for a long time before saying anything. When she does speak, she keeps it brief and to the point. She normally wears robes of deep rose, which shimmer gray as she moves. These are not always the Robes of Dusty Dawn, which symbolize her leadership of the house, but will be if she is seeing to official duties.

Her first master was a Byzantine seer who joined the Order for protection after the battle of Manzikert in 1071. He knew no magic other than scrying and prophecy, and decided early on to pass Immanola along to another maga of the house, so that she might learn Hermetic magic properly. Her initial training gave her a gift for prophecy, but Immanola is a fully capable Hermetic maga. Her second parens was a spirit mistress, but Immanola never became comfortable with controlling other beings.

In the first half of the twelfth century, she was well known throughout the Order. She belonged to no covenant, but would turn up when magi were in trouble, help them out, and then stay in their covenant for a while, studying from their library or using their laboratories. She explained that her magic always told her when she was needed, and that her sole aim was to support the Order. While some doubted her motives, she was one of the most celebrated magi of the time.

Fifty years ago she arrived at Cad Gadu shortly after the death of the old primus, and claimed the Robes of Dusty Dawn, saying that her magic had revealed that she should be the prima. They were handed over without a murmur, as Ex Miscellanea has never had a formal mechanism for selecting the primus, and such a respected maga seemed an excellent candidate.

She has only rarely stirred from Cad Gadu since, and became crippled while there, whether from old age or other causes. Shortly after her elevation she sent messages prophesying the imminent end of the Order to all members of her House, encouraging them to travel to Stonehenge where they could try to salvage something from the wreck. The apparent failure of this prophecy, along with her inaction, has greatly reduced her reputation in the Order, and most magi now think of her as Twilight-ridden and ineffectual. Immanola herself just waits patiently.

new members for the covenant, magi who will drag it out of its slump. Of course, she doesn't really have the authority to do so, but she's quite a good liar.

Libellus

Libellus is the newest covenant in the tribunal, and one of the largest. It has done very little of note so far, making it an unknown quantity in tribunal politics. Further details can be found in *Promises, Promises*, a free Jump Start Kit available from the Atlas Games web site at www.atlas-games.com.

Physical Appearance

Libellus is a complex of a dozen buildings, surrounded by a stone wall. All the buildings are of stone, and most are thatched. Three have tiled roofs: the Council Chamber, the library, and Stephen Eruditus's sanctum. Each magus has one building as a sanctum, and other buildings include the kitchens, grog barracks, and stables. The buildings are plain and functional, and the perimeter wall does not have crenellations or a wall walk.

Customs

The covenant is happy to receive visits from other magi, although it doesn't have the facilities to accommodate them for long. Stephen Eruditus will generally meet visitors himself — the other magi have little to do with the outside world. As a new covenant, it has no established customs.

Magi

The covenant was founded, and is currently led, by Stephen Eruditus of Jerbiton. He is around seventy, although his longevity potion has held up well, and he looks to be in his mid-thirties. He was trained in the Rhine Tribunal, and has a reputation for taking risks. So far, he has always come out ahead, but starting a new covenant is the largest risk he has yet taken.

The other magi of the covenant are newly arrived in the tribunal, and are little known, although they are all young magi. They are Meles of Bjornaer, Gregorius of Bonisagus, Lucidia of Flambeau, Jonaquil of Merinita, Justin of Tremere, and Fabricor of Verditius.

Covenfolk

Although the covenant is relatively new, the covenfolk have all been serving magi for several years now, and are thoroughly used to the Gift. They do not, however, have a very broad experience of magi, and may be confused by particularly eccentric specimens.

Nigrasaxa

Nigrasaxa is another relatively new covenant. Its foundation was instrumental in revitalizing the politics of the tribunal and, like Libellus, it is relatively large. Further details of Nigrasaxa and its inhabitants can be found in *Nigrasaxa*, a free mini-saga available from the Atlas Games web site at www.atlas-games.com.

Physical Appearance

Nigrasaxa consists of two tall towers of shining black rock. They were conjured by magic, and their outer surfaces are smooth except where there are windows. The towers stand close together, and are linked by two short bridges, one about twenty feet from the ground and the other near the top. Only one of the towers contains a door: all access to the second tower is from the first.

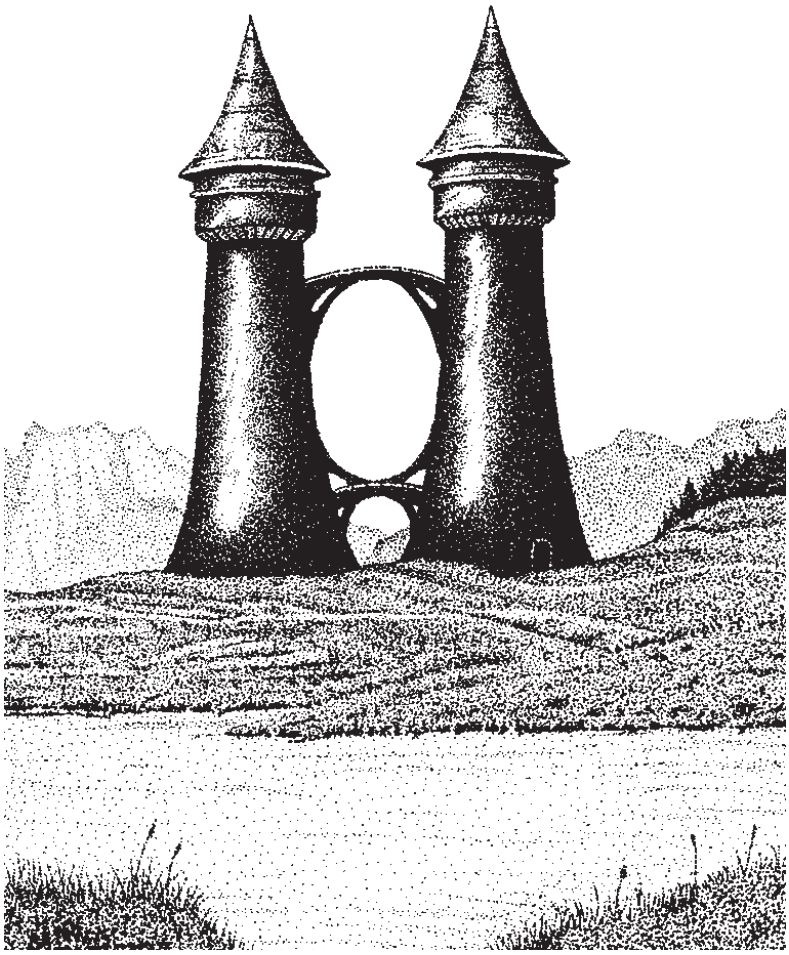
The second tower contains the private areas of the covenant: the barracks and sancta. The first tower contains the common areas, including guest quarters. The Council

Chamber is at the top of the public tower, and occupies an entire floor. If people wish to meet the magi, they will be taken here, so that all the magi can attend if they wish. The public tower is rather sparsely furnished, and large areas appear to be unused, although they are kept clean and repaired as necessary.

Customs

The covenant welcomes Hermetic visitors, and has enough guest rooms to accommodate any likely party. These rooms are not all furnished, however, so a large group may find that the grogs only get a room, and have to sleep on the floor.

Visitors are not allowed to enter the private tower, although there are no sanctum marks over the bridges. The upper bridge is used only by the magi of the covenant, and connects to the floor below the council chamber, which also houses the library. Covenfolk always use the lower bridge.



Magi

Maximianus of Bonisagus, the founder of the covenant, is a widely respected master of Corpus magic. He has written numerous important texts, most of which are in the library at Nigrasaxa, and was a typical theoretical Bonisagus. Over the last couple of decades, however, he has shown much more interest in the politics of the Order. He came to Stonehenge and founded a covenant specifically to break the cycle of invalid tribunals, and has recruited young magi to strengthen it. He is ancient, and thought to be on the verge of Final Twilight, but widely respected.

The other young magi of the covenant have had little impact on the Order. They are Siffed of Criamon, Ariel of Flambeau, Morlen of Merinita, Caltis of Tremere, Herrit of Tytalus, and Thamik of Verditius.

Covenfolk

The day-to-day operation of the covenant is handled by William of Thanet. He has been the autocrat since the covenant was founded, and is very good at his job. He is starting to get old, however, and it isn't clear who will take over from him. William is a little overweight, and his gray hair is thinning.

The turb is led by a woman, Eleanor Sworder. She has been in charge for five years, and has ambitions to be a knight. It is hard to see how these can ever be realized, but that doesn't bother her unduly. She has an ugly scar on her left cheek, and there are numerous rumors as to its origin.

Schola Pythagoranis

Schola Pythagoranis is Jerbiton-dominated, and sited in the university town of

Cambridge. The existence of the university is largely due to the covenant, as the magi encouraged scholars to come here when the university at Oxford was dissolved in 1209, and to remain when it reformed after 1215. The magi are at least as interested in scholarship as magical power, and try to stay out of tribunal politics. Archmage Milo of Bonisagus was a member of the covenant for several years while he prepared for his archmage contest, but he left after his success and joined Durenmar.

Physical Appearance

Schola Pythagoranis does not have a single site, rather being scattered throughout Cambridge. The main center of the covenant is a large stone hall, known in the town as Schola Pythagoranis (The School of Pythagoras), near the river. This contains the library and the great hall. Edward of Milton, the warden, lives there along with a few covenfolk. Visitors are expected to come here.

The other magi all own their own houses in the town, and these houses have sanctum marks over the entrances. Some of the covenfolk lodge with them, but others are lodged in single rooms while the magi gather the resources to get more accommodation.

The covenant also has a laboratory building on the edge of a faerie forest some distance outside town. This stone building is home to three or four covenfolk at all times, and normally at least one magus is there, working on magical projects. The faerie aura is clearly better than the Dominion aura of the town, but the covenant is looking for a magical aura to colonize.

Customs

Schola Pythagoranis only admits magi or apprentices with the Gentle Gift, as they must be able to live among mundanes without causing trouble. The magi are scholars first and magi second, and those of the covenfolk who are also scholars are treated as peers of the magi in internal administration.

Visitors are lodged, at the covenant's expense, in inns in the town. Mundane and magical visitors are equally welcome, although magi with normal or Blatant Gifts will be encouraged to make their stay brief. If they wish to speak to the whole council, they have to wait until the end of the season, as the summons from the remote laboratory disrupts work. The Redcaps deliver messages to the whole covenant to whichever magi are present at the time.

Magi

Edward of Milton, follower of Jerbiton, is the oldest magus in the covenant, and its warden. He is a great teacher, and loves to do it, spending much of his time lecturing or disputing. He is a student of mundane as well as magical knowledge, and as a result he is quite weak for a magus of his age. He looks quite old, maybe in his late fifties, but he is still vigorous, particular when teaching an eager student. He has trained five apprentices in his time, an unprecedented number. He dresses as a cleric, and is in minor orders as an exorcist. His magical interests lie mainly in Mentem, so he is, in fact, extremely good at exorcising spirits.

Astrolabe of Jerbiton is probably the most brilliant magus in the tribunal, possibly the Order. If he concentrated on magic, he would undoubtedly be an Archmage by now, but like the other magi of the covenant he also studies mundane matters. His main interest is in philosophy, particularly natural philosophy, and he has recently become interested in applying some of his discoveries to magic theory which, he claims, is based on shoddy physics in many places. He appears to be in his late thirties, and is usually rather unkempt. If he knows he will be meeting people, however, he makes an effort, and dresses up smartly. He was Edward's first apprentice, many years ago, and is now an old magus himself.

Lumen of Jerbiton is a young maga and an obsessive bibliophile. She is responsible for the covenant's library, and is keen to build

it up. However, she is not just interested in making it more useful as a means to greater power: She wants to collect the widest possible range of texts, especially those by classical authors and magi from the early days of the Order. She is willing to copy them herself, and to trade books of much greater immediate use. She travels a lot to monasteries, to search their libraries, and has a ring that makes her appear as a man. She is quite adept at the pretense. As either sex, she is homely-looking, rather shorter than average and a bit gangly. Her clothes are always functional, but she doesn't pay much attention to them.

Fredegisa the Quaesitor is a reforming idealist. She is a brilliant young student of all laws, civil, canon, common and Hermetic, and spends much of her creative energies on devising new structures of Hermetic law. Her dream is to have these structures accepted by the Order, thus ushering in a new age of justice for all magi. She always dresses smartly, and is quite attractive in a severe sort of way. She tries to make a good impression on everyone she meets, but her conversation soon turns to her proposed reforms.

Covenfolk

Schola Pythagoranis has few grogs, as they would cause more problems than they solved in the center of the town. They do have enough ordinary servants to relieve the magi and scholars of normal daily concerns, however.

The scholarly mundane population of the covenant is constantly changing as men come to University for a while, and then leave to study elsewhere. A few scholars have become more permanent fixtures, however. Of these, the most important is Amabel the Learned, a Natural Magician. She is almost as brilliant as Astrolabe, and the two work closely together. She is probably as magically powerful as most of the magi of the covenant, as she has studied natural magic with a greater focus than they have studied Hermetic magic. Those magi who know her tend to treat her as a member of the Order, and several members of the tribunal would be surprised to learn that she has never joined.

Another important scholar is Richard Rufus the Deacon. He is friendly with the magi, and is sure of their good intentions. He is also a learned theologian, and he spends most of his time on tracts justifying the use of magic for virtuous ends. This gets him into occasional trouble with the ecclesiastical authorities, but he has yet to be formally accused of heresy. It is rumored that some highly placed churchmen find his work convincing, and have started to employ natural magicians.

Semitae

The wandering covenant is something of an enigma, appropriately enough for one led by a Criamon. No one is sure how old the covenant is, although it could be almost as old as the tribunal. Equally, no one is sure where it can be found: the Redcaps arrange their next meeting place anew every time. The only effective ways to find the covenant are to accompany a Redcap, or to send a message and arrange a meeting.

Physical Appearance

Semitae is a group of wagons, usually about half a dozen. Three of these are unusually large, and made of iron so that they can safely contain laboratories. The iron wagons are enchanted to be lighter, and to make the ground over which they pass firm, so that they don't get stuck. The other wagons are a bit smaller, and wooden, and contain the rest of the covenant's property. The iron wagons are drawn by six horses each, the wooden ones by four.

The covenant normally camps at night, unpacking tents from the wooden wagons and placing guards around their perimeter. They stay away from large towns, buying food direct from villages and sending a small group if they need to buy specialized items. They

also stay away from other covenants, mostly out of courtesy.

Customs

The covenant travels throughout the tribunal, following a path mapped out by Gerfallon. No one else can see any logic in it. For example, Semitae once spent two years circling London at a distance of fifteen miles, despite the inconvenience of needing to be ferried across the water once per circuit. It has never, as far as anyone else knows, stayed in one place for more than four nights.

The covenant is happy for travelers going in its direction to tag along, taking advantage of its guards. It is also happy to arrange to meet magi who request a visit, although the rendezvous point may not be easy to reach. Visitors must provide their own accommodation and supplies, as the covenant cannot afford to carry the extra.

Semitae breeds its own horses, which are not frightened of magi. They will trade these to other covenants, generally for books or vis, but no one else has yet succeeded in getting the line to breed true. These horses are of widely varying appearance, because Gerfallon usually gets sires from outside the covenant's stable.

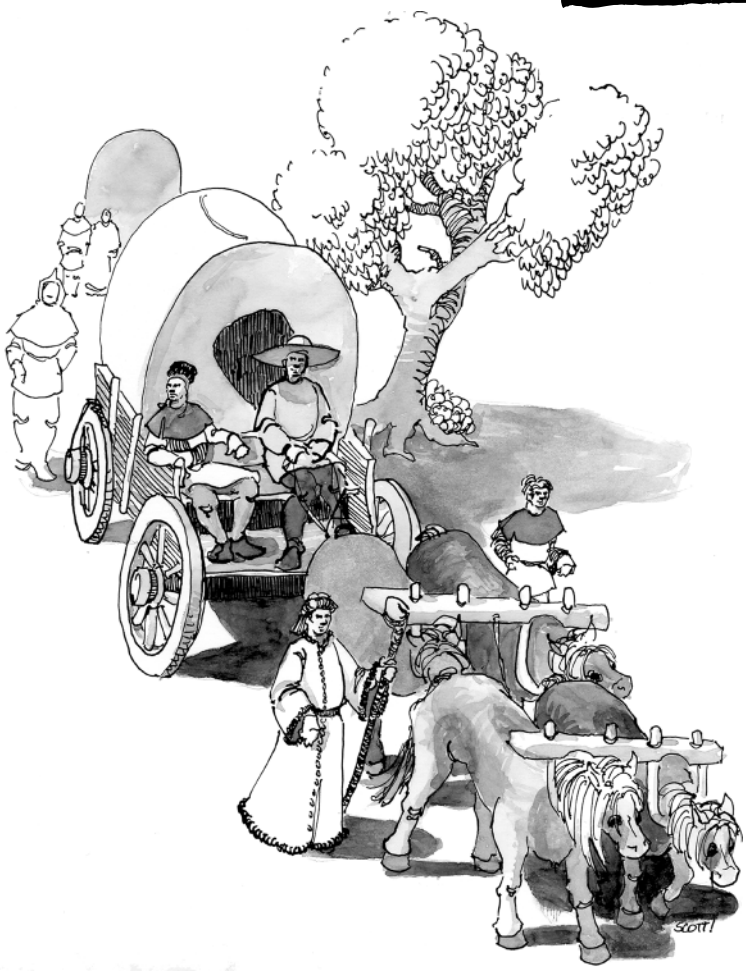
The magi normally work at night and sleep during the day. This is because it is easier to sleep in a moving wagon than to conduct magical experiments. The exception is if they are studying from the library, in which case they will work during the day.

Magi

Gerfallon of Criamon is described in the insert on the next page.

Vanasalus of Criamon is a young maga. She has no tattoos on her face or hands, and she dresses in clothes typical of a mundane noblewoman, embroidered with mystic symbols. She is quite good-looking, and seems more attractive because she is always friendly. She believes that magic reflects your personality, and that if you do magic with malice in your heart, your experiences in Twilight will be vicious, while good experiences flow from good deeds. She freely admits that she has no idea of the Enigma, but she plans to live magic until she does understand, and following Gerfallon around the country seems an ideal way to do it.

Junius of Verditius is an old magus at the height of his powers. He dresses simply, like a craftsman, and is clean-shaven. His face and hands are spotted with tiny burn scars. He looks quite puny, so his blacksmithing work surprises people — he has enchanted tools. He makes the wagons for Semitae, but most of his time is spent on another project, something he refuses to speak about, saying that people will see it when it is ready. He is known to be a powerful magus, and a skilled crafter of items, so most of the tribunal and his house are curious to see what he will produce.



Edward the White of Jerbiton is officially a member of the covenant, but he has taken himself off to explore distant lands, and no one expects to see him again. He took his sigil with him, so Semitae does not have access to his vote. (See *The Mythic Seas* for more information on Edward.)

Covenfolk

The covenfolk of Semitae are all vagrants and vagabonds. They join the covenant for a while, then drift off again later. While they are with the covenant, they are completely loyal, although they may try to rob it after they leave. It is generally suspected that Gerfallon uses magic to ensure loyalty, and releases people after a while so that their minds are not warped. Despite the probable magical enforcement, the covenfolk are treated well, which means that they tend to leave on good terms with the magi.

Ungulus

Ungulus is the classic Winter covenant, living on past glories while filled with insane magi. It was founded by members of House Flambeau, but for two hundred years the covenant was home to an eminent and productive line of Verditius magi. Unfortunately, the last of those magi died several decades ago. Most members of the tribunal expect it to fall in the near future, which will provoke a feeding frenzy as magi try to claim the many magical treasures it contains.

William Fireheart of Flambeau was the covenant's most infamous member at the end of the twelfth century. He caused a lot of trouble in northern France, and in 1220 lost a Wizard's War to a magus of Fudarus. His death ended the line of Flambeau magi at the covenant, but that was met with little sadness.

Physical Appearance

Ungulus is housed in a single tower, sitting on a ridge in the Lake District. The tower is round, and many floors high. Its outer surface is covered with intricate carvings, some of which clearly depict scenes, while others are snatches of Latin or other languages. Some sections look like writing, but have proved impossible to decipher, while still others seem to be entirely abstract. Many

Gerfallon of Criamon

Gerfallon is of indeterminate age and varying sex, so for convenience I will use masculine pronouns. His skin appears to be completely covered with elaborate tattoos, and all his hair is shaved to make more room for them. He normally wears a robe with a deep hood and long sleeves, to avoid shocking the people the covenant encounters. These tattoos are the only thing about his appearance that remains constant. He sometimes changes appearance quite radically during a single conversation, while at others he has remained the same for an entire tribunal.

Gerfallon will not be pressed on his past, or on his current purposes. He claims that it is not possible to understand what he is doing until you have at least glimpsed the Enigma. He may be right: He has been the leader of Semitae since the first definite record of the covenant in 1151, and shows no signs of aging. He does leave the covenant from time to time, but no one knows what he does on most of these occasions.

The only exception took place forty or so years ago. Magi from Cad Gadu were hunting for vis in the Snowdonian mountains when they came across Gerfallon. He greeted them politely, and then ignored them as he continued etching designs into a mountainside with magic. The magi watched him for a while, until he asked them whether they wanted anything, and if not, to please leave him alone. They returned to the spot a few months later, and the designs were complete. They look like a map, although no one has been able to work out what they are a map of — they are not a map of Semitae's travels, unless it is encoded in a particularly strange way.

magi have suspected that the carvings have some overall meaning, but no one has ever decided what it is.

Inside, the covenant is filled with wealth, both magical and mundane. Visitors are kept to certain areas, mainly for their own protection, and these are filled with gilded furniture, rich tapestries, magical lighting and heating devices, and other magical items. There are more magical items in each guest bedroom than in most covenants. Those magi who have seen other areas of the covenant say that it is all like that.

Customs

Visitors to the covenant are welcomed by the covenfolk, and taken to the guest quarters while a message is sent to the magi. It can take several days for the magi to respond to these messages, and since the magical items can take care of the guests it is not unusual for the covenfolk to forget that people are there. Magi who start wandering around looking for someone are likely to get in trouble with the magical defenses around the covenant, so most visitors settle for hanging around in the corridors near the entrance to grab a servant.

The servants have innumerable rituals which they follow at various points, such as certain chants, or actions, which must be performed before opening a door or walking down a flight of stairs. Some of these deactivate magical locks or traps, still more used to, while some, most likely, were simply added by imaginative servants, and no one now wants to risk finding out which ones are really useful.

Magi

Flavius Ex Miscellanea is described in the insert below.

Aquila of Bjornaer spends most of her time in eagle form, riding the thermals around the Lake District. She rarely attends covenant council meetings, and Flavius holds her sigil on a permanent basis. She is an ancient maga, and is likely to pass into Final Twilight soon, thus remaining in her Heartbeast. It isn't clear how the covenant will know when that happens, or, indeed, whether it has happened already.

Sinead Ex Miscellanea was in love with Parsirus, the Verditius magus killed by the dragon, and burns for revenge against it. If

Flavius Ex Miscellanea

Flavius is a frustrated magus. He knows that he is a member of a disintegrating covenant, and while he cannot bring himself to abandon it, he also realizes that he doesn't have the strength of purpose, or raw power, to pull it out of its downward spiral. He is an old magus, of average power for his age, and knows that he doesn't have long left before he passes into Final Twilight.

Flavius was trained in Ungulus, back when it was in its glory days. He remembers the Verditius magi who were responsible for so much of the covenant, and when the dragon killed the last young magus of the line. The other apprentices had been sent to distant tribunals, and had no interest in returning, so the old Verditius died alone, leaving the covenant without its heart.

Flavius was always interested in Hermetic politics, and attended most of the tribunal meetings. Often, he was the only representative of a covenant other than Blackthorn, which he found frustrating. He is a passable politician, but certainly not a great one, and he has been marginalized in the current renaissance in the tribunal.

His main goal is to maintain the status quo, and survive, long enough for the other magi of the covenant to die or pass into Twilight. He will then recruit young magi to build the covenant up again. He is already making overtures to the younger magi of the tribunal, because he does not want to recruit magi fresh from apprenticeship.

Flavius looks as though he is in late middle age, and rather overweight. He is balding, but his hair is still brown, and he wears a full beard. He normally dresses in robes of incredible magnificence, to remind people of the great resources possessed by his covenant, and often carries powerful enchanted items, for the same reason.

anyone wants something from the covenant, she will demand that they kill the dragon in return. This includes requests for membership, which discourages prospective members. She herself tried to kill the dragon on two occasions, and barely escaped alive. The second time she passed into Twilight, and she cannot now go near her enemy — a magical force pushes her away. She is an ancient maga, and appears as an old woman, dressed in rich robes which are somewhat the worse for wear. Her magic is strongly focused on combat, especially with magical beasts.

Viator of Mercere is the only Gifted Redcap in the tribunal. He is obsessed with developing a magical means of communication between covenants which will not compromise their magical defenses against each other. He retired to Ungulus to get the resources to work on his project, and he is violently opposed to increasing the number of magi in the covenant until his project is complete. Viator is weather-beaten, and appears to be quite old. He has lost nearly all his hair, and what remains is white, but he makes sure that he is well-dressed when meeting other people. He doesn't wear robes as rich as Ungulus can provide, but they are still opulent.

Espera of Merinita badly offended a faerie lord many years ago. She thinks she barely managed to escape his vengeance at the time, and has devoted herself to surviving ever since. She never leaves the covenant's Aegis, and is constantly pressing for it to be strengthened. She will not allow anyone else to join the covenant, in case they prove to be faeries in disguise, just seeking to be made part of the Aegis ritual. She wears a number of iron items, all enchanted to defend against faeries, and uses Muto Corpus to frequently change her appearance, to distract her enemy.

Covenfolk

The human covenfolk at Ungulus were all born within the covenant, from other covenfolk. As a result of inbreeding in a strong magic aura, all of them are a bit strange, although most can interact with people from outside without too many problems. However, many of the servants are not human.

Magical constructs perform much of the menial work. Some of them are in human form, but much of the cleaning is done by animated brooms and brushes. There are knives and pans which can prepare food by themselves, and bells that sound their own warnings if anyone enters the area they guard.

Other servants are bound spirits, mostly invisible. They serve mainly as guards and messengers, and seem to be obedient to anyone inside the covenant who gives them an order. No one alive admits to knowing who bound them, or how, which makes some visitors rather nervous. The quaesitores did investigate, some time ago, and found no evidence of diabolism.

Voluntas

Voluntas is one of the most vigorous and active covenants in the tribunal, and a center of opposition to Blackthorn, as it has been almost since its foundation. As it was founded by Norman magi, it has hostile relations with Horsingas in Loch Leglean, but this has not led to serious confrontation for several decades now. It has had a long and active Summer, but there are signs that, with the breaking of Blackthorn's immediate hold over the tribunal, it may be slipping into Autumn.

Physical Appearance

Voluntas appears to be a large and sturdy manor house, built of stone. It has three wings, and a stone wall closes the open gap. This wall is pierced by a large gate, large enough to drive a cart through, which contains a wicket gate for pedestrians. The rear corners of the courtyard are occupied by two square towers, which contain the sancta of the magi. The council chamber and library are in the rear wing of the covenant, while the side wings contain the kitchens and servants' quarters.

The covenant building is only fifteen minutes' walk from the village of Wilton, which serves as part of the covenant. Many of the covenfolk, especially the craftsmen, live here, and the inn here provides accommodation for guests. Most of the buildings of the village are stone, which is unusual in this area.

Customs

Visiting magi are welcome at any time, and will be accommodated in Wilton while they want to stay. Julia handles most negotiations, although Kirist and Phessallia will involve themselves in discussions of some topics. Visitors will not generally be admitted to the main covenant, unless they need to speak to the Council, or have negotiated for use of the library.

All magi of the covenant swear, on admission, not to allow the tribunal to suffer under tyrannical rule. Originally, this was taken to be a clear reference to Blackthorn, but it may be interpreted more broadly now. The quaesitores have found it necessary to remind the magi that their Oath forbids them from interfering in the mundane affairs of the tribunal.

Voluntas is famous for its library, which is one of the best in the tribunal. It is certainly the best that is accessible, as the magi are happy to negotiate for the right to study in it. They will generally accept texts or vis in exchange, and are known to be fairly generous about the privilege. Everyone accepts that this is part of building up a network of friends, but no one minds. The exception is Blackthorn, whose magi are never given permission to spend time in the library.

Magi may also want to copy books from Voluntas's store. This is rather more restrict-

ed. The magi of Voluntas generally ask that the other covenant supply books which will improve Voluntas's library as much as the book they want to copy will improve their own. This is generally difficult, and most covenants find it best to wait until Voluntas wants something from them, and then to hold out for copying rights in return.

Magi

Corvus of Bjornaer has a raven heartbeast, and is a mature magus specializing in Intéllego magic. He always seems to know things before he is told them, which has led to suspicions that he scries on other members of the Order. Nothing has been proven, however, and he has claimed that, in many cases, it is merely an act. In human form he has black hair and dark eyes, and has a tendency to stare at people. He is also dismissive of certain customs, and almost never bothers to clothe himself if he has just changed from his heartbeast. If he is dressed, he normally wears black.

Kirist of Flambeau is a young magus, and in many ways typical of his house. He wears red robes, has a fiery temper, and specializes in Ignem magic. However, he is committed to the greater good of the Order as a whole, and is well aware that this is not always best achieved by burning people. He will argue for a conciliatory approach if he thinks it is merited, unless someone makes him angry. Then he simply wants to see them in flames.

Julia of Jerbiton is described in the insert, and in the introduction to *Ars Magica 4th Edition*.

Phessallia of Merinita is disliked by most magi in the tribunal. She has a close connection with the faeries of winter, and is appropriately cold to everyone. She spends quite a lot of time away from the covenant, traveling in the north. She claims that she is simply investigating the fay of the frozen regions, but she possesses a number of faerie items, of the sort that can only be obtained as gifts. She always wears white, and all of her skin is covered with an intricate network of scars. An old maga, she is thought to be particularly skilled in Perdo.

Julia of Jerbiton

Julia is the nearest thing to a leader that Voluntas has. While internal matters are generally decided by negotiation and compromise, the covenant seems happy to let her determine its relationships with the outside world. She is tall for a woman, with long black hair, pale skin, and a fine, low speaking voice. She normally dresses in deep blue robes, often decorated with silver embroidery. She is a mature maga, and specializes in Corpus and Mentem.

Julia's parens was fascinated by politics, both Hermetic and mundane, and Julia has inherited that fascination. She came to Stonehenge during the civil war, and at first was wrapped up in her study of the shifting alliances during that conflict. She gradually came to appreciate Blackthorn's stranglehold on the tribunal, and slowly her interest shifted. As Henry II brought peace to England, her attentions shifted entirely to the politics of the Order, and she determined to break Blackthorn's hold.

She worked on this for many years, traveling round the tribunal and trying to convince other magi to act with her. For years it seemed that nothing would happen, and she avoided a number of tribunals, just to make sure that Blackthorn could not force issues through a quorate meeting. In the end, this led to the fiasco of 1194, when the tribunal failed to meet in advance of the Grand Tribunal, and thus sent no representatives. Julia sent letters to people she knew outside the tribunal, including Maximianus of Bonisagus, asking them to come and help. Maximianus answered.

The tribunal of 1201 was her masterstroke. All at once, Blackthorn was off balance, the tribunals were quorate, and no one covenant had the ability to completely dominate proceedings. She tried to press her advantage, gathering support for moving the tribunal meeting place out of Blackthorn and onto neutral territory, but there she was out-maneuvered. She remains one of the best politicians in the tribunal, and is still all but obsessed with weakening Blackthorn.

Desiderius of Verditius is a necromancer. He dresses in simple brown robes, and the smell of rotting flesh normally clings to him. Until recently, he had little interest in the living, but in the last few years he has come out of his shell, and started being positively sociable. Unfortunately, as an old magus who spent most of his life in a laboratory, he doesn't have much in the way of social skills, so he does not make many friends. This doesn't seem to bother him much, however, and people are generally too scared to be rude to him.

Covenfolk

Voluntas runs its mundane concerns like a normal manor, and most of the local mundanes think that that's what it is. The peasants in Wilton are split between the free and the serfs, but as the magi provide good housing and magical assistance in case of extreme need, none of the residents have any intention of leaving. In particular, an enchanted birthing chair means that almost all mothers and children survive childbirth, with the result that life expectancy is much higher here than elsewhere in the country.

Ethelwald acts as the seneschal and autocrat, and plays the role of lord of the manor to the outside world. He is a competent manager, and has avoided becoming a knight so that he doesn't have to offer military service in person. The covenant is cautious about its involvement in mundane affairs, and doesn't want its seneschal off fighting in mundane wars. Ethelwald's son, Edward, is obsessed with becoming a knight, however, and spends much of his time training for such a post. The magi are not sure that he will make an adequate seneschal, which could be awkward as the surrounding nobility will expect him to inherit the land.

Chapter 11
Politics

This chapter describes the current political situation in the Stonehenge Tribunal, both mundane and Hermetic. The two domains are treated independently, because the information in this chapter could be found out by anyone who was a bit persistent. If any covenant is interfering in mundane affairs, it will be hiding its tracks rather better than that.

Each section contains two parts. The first is a general overview, describing the shape of the political landscape. The second lists and briefly describes important points of tension, the things that could develop into major conflicts.

King Henry

Born 1 October 1207, king 18 October 1216

Henry is twelve years old, clearly too young to run the country, and so real power is in the hands of the triumvirate described in the inserts throughout the chapter. However, he will be old enough to claim his majority in a few years, maybe as few as three, so people are jockeying for position, hoping to be in royal favor when he takes over.

His day to day care is still the responsibility of Peter des Roches, and his tutor has strongly shaped his personality. Henry has a deep personal piety, and a strong devotion to St. Edward the Confessor. He also has an abiding respect for his father's memory, unlike almost everyone else, and a clear conception of the fullness of royal power. While he accepts tutelage now, he believes that once he is of age, his will should be law. He has also picked up a love of hunting and luxury, both noted features of des Roches's personality but unlikely to have been part of his formal tuition.

Henry is a handsome boy, always dressed as befits a king, and accompanied by several guards. He is rarely seen without at least one of the triumvirate, usually des Roches, at his side.

Mundane Politics

Overview

Two facts are central to the mundane political situation. One is that Henry III is twelve years old, and thus a minor. The other is that his supporters won a civil war three years ago. Thus, at a time when royal authority is in doubt, it must assert control over people who, recently, were fighting against it.

Royal rule is in the hands of three men. Pandulf, the papal legate, is in charge. William Marshal (see page 97) committed Henry to the legate's care, and Pandulf is also the representative of the Pope, who is Henry's feudal overlord as well as the head of the Church. In theory, therefore, he can do whatever he wants. In practice, he consults extensively with the other members of the government, and listens to their advice.

Peter des Roches, the bishop of Winchester, is the second member of the triumvirate. He was the king's tutor until the Marshal died, and is bishop of the richest see in the country. He is also a noted warrior, and was largely responsible for the royalist victory at Lincoln. He is rather authoritarian, and

scornful of Magna Carta, and his colleagues often have to rein him in.

Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar, is responsible for day-to-day administration: finance, justice, and patronage. He has the weakest personal base of the three, but he is an expert politician, and is rapidly coming to have the greatest practical power.

Royal authority is very weak at the moment. One reason is the king's minority: many officials, particularly castellans and sheriffs, take the position that they cannot be dismissed until the king is of age. Another, related to the first, is lack of money. While they cannot be removed, many of the sheriffs are taking the opportunity to withhold the revenue from their shires. Without the money, the king cannot raise the troops necessary to force them to comply, so he is required to go along with the situation.

Other sources of revenue are similarly affected. Many of the king's demesne manors are held by local nobles, and they refuse to surrender them back to the king. Often, these manors were assigned to them temporarily by John, and they take the same line as the sheriffs. Other times, they simply took over them in the war, and now refuse to give them up, at least without some compensation. The profits of justice are reduced because, despite the general eyre, many sheriffs and magnates are obstructing the work of the king's justices, or ignoring decisions that go against them.

Compounding this problem is the crown's need to give away some of its assets in order to reward the loyalty of those who fought for it in the civil war, and to ensure their continuing loyalty now. Wardships of minors, which normally produce a considerable royal profit, are being given away to nobles in return for their loyalty, as is the right to marry heiresses. Demesne manors are still passing out of royal control as a result of this process, despite the need to gather as many as possible.

A second reason for the weakness is the peace treaty that ended the war. Louis of France was promised 10,000 marks for leaving England, and the king has yet to pay all of this. More importantly, the treaty specifies that all men shall recover the land that they held when the war began. Those who gained more land during the war are reluctant to give it up, and some of those who supported the king were rewarded with land taken from those who opposed him. Now the treaty

Pandulf

Papal legate since 1218

Pandulf is an Italian, and the early part of his life was spent as a clerk in the Papal Curia, within which he was the Pope's subdeacon. His association with England began in 1211, when he was sent as an ambassador to discuss the lifting of the interdict. King John met him and tried to intimidate him into removing the church's ban, having criminals tortured and executed in his presence. Pandulf refused to back down, and even saved one of the victims who, as a clerk, was not subject to royal justice. Despite the threats, Pandulf returned safely to Rome.

He was back in England in 1213, this time to accept John's surrender. He received the crown from the king, and gave it back to him, installing him as a vassal of the Holy See. He also smoothed over relations with Philip of France, who had expected to be able to invade England with Papal approval. Later in the same year Cardinal Nicholas arrived as the papal legate, and Pandulf became a negotiator, particularly between the English and French courts. In 1214 he was elected bishop of Norwich, but he has not yet been installed because that would put him under the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury.

He spent the first years of Henry's reign back at the Papal Curia, but returned to England as legate in 1218. He is loyal to the English throne, surprisingly so for a foreigner, and is a very able diplomat. For example, many of the reconciliations that have been made between the factions have been his doing. He is also rather greedy, although more for his followers than for himself, and has a tendency to act in a rather high-handed manner. Still, it is very hard for him to actually exceed his authority in England, given how great that authority is.

requires the king to take land from his supporters and give it to his former enemies.

This redistribution simply isn't happening. The royal regency is trying to enforce it, supporting former rebels as much as former loyalists, but it doesn't have the power to make nobles give up possession of land. Men on both sides are making heavy use of the legal system, but things frequently degenerate into private war.

A third problem arises from the king's weakness. He needs strong local officers to enforce his will, but with the center being so weak, any agent strong enough to enforce justice is too strong for the king to control. This is particularly noticeable in the cases of the earl of Chester, even in his absence, the earls of Salisbury and Derby, and Falkes de Bréauté. All these men profess total loyalty to the king, while disregarding any instructions from the central government that they do not like.

The main bright point for the king is that the Church is absolutely on his side. The legate fully supports him, and the abbots and bishops of the land are selected so as to be loyal to the crown.

If these domestic troubles aren't enough, Henry also faces international problems. Prince Llywelyn of Wales always acknowledges that Henry is his lord, but he doesn't act like it. During the civil war he took control of south Wales, with the exception of the Marshal holdings in the extreme southwest and southeast, and he now disposes affairs within the principality as he wishes. He is

Peter des Roches

Born 1168, bishop of Winchester since 1205

Peter des Roches was born in the county of Tours, in France, and came to England with King John after the loss of Normandy in 1204. He was a close associate of the king, and one of the few courtiers who never fell from royal favor. After John's death, this was not an advantage, and many still hold a grudge against him for this reason alone.

There are other reasons. As bishop of Winchester, des Roches is one of the richest men in England, with an annual income of over £3500. He is also the center of a network of other Frenchmen, whom he has put into positions of power and influence. This group has always enthusiastically supported efforts to regain the king's continental lands, which many of the English nobles see as expensive and futile wastes of their money.

When England was put under the interdict, all the bishops, except for des Roches, left the country, as ordered by the Pope. Des Roches stayed, serving the king at the Exchequer, and acting as a mediator between the Pope and the crown. When the king and Pope were reconciled, he was exempted from the punishments inflicted on other clerks who had remained in the royal service. During this period, he was made the guardian of the young Prince Henry, with responsibility for his upbringing.

When John left England for the doomed continental campaign of 1214, des Roches was made justiciar, and thus the regent. He continued John's arbitrary and unpopular methods of government, and was thus caught in the wave of rebellion that followed the disaster at Bouvines, and John's retreat to England. Throughout the civil war he was faithfully on the royal side, and was even able, on papal authority, to suspend the archbishop of Canterbury for aiding the rebels.

After John's death he remained at the center of things, officiating at Henry's coronation and retaining his wardship of the boy. With William Marshal's death he tried to gain the regency, but was too unpopular with the other nobles. Instead, he has a third part of the regency. Recently, while he has consolidated his power in Hampshire, he has been marginalized by the other two triumvirs. He is not popular with either Pandulf or Hubert de Burgh, and his future is somewhat uncertain.

Des Roches is as much as warrior as a bishop, and personally led troops at the battle of Lincoln. He is, however, enthusiastic in charitable giving, and a patron of scholars and artists. He also has a great respect for royal power, and for King John, and a contempt for Magna Carta. He has been instilling these views into his ward, the present king. He also has a love of luxury and a great love of hunting, which Henry seems to have acquired from simple example. He is a tall man, and has a loud and sonorous voice, ideally suited to shouting commands in battle or preaching to large audiences.

engaged in constant low-level warfare with the Anglo-Norman Marcher barons, and refuses to accept royal judgment in the various points at issue.

Alexander II, king of Scotland, fought on Louis's side in the civil war, and is now pushing for a reconsideration of treaties signed between Scotland and England in 1209 and 1212. Neither side really wants these treaties enforced, but at present the English side is in breach. Louis promised Alexander the three northern counties of England, and it is possible that, if Alexander is not satisfied, he will try to take them.

The English lordships in Ireland supported Henry during the civil war, but now the justiciar of Ireland, Geoffrey de Marsh, is refusing to come to England and account for the revenues of his office. While outright rebellion is unlikely, he may be trying to form a palatinate, within which he has vice-regal authority.

Finally, there are the king's French possessions. Normandy was lost in 1204, but Poitou and Gascony remain. Philip of France has made several attempts to conquer these, and a truce between the two countries is about to expire. Negotiations are in progress to renew it, but these have yet to succeed. Furthermore, the king's administration in Poitou is currently without a head, as Geoffrey de Nevile, the seneschal, has returned to England to resign his office, on the grounds that he has not been given the resources necessary to carry out his role. The counts of Marche, powerful vassals of the king in Poitou, have only just stopped making threatening noises, but Queen Isabella, the king's mother and countess of

Hubert de Burgh

Justiciar since 1215

Hubert is the nephew of William FitzAldelm, who was Henry II's steward, and through him got an entry into royal office. He was employed by Richard in minor capacities, and then by John, first as an ambassador to Portugal, and then as a chamberlain. In 1203 Hubert was given custody of Arthur of Brittany, and a fairly solid rumor has it that John sent an order that Arthur should be killed, which Hubert refused to obey, instead simply claiming that it had been carried out. When the Bretons redoubled their attacks, Hubert revealed the deception, and John took Arthur into his own custody. Arthur was not seen alive again.

In 1204, after most of Poitou had fallen to the French, Hubert was still holding the castle of Chinon, without any support from John. After several months the assault had so damaged the fortifications that he had to leave the castle and offer battle. He was badly outnumbered and his army was defeated while he himself was captured. His release took some time to negotiate, but by 1214 he was serving John as the seneschal of Niore and Poitou. When the English barons rebelled, he stayed on John's side, and was one of his supporters at Runnymede. He was made justiciar in June 1215, a post that he still holds.

When Louis invaded England, Hubert was made castellan of Dover, and he held the fortress bravely and effectively against assault. Louis sent messengers offering to give him Norfolk and Suffolk in fee if he would surrender the castle, but he still refused. After the battle of Lincoln the castle was under less pressure, and he was able to meet with the other leaders. Louis was expecting reinforcements from France, and they were coming in a fleet of eighty ships, led by Eustace the Monk. Hubert led a fleet of about thirty English ships out against them, and at first seemed to be sailing past them. The French fleet, sure that so few would not dare to attack them, simply ignored them. Once the English fleet had got behind the French, however, they turned to run with the wind, and fell on the French ships from behind. The result was a total victory for the English, and Eustace was beheaded against the rail of his own ship. With the loss of these forces, Louis had no choice but to withdraw from England.

With the war over, Hubert turned his attentions to administration, which all fell under his control as justiciar. Since the death of William Marshal, he has gained almost complete control over royal machinery and he is becoming more significant as time passes. He is a very astute politician, and a skilled and brave military leader. He is also very loyal to the king, but is interested in building himself an independent base of wealth — he remembers John's volatility all too well.

Angoulême, and wife of Hugh de Lusignan, count of Marche, is threatening to withdraw her support and counsel if she doesn't receive more aid.

Flashpoints

In this generally tense atmosphere there are a number of issues that might serve as the spark that ignites a conflagration. This section lists them, in no particular order.

One that affects the whole country arises from the Charter of the Forest. This charter requires that all land which was afforested by Henry II or his sons be disafforested. The extent and dates of the royal forest is to be determined by perambulations in all the counties, the results being sent to the Exchequer. Most counties claim that all forest, other than that on royal demesne, was afforested by Henry II or his sons. The royal authorities refuse to accept this (and are quite right, as it is not true). They thus order further perambulations, which return the same result.

Nicola de Hay, the constable of Lincoln castle and, arguably, rightful sheriff of the county is engaged in a dispute with the earl of Salisbury, who claims both posts. In 1219 Salisbury seized control of the castle, but Nicola regained it with the help of Falkes de Bréauté. Salisbury is still the sheriff of the county, and Nicola is applying all pressure that she can to regain the office. At the same time, Salisbury is trying to regain Lincoln castle, by bribery or force as legal remedies have failed him.

Henry fitz Count, the son of the old earl of Cornwall and sheriff of that county, is refusing to pay his receipts into the treasury, and is sending judges through the county on his own authority, thus usurping royal prerogative. He has not been created earl, but is trying to take the title anyway.

In Devon, Falkes de Bréauté has been given custody of the lands of the earl of Devon, whose father died in 1216. This is a source of conflict with Robert de Courtenay, the sheriff of the county and a major landholder, who resents the intrusion of a commoner into his sphere of influence.

Philip of Oldcoates, the sheriff of Northumbria, holds Mitford castle. This has been assigned to Roger Bertram by the king, but Philip refuses to surrender it. He has been summoned to court on several occasions, but has often refused to come, and has generally asserted that the king must compensate him before he will give up the castle.

William Marshal the Younger, earl of Pembroke, holds Fotheringhay castle, despite royal orders that he surrender it to the king of Scotland, who holds it as part of the honor of Huntingdon. At the same time, the earl is suing Falkes de Bréauté for seisin of four manors, which the earl claims were merely granted during his pleasure, but which Falkes claims were granted in perpetuity.

William de Fors, count of Aumale, holds Rockingham, a royal castle, despite demands from the government that he surrender it.

Hermetic Politics

Overview

The Stonehenge Tribunal has only recently acquired politics as such. In the past few tribunals were quorate, and Blackthorn dominated those which were. Covenants had little to do with one another, and most disputes were settled by certámen and Wizard's War.

This is now changing, but it is too soon to say what the new landscape will look like. Voluntas was at the center of the anti-Blackthorn party, and still pursues its vendetta. To most other covenants, however, it looks like Blackthorn has been beaten, and Voluntas seems rather obsessive. The king's minority has come at a good time for the covenants, giving them breathing space to get used to the new state of the tribunal before the weight of royal authority begins to press upon them once again.

There are a few features of Stonehenge that may come to shape its political landscape. One is the omnipresence of officialdom — at least in normal times. All established covenants have had to make some sort of accommodation with the mundane authorities, and these agreements do not always have the sanction of the tribunal. It will be essential for the covenants to work out a way to live with the mundanes, while remaining within the Code.

The tension between Blackthorn and Voluntas goes back over a century, and since these are two of the most powerful covenants in the tribunal, their feud is likely to have a significant impact on politics. One possibility is that the tribunal will split into two blocs, while an alternative scenario would have most covenants switching affiliation between the two for their own advantage.

Finally, there is a serious danger of a major resource shortage. Mundane agriculture is spreading to more of the land, and some sources of raw vis are disappearing under the plough. At the same time, the tribunal is undergoing rapid growth. More optimistic magi suppose that the resources are still there, just waiting to be found, but if they are wrong the shortage will add a major source of tension.

Flashpoints

Schola Pythagoranis, Libellus, and Nigrasaxa are all located within a small region of the tribunal. Whether or not the tribunal as a whole faces a shortage of magical resources, these covenants definitely face a local shortage. Conflict between them over vis sources is increasing, especially as Schola Pythagoranis seeks to establish outpost laboratories in magical auras. As these covenants were all part of the original anti-Blackthorn bloc, they have not yet come into open conflict, but all the ingredients are there.

Schola Pythagoranis is deeply involved in mundane affairs, to an extent that might well be in violation of the Code. They have the strong support of their house, and the fact that both Voluntas and Libellus are represented by Jerbitons at tribunal has protected them from censure so far. It is not clear how long this can last. The covenant, however, has good relations with the mundanes, and might be able to fall back on them for protection. It would not be easy to March a covenant located in the middle of a city.

Voluntas is trying to encroach on Ungulus's territory, reacting to the older covenant's perceived weakness. Ungulus is not completely dead, however, and might well be able to fight back.

Burnham is an object of suspicion to other covenants. No one knows what it is doing, it refuses to explain, and everyone comes up with his own hypotheses.

Immanola still holds to her prediction of imminent disaster for the Order, and might well try to retake the praeco's place in order to prepare the tribunal properly.

Blackthorn has faced frequent accusations of diabolism in the past, and these are unlikely to stop. No conclusive evidence has ever been found, but such accusations might well be used to distract attention from accusations against another covenant. They might even be true, which would cause major upheavals.

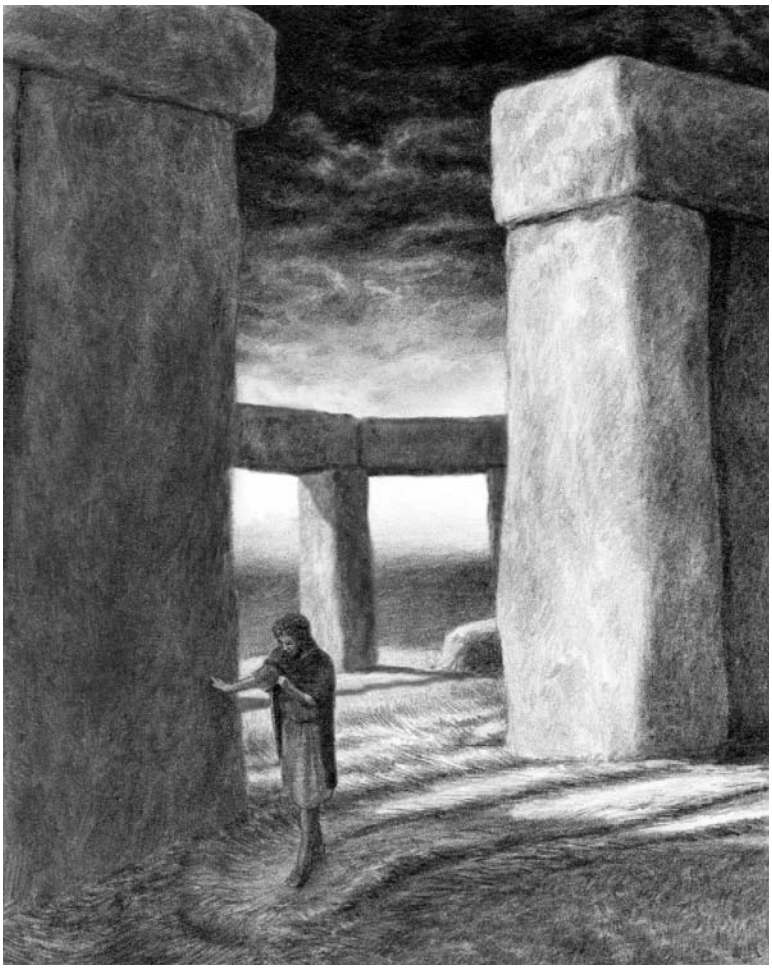
Voluntas still has hostile relations with Horsingas covenant in Loch Leglean, tensions which date back to the Norman Conquest of England. These could easily flare up again.

Ashenrise covenant in Hibernia was founded by the magi of Tagelyn when Blackthorn drove them out. They have not forgotten, and Blackthorn's current weakness may provide an opportunity for them to take action.

Chapter 12
Myths and Legends

Merlin

Merlin is the greatest mage in the history of the tribunal, but a shadowy figure nevertheless. He was closely connected with Arthur's rise to power, but had little to do with Arthur's reign. His ultimate fate is shrouded in mystery, as is his birth. There are many legends about him: he raised Stonehenge (see page 153), created the Wizard's Well (see page150), prophesied before Vortigern (see page 10), and enabled the conception of Arthur (see page 11).



Merlin's mother claimed that his father was a spirit, rather than a human being, and the Church interpreted this as a demon. Hermetic opinion tends to the belief that he was half fay, and some tales connect him to Quendalon and the change of House Merinita. It is notable that, so far as can now be told, House Díedne never tried to claim him, nor would his support of a Christian monarch fit well with association with the druids. Legends of his end mostly have him trapped, sometimes by his apprentice, other times by the fay; no one records his death.

Tales

Saint Oswald, King of the Northumbrians

Oswald was king of the Northumbrians from 633 to 642, and, unlike his predecessor, was a most Christian king. Near the beginning of his reign he fought against the pagans

at a place north of Hadrian's Wall. Before the battle, he caused a wooden cross to be set up, supporting it with his own hands while his soldiers filled in the hole at its base with earth. Then he summoned his army, crying,

"Let us all kneel together, and pray that God will protect us from the arrogant savagery of our enemies, for he knows that we fight in a just cause." The whole army prayed with him, and when they advanced at dawn, they won the victory that their faith deserved. Many miracles have taken place at the spot where the king prayed, and splinters from the cross have healing powers themselves.

One monk of Hexham, named Bothelm, slipped while walking on ice and badly fractured his arm. He suffered such pain that he could not even raise his hand, and he asked one of his brothers, who was going on a pilgrimage to the cross, to bring back a piece of the wood, so that he could ask God for healing. The monk fulfilled the request, bringing back a piece of the moss that grew on the side of the cross. Bothelm placed it against his arm, and was healed that very night.

Oswald died in battle in 642, and such was the holiness of his life that the place where he died became a site of miracles. Shortly after his death, a man was riding his horse near the place when it fell ill, rolling about in agony on the ground. When it rolled onto that spot, however, it immediately became well again. The man rode on to an inn, where he found the niece of the innkeeper suffering from paralysis. He told them of the miraculous spot, and they carried the girl there in a cart, laying her on the holy ground. She fell asleep for a while, and when she awoke she was fully restored to health, and walked back to the inn. People came to the place and took dirt away, for the earth from that spot could also heal the sick, so that now there is a pit that a man can stand in.

Oswald's bones were transferred to Bardney Abbey, and at first the monks were reluctant to let them in, for Oswald had been a foreign king. However, as they waited in a cart outside the gates, a light shone down on them from heaven, illuminating them throughout the night, and showing that they should be welcomed with reverence. Accordingly, they were taken in the next day and washed before being placed in a fine tomb. The water with which they had been washed was poured away in a corner of the cemetery, and that dust gained the power to deliver those possessed by evil spirits.

Some time later there was a small boy who had a serious fever, and was anxiously awaiting the next attack. One of the monks told him to go to Oswald's tomb and wait there until the fever left. He did as he was told, and while he waited by the tomb the

The Conception of Arthur

King Uther Pendragon had gone to war with Duke Gorlois of Cornwall, seeking to take Ygerna for his own. But Gorlois had shut his wife up in the castle of Tintagel, and Uther could not take the castle by force. So the king took counsel with his thanes, and they advised him to seek the aid of Merlin. Uther agreed, and had the magician brought into his presence.

Merlin came before the king and spoke to him, saying,

"Give me no land, nor silver nor gold, for I am the wisest of men, and if I desired possessions my skill would become less. But all that you desire will surely happen, for I know magic such that all your appearance shall be as the duke's: your speech, your actions, your clothes, and your face. Thus you will come to Ygerna, and lie with her. I will go with you, and be as Britael, the duke's steward, and Ulfin your knight shall come with us, and be as Jurdan, Gorlois's chamber knight. We shall travel there this very night."

And so it happened. The king, Ulfin, and Merlin left the army in the dark of the night, so that no one knew that they had gone, and by Merlin's magic they were disguised, so that the duke's men let them into the castle, and Ygerna received Uther into her bed, thinking that he was her lord. And on that night Arthur was conceived, who would shine so brightly in the land.

— Adapted from Layamon's Brut

fever did not dare to touch him. Indeed, it was so scared that it never returned to him, and he was completely healed.

— From Bede's History of the English Church and People

A Vision of the Afterlife

A handsome man in a shining robe was my guide, and we walked in silence towards the northeast, until we reached a deep and broad valley of infinite length. To our left it was filled with raging flames, and to our right with hail and snow, blown about by an unceasing wind. Both sides were filled with the souls of men, which seemed to be tossed from one side to another by the storms. For when they could no longer withstand the heat, they leapt to the cold but, unable to bear that either, they leapt back to the flames, and so on without respite. I could see a countless host of deformed spirits, and their unceasing torment led me to think that this might be Hell, of which I had heard so much. But, as if answering my thoughts, my guide said, "Do not think that, for this is not Hell."

As we proceeded, we reached the end of the valley and it began to grow darker. The darkness thickened until I could see nothing but the outline of my guide. Frequent masses of dusky flame rose on either side of me, and then fell, as if they were coming from a great pit and returning to it. When he had brought me here, my guide suddenly vanished, leaving me in the terrible place. I could now see that the masses of flame contained the souls of men, and a foul stench rose from the pit to fill the air.

As I waited, I heard a terrible noise, and turned to see evil spirits laughing as they drove forward a small group of lamenting souls. These souls included a cleric, a layman, and a woman. They dragged these souls down with them into the darkness, and soon I could not distinguish the laughter of the demons from the laments of the damned. Then some dark spirits rose from the pit and surrounded me, threatening me with the flames that darted from their mouths, and making to seize me with glowing tongs. But, while they threatened, they did not touch me. As I looked around for salvation, I saw a light coming from the distance, which broke among the spirits and scattered them: it was my guide, returned to me.

He led me along a road to the right, taking us southeast, and we soon came into an atmosphere of clear light. In front of us was a great wall, of infinite length and height, and as I could see no door I wondered why we were approaching it. But as soon as we reached the base, we were somehow on the top. Within the wall was a pleasant meadow, from which rose a wonderful scent of flowers. Scattered around were innumerable companies of white-robed figures, sitting together in happy groups. As my guide led me through, I wondered whether this was the kingdom of heaven, but he answered my thoughts once again. "No, this is not the kingdom of heaven."

As we went forward, I heard the most beautiful singing, smelled a fragrance more wonderful than can be described, and saw a light so bright and beautiful that I longed to enter it. But my guide turned and, without pausing, led me back the way we had come. As we passed through the meadow, he explained what I had seen.

"Those souls in the valley are those who repented only at the moment of death. As they did die in penitence, they will enter the kingdom of heaven on Judgment Day, but first they must suffer to purge their sins. The foul pit is the entrance to hell, and those souls who fall into it will never leave, not in all eternity. This pleasant place is the abode of those souls who, while virtuous, were not good enough to enter heaven immediately. They will enter there on Judgment Day. The bright place we did not enter was the kingdom of heaven, and there dwell the souls of the saints. You must now return to the body, but if you weigh your actions carefully, you will join these happy souls when you die."

— From Bede's History of the English Church and People

Yonec

There was a lord of Caerwent, in Britain, who was old but had no heirs. Seeking to continue his line, he spoke to the parents of a noble maiden, who was beautiful and courteous in all things. They consented to the marriage, and the old lord took his young bride back to his castle. Now, he loved her deeply for her beauty, but for the same reason he was very jealous, and refused to let her see anyone else. Instead, he kept her locked within a chamber in his tower, guarded by his old sister.

For seven years the lady endured such isolation, losing her looks as she pined for freedom, for just the chance to talk to someone other than her husband. In all this time, there was no child, and the lady gained no love for her lord. One day, when the lord had left and the old woman was out of the room, she threw herself on the bed to grieve.

"Alas that I was ever born! I would rather be dead than in this imprisonment. Why did my parents marry me to that man? When he should have been baptized, he was dipped in the river of hell, for there is no compassion in his body. I pull against a strong rope, but I can never be free — he will never die! Once, in this country, those in sorrow were relieved. Noble ladies found lovers to their liking, and no one but them ever knew of their pleasure. Oh, I wish that such things still happened!"

As she finished speaking a large hawk flew in through the window, and landed on the floor of the chamber. As she watched it, it vanished, and in its place stood a handsome knight. The lady backed away in fear, but he reached out to reassure her.

"Do not be afraid," he said. "I have loved you for a long time, but I could not come to you until you called for me. Now, I wish to be your lover." The lady was delighted, and they passed the day in pleasure. When it came time for the knight to leave, he told the lady that he would return at her will, but warned her not to call him too often, for they would be discovered.

The lady called her lover every time her husband was absent, and began to take care of her appearance again, so that she was soon more beautiful than she had ever been. Soon, the husband became suspicious, and asked his sister what was going on. She admitted that she was puzzled, so he set her to spy on his wife. The next day, he pretended to leave, while his sister hid behind a curtain. His wife called for her lover, and the old woman saw his arrival, and saw him lie with the lord's wife. His transformations terrified her, and she was barely able to sneak from the chamber to tell the lord what had happened.

When he found out, he was furious, and plotted revenge. He had spikes of iron sharpened more keenly than a razor, and set them about the window through which the hawk would have to pass. Then he pretended to leave, early in the morning before it was light. In the darkness, the lady called her lover, and in the darkness he impaled himself on one of the spikes. When he saw that he was wound-

ed, he went into the room to take leave of his lady. She almost fainted when she saw the blood, but he comforted her, telling her that she was carrying his son, before he changed back to a hawk and flew from the window.

The grieving lady determined to follow him, and jumped from the window, naked apart from her shift, barely surviving the fall. She followed the trail of blood over the fields, and to an opening in a hill. It went inside, so she followed it, and after a while the tunnel opened out into a bright field. There was no one about, but in front of her she could see a walled city, in which all the houses seemed to be made of silver, and through which flowed a shining river bearing three hundred ships.

Next to the city was a castle, and the blood led in through an open gate. Following the trail she passed through two fine bedchambers where knights were sleeping, before coming into the presence of her lover. The four posts of his bed were gold, and it was set about with candles which filled the room with light. When he saw her, he struggled to sit up.

"My love, you must leave, for soon the people will wake, and realize that I have died for your love. Take this tunic, to cover yourself, and this ring. The ring will ensure that your husband will remember none of this, and will not criticize you. Take also my sword, for when our son is grown he will come to my tomb. Then you must tell him the truth about his father, and he will avenge me. You must call him Yonec. Now go."

Weeping, the lady left the city, and before she had gone half a mile she heard the bells ringing, and the voices of the people rising in lamentation. She almost fainted four times from grief, but returned to her husband's castle.

It happened as the knight predicted: her husband remembered nothing, and treated her well. Her son was born and named Yonec, and grew up to be the most handsome and skilled knight in the country, praised by all. Soon after he was knighted, the family was visiting an abbey, and the abbot showed them a tomb covered in a fine cloth, and flanked by twenty candles.

"Here lies our king, who was killed at Caerwent for love of a lady. We have never had a lord since, and seek for his son." When she heard this, the lady took out the sword, and gave it to her son.

"Here lies your true father, betrayed and killed by this old man! Now I give you his sword: I have held it long enough." Then she told them how the king had come to her, and as she finished her tale she fell into a swoon on his tomb, and died. Yonec took up the sword and killed the old man, and then took his father's place as king of that country. As for the lady, she was laid in the tomb beside her lover.

— From the Lais of Marie de France

The Dragon and the Bear

And Arthur the king told his dream to the knights gathered there.

"While I slept, I saw a marvelous beast coming across the sky from the west, loathsome to the sight, wrapped about with storms and lightning. It was a bear so ugly as is seen in no land. Then I saw, from the east, wound about with clouds, a great burning dragon, who swallowed entire cities and lit the whole land with his fire. Indeed, the very sea seemed to burn with the fire that he carried.

"And the dragon and the bear saw one another, and rushed on one another with furious assaults, as flames like firebrands flew from their eyes! The dragon was now above, now below, but at the end he began to rise, then stooped in a fierce assault, driving the bear down to the ground. Then he dived down and slew the bear, tearing him limb from limb. When the bear lay dead and scattered, the dragon rose back into the air, screaming his triumph, and returned to the east."

— From Layamon's Brut

Peredur and the Black Serpent

One day, Peredur was out hunting. He unleashed his hounds on a stag, and they pursued it far from the cities before bringing it to bay. When he had killed the stag, Peredur saw a hall, outside which sat three ugly youths and three beautiful maidens dressed in gold. He went to the hall and sat on the couch next to the maidens, and one of them turned to peer closely at him. As she looked, she burst into tears.

"Why are you crying?" Peredur asked.

"I am crying because such a handsome young man is going to die. My father kills all people who come here without his invitation."

"Then your father is a tyrant, and I will overthrow him." As he said that, there was a great noise, and a tall, black, one-eyed man burst into the hall. The maidens took his armor from him, and he turned to look at Peredur.

"Who is this knight?"

"The noblest and most handsome knight in the world," replied one of the maidens. "Be reasonable with him."

"For your sake, I will spare his life tonight." They ate and drank, and then retired to sleep. In the morning the one-eyed man shook Peredur awake, crying that his time had come to die. Peredur seized his weapons and fought with the tyrant until he was lying on the ground, begging for mercy.

"I will grant you mercy if you tell me how you lost your eye."

"I lost it fighting the Black Serpent of the Barrow. There is a hill called the Mournful Mound, and within that hill a barrow, and within the barrow lives the Black Serpent. In the tail of the serpent is a stone with the power that anyone who holds it in one hand will have as much gold as he wishes in the other."

"How far is the Mournful Mound?"

"The day you leave here you come to the court of the sons of the King of Suffering, who are so called because the Black Serpent kills them every day. Beyond their court, you will come to the Mournful Mound."

Then Peredur struck off the tyrant's head, so that he could not practice his evil any more. The maiden who had spoken to him came up to him again and said,

"If you were poor when you arrived, you are rich now, with the treasure of the Black Oppressor. Further, there are many fair maidens in the court, and you might marry any one you liked." But Peredur refused both treasure and wife, and left the court.

That evening he arrived at the court of the sons of the King of Suffering, but he saw only women. They made him welcome nevertheless, and as they began to talk he saw a horse approaching with a body laid across its saddle. One of the women went to the horse and took the body, and bathed it in a tub of warm water. Then she rubbed the body with precious ointment, and he rose alive and went to Peredur, making him welcome. Two more bodies came in on their horses, and the lady revived them as she had done the first. Peredur asked why this was, and they told him that the Black Serpent of the Barrow killed them every day.

The three lads set out the next morning, and Peredur wanted to go with them, but they refused, saying that if he was killed, he would have no one to revive him. Peredur tried to follow them, but they slipped away from him. As soon as he realized that he had lost them, he saw the most beautiful woman he had ever seen, seated on top of a mound. She spoke to him, saying,

"I know where you are going. You want to fight the Black Serpent. If you go as you are, it will kill you, not by bravery, but by cunning. A stone pillar stands by the door to its cave, and by its magic it sees everyone who approaches, although no one sees it, and from this safety it kills them with poisoned stone spears. But if you will promise to love me better than any other woman, I will give you a stone so that it will not see you, but you will see it."

"I swear that I loved you when I first saw you, and will never love another woman bet-

ter. Where will I find you?"

"When you seek me, look towards India." She placed the stone in his hand, and vanished.

Peredur rode on towards a river, its banks lined with trees and meadows. On one side was a flock of white sheep, on the other a flock of black. When a white sheep bleated a black sheep would cross the river and turn white, and when a black sheep bleated a white sheep would cross and turn black. On the bank of the river stood a tall tree, and from crown to roots one half of it was wreathed in bright flames, while the other half was in full green leaf. Beside the tree was a bridge, and Peredur crossed the river, following the track until he saw the Mournful Mound.

Then he took the stone in his left hand and his spear in his right, and searched for the barrow. He found it, built on the top of the mound, with great stone pillars standing beside its door. In the darkness he could see the Black Serpent, hissing as it coiled about a sheaf of stone spears, while shimmering poison dripped from its fangs, and glittered on the points of its weapons. He approached carefully, but the lady had told the truth, and the serpent did not see him. Taking courage, he cast his spear and struck the serpent below the head. As it writhed in agony he stepped forward and cut off its head, killing it. He took the head out, and the three lads met him, telling him that it was prophesied that he would kill the creature. They offered him the hand of one of their sisters, and half their wealth, but Peredur refused, taking only the stone from the serpent's tail.

— *Adapted from the Mabinogion*

The Wife of Eadric Wilde

Eadric Wilde was a lord renowned for his bodily strength and vigorous activity, but still more for the way in which he had got a wife. He went out hunting one day, and he and his page became separated from the rest of the party. Although they were alone in the forest, they were not afraid, but began to make their way home. It grew dark, but they were still not out of the forest.

Around midnight they saw a hall in a clearing, and it was all lit up, while the sounds of music came from within. Eadric went up to the window and looked inside. The hall was filled with women, taller and more beautiful than the daughters of men, and they danced slowly around one another, all the time singing a beautiful tune in low voices, so that Eadric could not make out any words. One among them was more beautiful even than her sisters, and the lord immediately fell in love with her. Although he knew the tales of pagan goddesses who tore apart those who looked upon them, love drove the ideas far from his mind.

He went quietly round to the door, and burst into the hall, springing upon the woman whom he loved and bearing her away. At once her sisters set upon him, but he was able to escape with the aid of his page, although he was wounded on the arms and legs with all the marks that the teeth and nails of women can inflict. Once outside he took the woman on his horse and rode back to his house. There he kept her confined for three days and nights, using her as he would. All that time, he could wring no word from her, and she quietly submitted to his will.

On the morning of the fourth day, she turned to him and spoke.

"Hail, my dearest lord and master. I promise to stay with you and love you dearly, serving you in all things as a wife should, until the day when you reproach me with my sisters, or the wood, or the place where you found me. In that day, I will leave, and your life will fall into sorrow." Eadric promised to love her likewise, and they were married. The lord with his faerie wife became famous, and were even called to London by King William Rufus, who wished to look on them.

But, after many years, Eadric came home from hunting at the third hour, but his wife was nowhere to be found. Angry, he called for her, and finally sent servants to fetch her from

wherever she was. When she came into his presence he burst out, "Was it your sisters who kept you so long?" and in that moment the woman vanished, and it was as if she had never been there. Eadric searched for her, weeping and calling her name, but could never find her. All he had left to him was the son she had borne him, named Alnoth, who grew up to be a good and holy man.

— *From Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*

The Sons of the Dead Mother

A knight of Brittany lost his wife, and went on mourning for her long after her death. One night he was traveling through a great wilderness, when he came across a large company of women dancing together, and among them he saw his wife. He stood, amazed at seeing her he had seen buried back among the living, and began to debate with himself whether he should attempt to seize her. He feared lest the whole scene might be an illusion, and he should find himself seizing nothing but a phantom, or that it might be a trick of the devil.

At length, however, he decided that he would rather make the attempt than slink away like a coward and never know what might have happened had he taken the risk. So he crept up to the edge of the crowd, and waited for the dance to bring his wife towards him. When it did, he stepped forward, and intercepted her as she was passed from one dancer to the next. He held her in his arms, and she recognized her husband, and fell weeping on his shoulder.

He returned with her to his home, and they remained there many years, in a union as pleasant and open to the day as the first had been, and she bore him children. Their descendants are numerous to this day, and are called the sons of the dead mother.

— *From Walter Map's De Nugis Curialium*

Places

Roughting Linn

At Roughting Linn in Northumberland there is a rock face carved with strange markings. They consist of cups surrounded by much shallower rings, with some parallel lines between them. Some people think that they are maps, or faerie memorials. Some magi of the tribunal think that Gerfallon of Semitae carved them, although he won't say. Similar carvings can be found elsewhere, but there are over sixty on this rockface, making it the best site.

Carles

These forty two stones form a circle about thirty meters across. It is surrounded by a bank, and the entrance in the north of the circle is marked by two tall stones, flanked by particularly short ones which emphasize them. There are three round barrows within the circle, and in the east a rectangle of stones juts into the circle. This rectangle is called the Porter's Lodge, and it is said that on certain nights of the year there is a house here, and the porter guards the entrance to other places.

Long Meg and Her Daughters

This stone circle stands in the Lake District. It is about a hundred meters across, and contains around seventy stones. The stones are mostly squat, and there are particularly large ones at the east and west points, as well as marking an entrance in the south west, which is emphasized by two extra portal stones. A little way outside this entrance

stands Long Meg, a slender sandstone pillar twice the height of a man. Long Meg is carved with spirals and concentric circles, whose significance has been long forgotten. There are two mounds in the center of the circle.

It seems to be impossible to count the stones, with any result between 65 and 75 turning up with some frequency. It is also very dangerous to attempt to harm them, as the forces of nature are turned against those who violate them. If Long Meg is, nevertheless, chipped, the stone will bleed. The stones are generally thought to be the petrified bodies of a witch and her daughters, although the legends are silent as to whether the enchantment was voluntary or a curse, and on whether it could, or should, be broken.

The Black Horse of Busha

High up in the Howgill Fells, between Swaledale and the Cumbrian mountains, there is an outcropping of black shale. Most of the time, it appears as an ordinary mound of rock, but at certain times, especially just after storms, the figure of a proud black stallion can be seen by those who know where to look. Locals say that, at those times, the Black Horse is returning to its home, after traveling the mundane world under cover of the storm. They will not speak of its purposes, but clearly believe that it means them no good.

Merlin's Well

Alderley Edge is an escarpment in Cheshire, rising quite abruptly from the plain. Water constantly runs from a point on the cliff face, falling into a stone trough below. Above the spring an inscription is carved: "Drink of this and take thy fill for the water falls by the wizard's will." Nearby, a face is carved into the rock, and this face is said to represent Merlin. Locals claim that Arthur and his knights sleep under the Edge, and that the spring will serve to water their horses when they awaken. The inscription has always been in a slightly archaic version of the local language, but there is no sign that it has been erased and recarved.

Druids' Circle

These stones stand on a wind-swept moor overlooking the Irish Sea. The circle is about twenty five meters across, and the stones stand on the outer edge of a raised bank of earth. They can be seen for miles around, stark against the sky. There is an entrance to the circle, flanked by two stones, in the southwest of the circle.

These stones are said to particularly sensitive to oaths, moving nearer to anyone who swears an oath in the circle, as if to listen. Tales issue dire warnings about the consequences of breaking such oaths. Still darker tales say that the druids practiced human sacrifice among the stones.

Bryn-Celli-Ddu

This mound, which stands on Anglesey, has a narrow passage leading to a small chamber. In the center of this space stands a smooth stone pillar. On the top of the mound, just behind the internal chamber, there is a pit, and by the pit stands a carved stone. The carvings on three sides depict an intricate labyrinth, part of some sort of warding. Llewellyn, the last primus of House Díedne, was last seen here, and his parting words are carved into the wall of the passage, protected from the elements. Hermetic magi tend to avoid the site.

Grime's Graves

In the top of a chalk hill in Norfolk are about a dozen large pits. Each hole is around thirty feet across, and sinks the same distance into the earth. At the bottom of the pits small tunnels, around three feet in diameter, burrow into the surrounding rock, about a dozen tunnels leading out from each pit. Stone blades are often found near the tops of the pits, and those who wander too close at night tend to vanish. Sometimes, strange lights are seen around the hill, and most people in the area believe that the pits and tunnels are inhabited by faerie folk. Investigations by daylight have revealed little but the bodies of animals which fell in, and no one dares investigate by night.

Rollright Stones

These stones stand in a circle thirty meters across, on the edge of a ridge of land in Oxfordshire. There are twenty five tall stones, the tallest in the northwest and two additional ones just outside it in the southeast, forming an entrance. A short way outside the ring to the north east is a larger stone, hunched at the shoulder of the ridge. This is the King Stone, and the most magical of the lot: Chips from it are supposed to ward against demons.

The stones are said to the be a petrified army and its king, and every New Year's Day they go down the hill to drink from a spring at the base. An elder tree nearby is the current form of the witch who cast the spell, keeping a watchful eye on the warriors to ensure that they remain as rocks.

Belas Knap

Belas Knap is a barrow, 180 feet long and 13 feet high, and 60 feet wide at its northern end, tapering to the south. Set back into the northern face of the barrow is a doorway, blocked by a large stone. On significant nights of the year it is said to open, allowing access to a faerie palace, or the home of some other magical creature. The legends also say that no one ever returns, despite their detailed descriptions of the interior.

The White Horse of Uffington

The White Horse is carved into the hillside below an ancient fortress marked out by earthen banks, and overlooks a small hill, called Dragon Hill, which has a flat top on which nothing will grow. The horse is visible because no grass grows on its form, leaving the white chalk of the subsoil exposed. It is said that at certain times, or if it is invoked in the right way, the horse can rise from the hillside and move about the country, or possibly Arcadia, as a white horse of surpassing beauty. No mortal can control the horse when it moves, but it might agree to take someone anywhere in return for gifts or respect.

Wayland's Smithy

Wayland's Smithy is only a mile from the White Horse, and is the home of an invisible smith. If a horse is left outside the smithy, along with a penny on a certain stone, it will be shod during the night, and the penny taken. It is said that Wayland can shoe the White Horse itself, and that if he does so it

Llewellyn's Curse

We shall last as long as the wind blows hot on the backs of your necks, as long as the storms pound your tower walls, as long as the waves smash the sides of your ships, as long as the merciless sun looks down upon your abominations, sees your sins, and calls out for vengeance. We will return to haunt you.

will be calm and tractable. Legend credits Wayland with forging magical weapons and armor for great heroes of the past, but he would surely require more than a penny in compensation for such toil.

Avebury

The area around the village of Avebury contains many mysterious monuments, which local legend connects to the devil and the faeries in equal measure. The village itself lies within the largest of these, a stone circle about a thousand feet across. The outer edge is marked by a ditch, 75 feet wide and thirty feet deep, crossed by four causeways. Within the ditch is a bank which rises to a height of about 50 feet, and is about 100 feet wide. Immediately within the bank stands a circle of stones, almost three hundred of them, all large boulders. Within this is the village and church of Avebury, built around the crossroads formed by the paths from the four entrances. There are two features within the circle: In the north there is a horseshoe-shaped arrangement of large stones, while in the south is a single standing stone, 20 feet high and 10 in diameter.

Two avenues of stones lead away from the circle, each following a twisting route. One of these seems to lead nowhere, but the other, going roughly southeast, leads to another, smaller stone circle. This circle is 120 feet across, and there is a smaller circle, 60 feet in diameter, within it.

South of Avebury is Silbury Hill, an artificial mound 500 feet in diameter and 120 feet high. This is the burial place of King Sel, entombed on horseback with his treasury, and it is protected by a curse, which strikes dead those who try to rob it. South of Silbury Hill is a long barrow, 300 feet long and 75 feet

wide, running east to west. There is a great stone doorway at the east end, which leads into a passage into the heart of the barrow. Some of the local peasants think this is the dwelling place of faeries, others of demons, and still others don't think it makes any difference.

The tales of the place suggest that following the avenue, entering the barrow, or walking round the circles, on particular days of the year or under particular conditions, will take you somewhere else, not entirely of this world. The stories are different and contradictory, of course, but there is probably something in them.

Stonehenge

Brought from Ireland by Merlin, Stonehenge is one of the most magical places in Europe. The monument stands largely within a ditch and bank, with an entrance in the northeast. An avenue, marked by parallel banks and ditches, runs from this entrance down into the valley. In the avenue stand two stones, forming a portal. The monuments within the back are arranged symmetrically around an axis passing along the center of the avenue.

In the center of the entrance stands a tall, unshaped pillar of stone, and there are

The Bringing of Stonehenge

After the murder of the flower of Britain at the hands of Hengest and his treacherous Saxons, King Aurelius turned his mind to the construction of a suitable monument. He spoke with his counselors, and they said that he should seek Merlin, and ask him for his advice. Aurelius thought that this was good advice, and sent men to bring Merlin to his presence.

Merlin came, and spoke to the king.

"You want to create a monument to those of your people who died when Hengest and his allies killed them as they ate. You have given thought to producing something that will amaze and last for all time, but none of your ideas will work. There is but one monument that will suffice, and that is the Giant's Ring, in Ireland. It is made of such large stones that no man, nor any number of men, can move them by main strength, and the stones have great virtue, so that wounded men wash the stones, then bathe in the water and are healed."

And Aurelius questioned Merlin, asking how they could be brought, but Merlin said simply that he should send his brother and an army with him to Ireland, and he would bring back the stones. So Uther and fifteen thousand knights set out with Merlin for Ireland, and he led them to the base of a high hill, where they camped.

"The Giant's Ring stands on top of this hill, and we shall take it. But first, let us rest and look to our weapons, for we shall soon need them." And, as Merlin foretold, Gillomaur the king of Ireland heard of their intentions, and swore that they should no take so much as a pebble from his kingdom. Gathering his army, he swept down upon the Britons. But the Irish were naked, and the British wrapped in armor, and seven thousand Irishmen met their end that day, while Gillomaur the king was slain in a wood as he tried to flee.

Then Merlin led Uther and the knights to the top of the hill, and they marveled at the size of the stones that stood there. Merlin turned to the knights and said,

"Now, try to move the stones. Bring strong ropes, and levers, and join in large groups. Exert all your strength, ready to bring the stones to England." But he knew what would happen, and watched content as the knights labored in vain, for with all their strength they could not move the smallest stone a hair's breadth. Then he said to Uther, "Lead your men away from the ring, but stand ready for my command, you and one man for each of the stones."

Uther did as he was bidden, and Merlin went among the stones, walking round them and speaking quietly under his breath, as if he were telling the rosary. Once, twice, three times he walked around the stones, and then stopped, calling to Uther.

"Come now, and take up the stones. They shall be as light as feathers to you." And the men came, and each of them took up one of the stones. Bearing the stones they returned to their ships, and sailed back to England. They carried the stones to the high plain where the Britons had been murdered, and Merlin, by his art, set them up again as they had been in Ireland.

— From Layamon's Brut

two round barrows, one in the north of the enclosure and one in the south. Two smaller stone pillars mark the points opposite each barrow, measured across the axis of symmetry. The main stone structures are very complex. The outer circle consists of 30 upright stones, linked at the top by horizontal lintels. These stones have been carefully shaped, with joints between the lintels and the curve of the circle shaped in the stones. The uprights taper slightly towards the top, making them seem taller than they are. Within these is a circle of 60 smaller bluestones, without lintels.

Within that circle is a great horseshoe of trilithons — structures with two uprights and a lintel. There are five trilithons, and they are not connected to each other. The horseshoe is open towards the entrance of the enclosure, and the trilithons are smallest at the entrance, while the one at the back is the largest, over 20 feet tall and made of stones weighing over forty five tons. Within this is a smaller horseshoe of bluestones, and right at the center is a final upright.

If you stand at the entrance of the enclosure, or in the avenue, then the midwinter sun sets between the uprights of the great trilithon, and the last light of the shortest day shines straight down the avenue.

The Long Man of Wilmington

The Long Man is picked out by trenches dug into a smooth slope in a shallow depression on the side of a hill in Sussex. The figure is about two hundred and forty feet tall, but because of its position in the depression it is completely invisible from many angles. The figure is easiest to see when the sun is low, or when snow starts to melt, when the shadows of its trenches are exaggerated. Sometimes features can be seen in its face, at others it appears as a simple outline. Its hands grasp long vertical lines, which look a lot like staves, or the posts of a door. One legend holds that he represents St. Paul, and that the staves appear as crosses and the figure gains features when the country is pious, but that as wickedness increases it fades away, to disappear completely if the faith is banished from the land. Another says that the figure represents the keeper of the gates of dawn, and that, at the right petition, he will open his gates and let travelers pass beyond.

Wookey Hole Caves

Wookey Hole is a deep cave, much of which is flooded, and there are thought to be further caves, inaccessible beyond the water. The caves are hung with stalactites, and something lives in them, although local legends disagree about the details.

The Cerne Giant

The Cerne Giant is carved on a hillside near an Abbey in Dorset, and his power is made clear by the fact that the monks have not destroyed or defaced so blatantly phallic an image. Barren women who sleep on the phallus become able to conceive, and children may be conceived there with great ease. The figure is said to be the lingering presence of a giant who terrorized the local area, before being pinned to the ground while he slept. He was apparently slain, and his body dissolved into nothingness, leaving the white outline behind.

Maiden Castle

Maiden Castle is a set of earthworks surrounding the top of a large hill south of Dorchester, in Dorset. The enclosure is more than 2000 feet long and 1000 feet wide, and can be entered through twisting passages between the embankments at the east and west ends. The interior seems to be totally deserted, but local tales say that it is a faerie

stronghold, and that people going there on the correct night may meet the fay.

Down Tor

This group of stones stands on Dartmoor, and has two parts. The first is a circle eleven meters in diameter, surrounding a circular barrow. The second is a line of almost two hundred stones, stretching a quarter of a mile east down the hill and up another, where it is ended by a larger triangular stone. If the line is continued eastwards, it meets another circular barrow.

It is said that the circle binds a powerful ghost, and that it can be summoned along the line of stones by those who know the proper rituals. Although it is bound, it would be too powerful if the summoner stood by the circle, and it cannot be allowed to roam freely outside. Thus, the line allows it to reach a summoner, without letting it wander, and making sure that it is so weakened that it can do him no harm. Or so the tale goes.

Tintagel

Tintagel, off the northern coast of eastern Cornwall, is very nearly an island, being connected to the mainland by only a narrow neck. This is defended by a great ditch and mound, which creates an entrance that can be defended by only three men. This was the stronghold of Gorlois, and the site of Arthur's conception. Uther Pendragon had made war on Gorlois to take his wife, Ygerna, from him. She was at Tintagel, while Gorlois defended another fortress. Uther consulted with Merlin, and was magically disguised as Gorlois, allowing him to gain entrance to the fortress and father Arthur. The castle was later the seat of King Mark of Cornwall, one of Arthur's under-kings.

Now, the island is almost deserted. The mound and ditch are all that remain of Gorlois's castle, and the only structure on the plateau is a small chapel dedicated to St. Juliot. Most of the time, there is no trace of the earlier castle, and it may be somewhat detached from the mundane world. If so, the isolated church has a further purpose: that of keeping it from reappearing.

Men-an-Tol

The Men-an-Tol stands in a Cornish field. It is a round stone with a large round hole through the middle, with two stone pillars standing a little way behind it, forming a triangle. The stone is said to have healing and divinatory powers. People wishing to be healed must crawl or be passed through the hole, three times for children, nine times for adults. Divination can be performed by placing a gift on top of the stone and asking a question. The item will move in some way that answers the query.

Trethevy Quoit

Trethevy Quoit is a group of standing stones supporting another stone, which acts as a roof. The stones reach up 15 feet, and the capstone is 12 feet long, with a hole in one corner. One of the standing stones has a doorway cut out of one corner, and the whole complex is believed to the home of a powerful faerie, who does not like to be disturbed.

Merry Maidens

This circle stands at Land's End, and consists of nineteen granite boulders, their tops worked level. It is about twenty-four meters across, and there is a large gap in the east, which marks the entrance to the circle. Two immense standing stones, the Pipers, rise a quarter of a mile to the northeast, and another pillar, the Goon Rith, is to the west.

The stones were originally girls who

danced on Sunday to the music of the Pipers, who were demons sent to tempt them. The wrath of God turned them to stone, and the demons, trying to flee, found that they could not avoid justice either.

Lyonesse

Southwest of Land's End lie the Scilly Isles, the last, sinking remnants of the land of Lyonesse. This land once stretched from Cornwall to the Isles, and was Tristan's place of birth. Even now, at exceptionally low tides, the remains of the forests and towns of this land can be seen in areas now claimed by the ocean. In the time of Arthur, and the days of the early Saxons, the land of Lyonesse was prosperous, with one hundred and forty parishes and a town, called Lyon, at the place now called Lethoso. This is a dangerous part of the sea, where rocks come close to the surface, but men fishing the area have drawn up parts of windows and other evidence of the houses.

When Lyonesse was drowned only one man escaped to the east, the first Trevelyan. He rode his white horse ahead of the flood, and landed by St. Michael's Mount, where the water finally stopped. To the west, some folk fled to the high ground that is now the Scilly Isles, but they were from the poorer and more remote regions of the land. The disaster is thought to have been due to the anger of the Fair Folk, but no one has spoken of the cause for over three hundred years, and it is forgotten.

Glossary

Amercement: A fine.

Antipope: An irregularly elected pope. Normally competes with the pope for the allegiance of the church, and the antipope is the one who, ultimately, loses.

Archdeacon: The most important of a bishop's officers, responsible for enforcing decrees.

Attachment: Holding someone in custody to face a criminal charge.

Bailiff: Someone who manages an estate on behalf of its owner.

Bedell: An official responsible for enforcing regulations.

Benefice: A position, restricted to clerks, that provides an income. Most benefices are parishes, but some are attached to cathedrals. Also called a living.

Carol: A dance in which the participants form a ring. Not particularly associated with Christmas.

Chalice: The cup in which the wine is held at mass.

Chapter: The gathering of the members of an ecclesiastical organisation at which decisions are made.

Clerk: Someone in holy orders, whether major or minor. Beginning to be used to refer to anyone engaged in literate occupations, even if they are not in orders.

Consistory Court: A court of canon law in which cases are heard by the bishop's deputy.

Coram Rege: "In the presence of the king," usually referring to legal cases heard by the king in person.

Coroner: A legal official, responsible for hearing certain pleas of the crown.

Crown, The: The king as ruler, encompassing the activities of his officers.

Diocese: The main unit of ecclesiastical administration, headed by a bishop.

Dispensation: Permission from a high ecclesiastical authority to break one of the requirements of canon law.

Distaff: A staff with a cleft end, in which unspun wool or flax is held.

Essoin: Permission to not attend court in a civil case, usually given for sickness.

Excommunication: An ecclesiastical penalty, barring an individual from receiving any of the sacraments, including absolution. Anyone dying excommunicate is condemned to hell.

Eyre: A tour of the country by royal justices, to hear major cases.

Fee: The holding of a member of the feudal nobility. Can be land, or a fixed income, or the right to collect a certain tax.

Fief: The holding of a member of the feudal nobility, especially if it is land.

Flax: The raw material of linen.

Forester: A royal official responsible for enforcing forest law. Unpopular.

Fornication: Sexual relations outside marriage, regardless of whether those involved are married or not. That is, it includes pre-marital sex as well as adultery, homosexuality, and incest.

Gild: A group of people who have joined together for mutual aid and protection. Gilds may join people who follow the

same craft, live in the same town, or worship at the same church. (Also spelled "guild.")

Grand Assize: Twelve knights serving to decide who has the right to a piece of land.

Holy Orders: The four highest degrees of ordination: subdeacon, deacon, priest, and bishop.

Host: The consecrated bread at a mass.

Hue: The pursuit of a criminal observed in the act by the residents of a place. Those engaged in the hue may legally kill the malefactor.

Hundred: A subdivision of a county.

Infangtheof: The right to hang a thief caught in the act.

Interdict: An ecclesiastical penalty prohibiting the celebration of the sacraments in an area.

Legate: A representative with the full power of the person he represents. Normally a Papal Legate.

Leyrwite: A fine paid by villein women caught in fornication.

Libel: A written account of charges, submitted in a church court.

Living: A benefice.

Marches: The Anglo-Norman possessions in Wales.

Merchet: A tax that must be paid by villeins before they can marry.

Mesnie: The household knights of a great lord.

Minor Orders: The four lower degrees of ordination: doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, and acolyte.

Mother House: A monastery which founds another monastery (the daughter), and retains some oversight.

Novel Disseisin: Recent dispossession of a piece of land. Also the writ allowing you to reclaim such land.

Obedientiary: An officer in a monastery.

Parish: The local unit of church administration, centered on a single church.

Palatinate: A lordship within which the lord has the powers of the king. These include the right to try pleas of the crown and the right to build castles.

Paten: The plate on which the host is placed at mass.

Pleas of the Crown: Criminal offenses that can only be tried in royal or palatine courts.

Priest: A clerk ordained to the priesthood, able to consecrate the bread and wine at the eucharist.

Proctor: A legal representative; an attorney.

Range: A continuous part of a building, particularly one side of a courtyard.

Rector: The clerk with a right to the tithes of a parish. Responsible for the sacraments, but may appoint a deputy.

Regular: A clerk who lives according to a rule.

Secular: A clerk who does not live according to a rule.

Seisin: Possession of land.

Sheriff: The king's representative in a county, responsible for collecting taxes and dispensing justice. A very important officer.

Suit of Court: The duty to attend a particular court whenever it sits.

Tithe: A tenth of everything of which God gives the increase, which belongs to the rector of the parish in which it is produced.

Tithing: A group of men, nominally ten, legally responsible for one another's behavior.

Tonsure: A clerical hair cut, short and with a shaved area on the scalp.

Tourn: The sheriff's formal visitation of his shire.

Vicar: A clerk who does the rector's work in a parish. Ought to be a priest.

View of Frankpledge: See page 106.

Villein: An unfree peasant, bound to the land and requiring his or her lord's permission for many activities.

Visitation: An official investigation by a bishop of his diocese.

Wattle and Daub: A way of building walls which involves weaving sticks together and then covering the framework with mud mixed with straw to keep the wind out.

Writ: A legal document initiating a civil case.

Yardland: Thirty acres of land, enough to make a peasant family prosperous.

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