

ملخص الدراسة

فقد لعبت النساء على مدار التاريخ شرقا وغربا أدوارا رئيسية وحركن دفة السياسة، وقدمن إسهامات مباشرة وغير مباشرة في مسار البشرية وفي توجيهها ومسار أحداثها لأنهن جزءا من كيان هذه المجتمعات فهن الأمهات والزوجات والبنات اللاتي شاركن الرجال وتحملن معهم أحداث الأيام وتبعاتها إما بالسلب أو الإيجاب.

وتعتبر الملكة إيلانور Eleanor واحدة من هؤلاء النساء اللاتي لعبن دورا واضحا في أحداث التاريخ، وكانت حياتها سلسلة من الأحداث والمواقف التي اختلفت عليها أعلام المؤرخين، خاصة وأنها كانت صاحبة إقطاع من أكبر إقطاعات فرنسا وهو أكيثانيا (أكوتين) Aquitaine الواقعة بالجنوب الفرنسي، ثم أصبحت بعد ذلك زوجة لملك فرنسا لويس السابع Louis VII (1137-1180م) ثم بعد طلاقها منه تزوجت من غريمه هنري الثاني بلانتاجنت Henry the second plantagent (1154-1189م) ملك إنجلترا.

لذلك نجدها قد جمعت في فترات حياتها بين عرشي أكبر دولتين عظيمتين في أوروبا العصور الوسطى.

وهكذا تعتبر إيلانور من الشخصيات التاريخية البارزة والتي صممت عن الحديث عنها وتتبع أخبارها المراجع العربية، فخلت المكتبة العربية من أي مؤلف يتعرض لتاريخ هذه الملكة التي شهدت حياتها مراحل تاريخية مهمة لدولتي فرنسا وإنجلترا.

وقد قامت الباحثة بتقسيم الموضوع إلى مقدمة وتمهيد وسبعة فصول وخاتمة تشمل أهم ما توصلت إليه الباحثة من نتائج ومعلومات وملاحق مصدرية تفيد البحث مع تقديم ثبت كامل بالمصادر الأجنبية والعربية والمراجع العربية والمعربة والمراجع الأجنبية.

وقد جاء التمهيد تحت عنوان :

(إيلانور من المولد حتى زواجها من لويس السابع ملك فرنسا)

وتناولت الباحثة فيه موقع دوقية أكويتين وأهميته مع التعرف على أبرز حكامه خلال القرون من العاشر حتى القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي. كما تعرضت أيضا في هذا الفصل إلى الحديث عن مولد إيلانور والبيئة التي تربت وعاشت فيها وتأثرت بها ثم اختتمت الحديث بوفاة الدوق وليام العاشر بعد أن أوصى برعاية إبنته إيلانور إلى لويس السادس ملك فرنسا (1108-1137م) وطلبه منه أن يزوجه من شخص مناسب.

أما الفصل الأول ف جاء بعنوان (الملكة إيلانور على العرش الفرنسي)

وفيه تناولت الباحثة الحديث عن زواج إيلانور من الملك لويس السابع والترتيبات التي تم اتخاذها لإتمام هذا الزواج ثم الأحداث التي تمت نتيجة لذلك والتي كان من أهمها الصراع الذي نشأ واستمر بين إيلانور وبين الملكة أديليدا Adelaide والدة الملك لويس السابع والذي انتهى بانسحاب الملكة أديليدا من قصر سيتي Cite بعد سيطرة إيلانور عليه، ثم نجاح إيلانور في إبعاد الأب سوجير Suger عن المملكة بسبب كراهيتها له وانفرادها بشئون الحكم بعد سيطرتها على زوجها، كما تطرقت الباحثة إلى الحديث عن النزاع الذي حدث بين الملك لويس السابع ورجال الدين والذي تم بسبب تحريض إيلانور لزوجها ضد الكنيسة التي رفضت إقرار زواج أختها بترونيليا Petronilia من الكونت رالف Ralph ابن عم الملك لويس السابع. كما تناول هذا الفصل الحملات التي قام بها الملك لويس السابع على مقاطعة تولوز Toulouse والأحداث الدامية التي حدثت خلال هذه الحملات والتي كان من أهمها احتراق كنيسة فيتري Vitry وبدخلها حوالي ألف وخمسمائة شخص حاولوا الاحتماء بها من قوات الملك لويس السابع.

ثم جاء الفصل الثاني وعنوانه (الملكة إيلانور والحملة الصليبية الثانية)

وفيه تناولت الباحثة الحديث عن سقوط إمارة الرها الصليبية في يد عماد الدين زنكي وما نتج عن ذلك من خوف وذعر عم الغرب الأوروبي والذي هب لنجدة المسيحيين في الشرق وكان من بين هؤلاء الملك لويس السابع الذي قرر القيام بالحملة الصليبية حتى يستطيع التكفير عن أحداث فيتري والتي كان مسئولاً عنها وسبباً فيها، ثم الترتيبات التي حدثت من أجل الإعداد لها، وقد تناول هذا الفصل الدور الذي قامت به إيلانور من أجل الإعداد للحملة ثم مشاركتها فيها وانضمامها إليها ومعاصرتها لأحداثها. كما تطرقت إلى الحديث عن زيارة الملكة إيلانور للقسطنطينية Constantinople وانطباعها عنها وتأثرها بما شاهدته بها. كما اشتمل أيضاً على الأحداث التي تمت في أنطاكية Antioch والإشاعات التي انتشرت بها بعد زيارة إيلانور وزوجها لتلك الإمارة وعلاقتها بعمها الأمير ريموند دي بواتييه Raymond de poitiers حاكم أنطاكية وما ترتب عليه من توتر العلاقة بينها وبين زوجها الملك لويس السابع ثم اختتمت الباحثة هذا الفصل بالحديث عن فشل الحملة الصليبية ورحيلها عن الأراضي المقدسة وأثر ذلك على توتر العلاقة بين الزوجين.

أما الفصل الثالث فتحت عنوان (طلاق إيلانور من الملك لويس السابع)

وفيه عرضت الباحثة عودة الملك لويس وإليانور إلى فرنسا والصعوبات التي واجهتهما خلال رحلة عودتهما ثم الزيارة التي قاما بها إلى روما أثناء عودتهما إلى فرنسا لأخذ نصيحة البابا في مسألة قرابة الرحم التي ادعتها إليانور والتي بنت عليها طلبها للطلاق ثم الجهود التي قام بها البابا للتوفيق بين الزوجين والإصلاح بينهما، كما تطرقت الباحثة إلى الحديث عن الأوضاع في فرنسا بعد عودة الملك لويس والملكة إليانور واستمرار توتر العلاقة والجفاء بين الزوجين خاصة بعد فشل إليانور في إنجاب الوريث الذكر للمرة الثانية وقيام المستشارين المقربين للملك لويس بإقناعه بضرورة تطليقها والذي تم في عام 1152م ثم الأحداث التي تترتبت على هذا الطلاق والتي كان من أهمها انسحاب قوات الملك لويس من الأراضي التابعة لإليانور ثم عودتها إلى دوقيتها بعد طلاقها.

وجاء الفصل الرابع تحت عنوان (الملكة إليانور على العرش الإنجليزي)

وفيه تناولت الباحثة الحديث عن زواج إليانور من الدوق هنري الثاني دوق نورمانديا Normandy بعد طلاقها من لويس السابع والظروف التي جمعت بينهما ثم التنافس والصراع الذي نشأ بين لويس السابع وهنري الثاني نتيجة لهذا الزواج خاصة بعد فقدان فرنسا لممتلكات إليانور وانضمام تلك الأراضي إلى هنري الثاني بعد زواجه منها، خاصة وأن هنري كان تابعاً لملك فرنسا.

كما تناول هذا الفصل الحملات التي قام بها هنري الثاني على إنجلترا والتي انتهت بانتصاره وتولييه عرشها بعد وفاة ملكها عام 1154م. كما تعرضت الباحثة في هذا الفصل للحديث عن الدور الذي قامت به إليانور في إدارة شؤون إنجلترا أثناء غياب زوجها الملك هنري الثاني خارج المملكة للقضاء على الثورات والمعارك التي كان يخوضها في الخارج. كذلك تطرقت للحديث عن الصراع الذي نشأ بين الملك هنري الثاني ورئيس الأساقفة توماس بيكيت Thomas Becket والذي انتهى بمقتل توماس على يد رجال الملك هنري الثاني.

ثم جاء الفصل الخامس وعنوانه (دور الملكة إليانور في ثورة أبنائها ضد والدهم)

وقد بدأ هذا الفصل بتوضيح العلاقة بين إليانور والملك هنري الثاني والتي ساءت كثيراً بعد ارتباط الملك هنري الثاني بعلاقة غير شرعية مع امرأة تدعى روزاموند Rosamond مما ترتب عليه كراهية إليانور لزوجها وانتقالها للإقامة في ميراثها الخاص في أكويتين ثم نجاحها في بذور الحقد والكراهية في نفوس أبنائها ضد والدهم وقيامها بتحريضهم للقيام بثورة ضده مستعينة

بالملك لويس السابع.

كما تناول الفصل الجهود التي بذلها الملك هنري للقضاء على تمرد أبنائه وثورته ضد ونجاحه في ذلك ثم قيامه بالانتقام من زوجته بحرق مدنها الخاصة وإلقاء القبض عليها ووضعها في سجن خاص في قلعة سالسبوري Salesbury لمدة ستة عشر عاما واختتمت الباحثة هذا الفصل بالحديث عن ثورة ابنها الدوق ريتشارد ضد والده الملك هنري الثاني وانضمامه إلى غريمه الملك فيليب أغسطس Philipi Augusti (1180-1223م) ملك فرنسا الذي أصبح صديقا مقربا له ثم تحالف كل من فيليب وريتشارد ضد الملك هنري الثاني وقيامهما بالهجوم والاستيلاء على الكثير من المدن والقلاع ومن بينها مدينة شينون Chinon التي أشعلوا النيران بها فاحترقت تماما مما أصاب الملك هنري بالحزن والمرض الذي انتهى بوفاته عام 1189م متأثرا بجراحه ولخيانة ابنه له.

أما الفصل السادس وعنوانه (الأحداث الأخيرة في حياة الملكة إليانور حتى وفاتها عام

1204م)

وفيه تناولت الباحثة الحديث عن الجهود التي بذلتها إليانور في تتويج ولدها الدوق ريتشارد على عرش إنجلترا، وقيامها بالحصول على يمين الولاء والتبعية له من النبلاء في إنجلترا بعد أن نجحت في بذر بذور الحب في نفوسهم بعد أن كانوا يكرهونه ويعتبرونه مسئولا عن وفاة والده، كذلك تعرضت الباحثة لتوضيح وشرح الدور والجهود التي بذلتها إليانور في إدارة شؤون المملكة بعد رحيل الملك ريتشارد بحملته الصليبية الثالثة إلى الشرق، ونجاحها في حفظ التاج له من محاولات أخيه حنا في الاستيلاء عليه، كما تناولت أيضا جهود إليانور في تزويج ولدها ريتشارد خوفا من وفاته في الأراضي المقدسة دون أن يترك وريثا على العرش.

كما تناول هذا الفصل الحديث عن تعرض الملك ريتشارد للأسر على يد الملك ليوبولد ملك أوستريا Leopold of Austria (1117-1195م) بعد انتهاء حملته وخلال عودته إلى مملكته والجهود التي بذلتها إليانور لتوفير الفدية المطلوبة لإطلاق سراحه.

وانتهى هذا الفصل بوفاة الملك ريتشارد بعد عودته إلى إنجلترا وتولي أخيه حنا عرش المملكة بعده مما نتج عنه قيام تنافس بين الملك حنا والإيرل آرثر Arthur ابن أخيه الأكبر

جيفري Geoffrey والذي كان يطالب بحقه في عرش المملكة وتحالفه مع الملك فيليب أغسطس ضد الملك حنا وقيامهما بالإغارة على ممتلكات الملكة إيلانور في الجنوب مما دفعها إلى التصدي لهما رغم بلوغها الثمانين من العمر ثم انسحابها إلى دير فونتفريولت Fontevault بعد تعرضها للأسر من قبل حفيدها آرثر ونجاح الملك حنا في إطلاق سراحها.

وأخيرا انتهى الفصل بوفاة الملكة إيلانور عام 1204م متأثرة بمرضها.

أما الفصل السابع والأخير فجاء بعنوان :

(الدور الثقافي للملكة إيلانور في القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي)

وفيه تناولت الباحثة الحديث عن دور أسرة إيلانور في تدعيم الحركة الثقافية في الجنوب الفرنسي، وكذلك صلتهم بشعراء التروبادور حيث أوضحت أصولهم الأولى وموضوعات قصائدهم وأشهر شعرائهم، والقوى الراحية لهم، كما تناول الفصل أيضا الحديث عن الدور الثقافي الذي قامت به إيلانور والذي تمثل في محاكم الحب التي أنشأتها في بواتييه Poitiers أثناء فترة إقامتها بعد انسحابها من مملكة إنجلترا نتيجة خلافها مع زوجها الملك هنري الثاني.

ثم أنهت الباحثة رسالتها بخاتمة أوضحت فيها النتائج التي توصل إليها البحث على امتداد

فصوله.

ثم قدمت ملاحق مهمة تفيد البحث وثبت كامل بالمصادر والمراجع المختلفة.

(1)

1. Excerpt from John of Salisbury's *Historia pontificalis*, Concerning Queen Eleanor's Removal from Antioch in 1149 [originally in Latin].

In the year of grace 1149 the most Christian king of the Franks reached Antioch, after the destruction of his armies in the East, and was nobly entertained there by Prince Raymond, brother of the late William, count of Poitiers. He was as it happened the queen's uncle, and owed the king loyalty, affection and respect for many reasons. But whilst they remained there from the wreck of the army, the attentions paid to the queen, and his constant, indeed almost continuous conversation with her, aroused the king's suspicions. These were greatly strengthened when the queen wished to remain behind, although the king was preparing to leave, and the prince made every effort to keep her, if the king would give his consent. And when the king made haste to tear her away, she mentioned their kinship, saying it was not lawful for them to remain together as man and wife, since they were related in teeth fourth and fifth degrees. Even before their departure a rumor to that effect had been heard in France, where the late Bartholomew bishop of Laon had calculated the degrees of kinship; but it was not certain whether the reckoning was true or false. At this the king was deeply moved; and although he loved the queen almost beyond reason he consented to divorce her if his counselors and the French nobility would allow it. There was one knight amongst the king's secretaries, called Terricus Copernicus, a eunuch whom the queen had always hated and mocked, but who was faithful and had the king's ear like his father's before him. He boldly persuaded the king not to suffer her to dally longer at Antioche, both because

Guilt under kingship's guise could lie concealed,
And because it would be a lasting shame to the kingdom of the Franks if in addition to all the other disasters it was reported that the king had been deserted

by his wife, or robbed of her. So he argued, either because he hated the queen by widespread rumor. In consequence, she was and forced to leave for Jerusalem with the king; and , their mutual anger going greater, the wound remained, hide it as best they might.

(2)

2. Except from the Chronide of Richard of Devizes [Originally in Latin].

Queen Eleanor, an incomparable woman, beautiful yet virtuous, powerful yet gentle, humble yet keen-witted, qualities which are most rarely found in a woman, who had lived long enough to have two kings as husbands and two kings as sons, still tireless in all labors, at whose ability her age might marvel, brought with her the daughter of the king of Navarre, a maiden more prudent than pretty, and followed the king, her son. She overtook him whilst he was still in Sicily and went on to Reggio, a city full of every good thing and fitting for her reception, there to wait the king's will, with the envoys of the king of Navarre and the virgin.

Many know what I would none of us knew. This same queen, during the time of her first husband, was at Jerusalem. Let no one say any more about it; I too know it well. Keep silent!

The Chronicle or Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First, edited by John Appleby. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1963, pp. 23-26.

(3)

3. Abridged Excerpt from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniar* [originally in Latin].

While Vortigern, King of the Britons, was still sitting on the bank of the pool which had been drained of its water, there emerged two Dragons, one white and one red. As soon as they were near enough to each other, they fought bitterly, breathing out fire as they panted. As they struggled on in this way, the King ordered Ambrosius Merlin to explain just what this battle of the Dragons meant. Merlin immediately burst into tears. He went into a prophetic trance and then spoke as follows:

Alas for the Red Dragon, for its end is near... Once again the White dragon shall rise up and will invite over a daughter of Germany. Our little gardens will be stocked again with foreign seed and the Red Dragon will pine away at the far end of the pool. After that the German Worm shall be crowned and the Prince of Brass will be buried.... The North Wind will rise up against him, snatching away the flowers which the West Wind had caused to bloom.... The seed of the White Dragon shall be rooted up from our little gardens and what is then left of its progeny shall be decimated. They shall bear the yoke of perpetual slavery and they will wound their own Mother with their spades and ploughshares.... The island will lie sodden with the tears of the night-time, and everyone will be encouraged to try to do everything. Those who are born later shall strive to fly over even the most lofty things, but the favour given to newcomers will be loftier even than that.... Albany will be angry: calling her near neighbours to her, she shall give herself entirely to bloodshed... The Eagle of the Broken Covenant... will rejoice in her third nesting. The cubs shall roar as they keep watch; they will forsake the forest groves and come hunting inside the walls of cities. They will cause great slaughter among any who oppose them, and the tongues of bulls they shall slice

off. They shall load with chains the necks of the roaring ones, and live again the days of their forefathers.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia regum Britanniae, translated by Lewis Thorpe.
London: Penguin Books, 1966, pp. 171-75 (abridged).

(4)

**Richard le Poitevin's Lament on Hearing of Queen Eleanor's Imprisonment
[from the original Latin]**

The me, double-headed Eagle, tell me: where were you when your eaglets, flying from their nest, dared to raise their talons against the King of the North Wind. We know for sure it was you who urged them to rise up against their father. For this reason you have been carried away from your land and taken to a place you do not know. Your lers have deceived you with their conciliatory words. The notes of your lyre have changed into lamentation, and your flute into the sounds of mourning . Formerly you lived in Luxury and refinement, enjoyed the taste of royal freedom and numerous riches, and your young companions sang their swevetongs to you with the music of tambourine and harp; you rejoiced in the melodies of the flutes, and delighted in the trhythm of the drums day with tears? Come back, O captive, come back to your cities, if you can: and if you cannot, then grieve like the king of Jerusalem, and say: Alas! For how long I have been an exile, I have lived with ignorant and uncouth people. Grieve like this again and again and say: Tears have been my daily bread, and every day men ask me: Where is your court? Your young people ? Your advisors? Some have been dragged from their lands and shamefully condemned to death; others have been deprived of their sight, and some are wandering in various places like fugitives. O Eagle of the Broken Alliance! How much longer will your cries be unanswered? The King of the North Wind besieges you on all sides: shout out with the Prophet, and do not cease; let

your voice ring out like a bugle so that your sons may hear you. For then the day will come when they will liberate you and you will return to your own lands.

Richard le Poitevin, ex Chronico, in Receuil Historiens des Gaules et de la France, edited by Leopold Delisle et al., 24 Vols Paris: 1738-1094, Vol. 17, p. 420.

(5)

Eleanor, Queen of England, widow of Henry II, to Pope Celestine III, 1193

To the reverend Father and Lord Celestine, by the Grace of God, the supreme Pontiff, Eleanor, pitiable and hoping in vain to be pited, the Queen of England, Duchess of Normandy, Countess of Anjou, entreats him to show himself to be a father of mercy to a pitiable mother.

O holiest Pope, a cursed distance between us prevents me from speaking to you in person, but I must give vent to my grief a little and who shall assist me with my words? I am all anxiety, both within and without and as a result my words are full of suffering. There are fears which can be seen, but hidden are the disputes and I cannot take one breath free from the persecution of my troubles and the grief caused by my afflictions, which beyond measure have found me out. I have completely wasted away with torment and with my flesh devoured, my bones have clung to my skin. My years have passed away full of groans and I wish they could pass away altogether. I wish that the blood of my body, already dead, the brain in my head and the marrow of my bones would dissolve into tears, so much so that I completely melt away into sorrow. My insides have been torn out of me, I have lost the staff of my old age, the light of my eyes; if God assented to my prayers he would condemn my ill-fated eyes to perpetual blindness so that they no longer saw the woes of my people. Who may allow me to die for you, my son? Mother of

mercy, look upon a mother so wretched, or else if your Son, an unexhausted source of mercy, requires from the son the sins of the mother, then let him exact complete vengeance on me, for I am the only one to offend, and let him punish me, for I am the irreverent one-do not let him smile over the punishment of an innocent person. Let the one who is striking me crush me, lift up his hand and kill me; let this be my consolation-that in burdening me with grief he does not spare me. I am pitiable, yet pitied by no-one; why have I, the Lady of two kingdoms, reached the disgrace of this abominable old age? I am the mother of two kings.

My insides have been torn out of me, my family has been carried off, it has rolled past me; the Young King and the earl of Brittany sleep in the dust-their mother is so ill-fated she is forced to live, so that without cure she is tortured with the memory of the dead. As some comfort, I still have two sons, who are alive today, but only to punish me, wretched and condemned. King Richard is detained in chains; his brother John is killing the people of the prisoner's kingdom with the sword, he is ravaging the land with fires. In every respect the Lord has become cruel to me, turning his heavy hand against me. His anger is so against me that even my sons fight against each other, if indeed it can be called a fight when one is imprisoned and crushed in chains while the other heaps grief upon grief by trying to usurp the former's kingdom for himself with his cruel tyranny.

Good Jesus! Who will grant me thy protection in he hell and hide me until your fury passes away, until your arrows stop, the arrows which are in me, the arrows whose anger my whole spirit is drunk on? I long for death, I am weary of life. Though I am thus continually dying. I still want to die more completely; unwilling, I am compelled to live-my life is the food of death and is a means of torture. Blessed are those who do not know the capriciousness of this life, who do not know of the unpredictable events in our inconstant fate because of a blessed abortion! What do I do? Why do I yet live? Why do I, a wretched creature, dealy? Why do I not go to see the man my soul loves, chained in beggary and iron? At

such a time as this, how could a mother foreget the son of her very womb? Affection appeases tigers, it even appeases the more fierce witches.

But doubt remains and I waver . If I go, I desert my son's kingdom, which is being plundered from every direction with formidable hostility and in my absence it will have no common counsel, no relief . But if I stay, I will not see what I most want to see, the face of my son, and there will be no-one to concentrate on procuring the release of my son, but what I am more afraid of is that the most fastidious of young men will be tortured for some impossible sum of money and yet impatient of so much affliction will be easily tortured to death. O wicked , cruel, impious tyrant who is not afraid to lay his hands on the Lord's Anointed, nor has a royal anointing, nor a reverence for the holy life, nor a fear of God restrained you from such inhumanity.

In addition to this, the Prince of the Apostles still rules and reigns in the Apostolic See, and his judicial steadfastness is set up for the people; it rests with you, Father, to draw the sword of Peter against these criminals, for it was for this reason that Peter set the sword above peoples and kingdoms. The cross of Christ soars ahead of the eagles of Caesar, the sword of Peter is a higher authority than the sword of Constantine, the Apostolic See higher than an Imperial power. Is your power derived from God or from men? Did not the God of Gods speak to you through his apostle Peter, saying 'Whatever you have bound on earth will be bound also in heaven and whatever you have freed on earth will also be freed in heaven ? Why then have you, of negligent, so cruel, done nothing for so long about the release of my son or is it rather that you do not dare? Perhaps you will say that this power entrusted to you was over souls, not bodies: so be it, I will certainly be satisfied if you bind the souls of those who keep my son bound in prison. It is in your power to release my son, unless the fear of God yields to a human fear. So restore my son to me, man of God, if indeed you are a man of God and not a man of mere blood. If you are slow in releasing my son, then the Most High will require my son's blood from your hand. Alas, it is a sorry time when the chief shepherded

turns into a mercenary, when he flies from the face of the wolf, when he abandons in the jaws of a bloodthirsty beast a lamb put in his care, or even the chosen ram, the leader of the Lord's flock. A good shepherd instructs and informs other shepherds not to run when they see a wolf approaching but rather to lay down their lives for their sheep. Please, I beg you, may you save your own soul while you apply yourself to procuring the release, not of your sheep, but I will say of your son, using numerous embassies, beneficial advice, thunderous threats, general injunctions and severe sentences? Though late, you should give your soul for him, the man for whom you have refused to say or write one word. We know from the testimony of the prophet, the Son of God came down from heaven to bring the chained out of the lake in which there was no water; what was fitting for God is surely fitting for God's servant. My son is tortured in chains, but you do not go down to him, you do not send anyone, you are not even moved by the sorrow which moved Joseph. Christ sees this and is silent, but in the final judgment retribution will be severe for those who are negligent in doing God's work.

Legates have now been promised to us three times, yet have not been sent; in fact they are servants rather than legates. If my son were in a prosperous position, they would hurry rather more quickly to his simple call, expecting plentiful plentiful rewards for their embassy from his splendid generosity and the public profit of his kingdom. But what profit could they consider more glorious than the freeing of a captive king and the restoring of peace to the people, of tranquility to the religious and of joy to everyone? But now the sons of Ephraim, who aimed, who fired their bows, have turned round on the day of battle and in the time of stress; while the wolf comes powerful, which are tolerated, and the canonical rule applies merely to the sins of the poor. So Anacharsis the philosopher had good reason to compare laws and cannons with spiders' webs, which trap the weaker animals but let the stronger to.

The kings of the earth have set themselves and the rulers have all agreed to be against my son, the Lord's Anointed. One tortures him in chains, another

destroys his land with a cruel enmity, or to use a common phrase :’one shears, another plunders, one holds the foot, another skins it” . The supreme Pontiff sees all this, yet keeps the sword of Peter sheathed, and thus gives the sinner added boldness, his silence being presumed to indicate consent. For the man who can rebuke, who ought to rebuke, but does not do so seems to consent, and the man who pretends to be patient will not be without a hidden alliance. The time of dissension is upon us, just as the Apostle, predicted and the son of eternal damnation shall be revealed; dangerous times are at hand when the seamless tunic of Christ is torn, when the net of Peter is broken and the solid unity of the Catholic Church is dispersed. These are the initial stages of evil things-we perceive oppressive times, we ear worse. I am no prophetess, nor the daughter of a prophet, but my grief has made many suggestions about the troubles to come; yet it also steals the very words it suggests, for my writing is interrupted by my sobbing, my sadness saps the strength of my soul and it chokes my vocal chords with anxiety: Farewell.

Table (6)

5. Letter from Aimery, Viscount of Thousars, Concernin Eleanor the King’s Mother, Who Is Sick [from the original Latin] .

To his most reverent lord John, by the grace of God, etc., Aimery, viscount of Thouras, his ever-faithful servant, greetings and devoted service, by which he is bound.

Please know Your Highness that Queen Eleanor, my mistress and your mother, struck down by sickness at Fontevraud, summoned me to hurry and visit her while she was gravely ill. With a devoted heart I rushed to her presence. While I was in attendance she greatly recovered her spirits and in our conversation

concerning you I agreed with her on all points, and please be assured that everything she has written to you in her letters is absolutely true.

Know, lord, that I have always been loyal to your father and to your brother King Richard, and have shown myself faithful in r.y. service to them, and indeed I have never failed you in honesty or faithful service either, and between you and me nothing has occurred in the way of disagreement beyond a few small words of anger.

Indeed just as I have always been faithful towards you and yours as your liege man, so I declare myself faithful to you once again and I place my land, all my power and my kinsmen at your disposal and command.

Meanwhile I would like to know, lord, concerning the request which I made to you about my son, your servant, if your Excellency finds it a worthy request and agrees to comply, then you will have answered all my friends; and so I beg you to be willing to confirm a solid peace between you and H, count of la Marche; and be assured that if he is unwilling-despite my reason and advice-to reach an agreement with you peacefully and with your honor intact, he will have me and all might as an additional enemy.

Foiedera, Conventiones, Litterae et cujuscunque generis Acta Publica inter Reges Angliae, edited by Thomay Rymer and Robert Sanderson, 7 vols. London: 1816-69.

(7)

6. Queen Eleanor, from Her Sickbed at Fontevraud, Writes to Her Son, King John, Concerning the Service of the Aforesaid Viscount [From the Original Latin].

To her dearest son, John, by the grace of God, etc., Eleanor, by the same grace etc. and God's blessing, together with her own.

Know, dear son, that we summoned your kinsman and ours, Aimery, viscount of Thouars, to come to visit us in our sickness at Fontevraud, and he

came; and because of this, thanks be to God, we are recovering better than we were.

Moreover, please know that I and your faithful Guy of Dina questioned him and he shown us that he is completely bound in service to you, that he has done no injury to you, nor unjustly held any part of your land, as your other barons of Poitou are doing.

And likewise we showed him that he ought to feel great shame and guilt because he allowed your other barons to rob you unjustly; And for his part he listened and understood what we were saying; and because we spoke justly and reasonably to him, he freely conceded to us with an open heart that he and his lands and castles were from this time forth under your will and, command whatever he had done previously; and as for his friends and others who had seized your land and castles without your permission or will unless they are willing to do your will and pleasure and peaceably restore what they unjustly seized, he will set himself against them with all his might, for everything that belongs to you; and more, also all that your brother Richard King of England possessed on the day he died.

And since he agreed whole-heartedly to the things we asked, namely that he will serve you truly and faithfully against all men, I, who am your mother, together with your faithful Guy Dina, urge that you treat him as a lord should his liege man; and I and your faithful Guy give pledges that he will do whatever we ask on your behalf, as noted in the letters that he sends you.

We ask therefore urgently and soberly advise you that when you have settled your affaire in England, you come quickly to Normandy. Please make your intentions clear to us and the aforesaid viscount of Thouars; since, as we said before, he is prepared to acquiesce in your every instruction and wish; and at your command, he is willing to come to you in England or Normandy or wherever it may please you, and he greatly desires your visit.

Foedra, conventions, op.cit, P. 82.

(8)

8. “Pos de chanter m’es pres talenz” : Guilhem de Peiteu [originally in langue d’oc].

Since I feel the need to sing
 I will make a song about my sorrow;
 No longer will I be a vassal
 In Poitou and in Limousin.

For now shall I go into exile:
 In great fear, in great peril,
 At war I will leave my son,
 And his neighbors will harm him.

The departure from the domain
 Of Poitiers is so difficult for me!
 I leave Foulques of Angers in charge
 Of all the land and of his cousin.

If Foulques of Angers does not help him
 And the king from whom I hold my domain,
 Many people will bring him harm,
 Treacherous Gascons and Angevins.

If he is neither wise nor valiant
 When I will have left you,
 Quickly they will have overturned him
 For they will see him young and feeble.

I ask pity for my companion

If ever I wronged him, may he pardon me,
And I pray to Lord Jesus on the throne
In Romance and Latin.

I have belonged to prowess and joy,
But now we part company,
And I go away to that One
With whom all sinners find rest.

I have been most charming and gay,
But our Lord wants that no more;
Now I can no longer carry the burden,
So close have I come to the end.

I have left behind everything I used to love,
Chivalry and pride,
And since it pleases God, I accept all that
And pray Him to retain me in His presence.

I pray all my friends, at the moment of death
To come and render me high honor,
For I have known joy and pleasure
Far and near in my domain.

Thus I leave joy and pleasure
And rich fur and sable

(9)

9. “Can vei la lauzeta mover”: Bernart de Ventadorn [originally in langue d’oc]

When I see the lark beating
 His wings, for joy, against the sun’s ray
 Until he forgets to fly and lets himself fall
 For the sweetness which goes to his heart.
 Alas! Such great envy comes over me
 Of those whom I see rejoicing,
 I marvel that at once
 My heart does not melt for desire.

Alas! I thought I knew so much
 About love, and I know so little!
 For I cannot keep myself from loving
 Her from whom I shall have no good.
 She has stolen my heart, and stolen my self,
 And herself and all the world;
 And when she took herself away, she left me nothing
 Except desire and a longing heart.

Never have I had power over myself
 Or belonged to myself from the very hour
 That she let me look into her eyes,
 Into a mirror that pleases me greatly.
 Mirror, since I mirrored myself in you,
 Deep sighs have slain me;
 I have destroyed myself as the beautiful

Narcissus destroyed himself in the fountain.

I despair of ladies:

No more will I trust them;

And just as I used to defend them

Now I shall abandon them.

Since I see that none aids me

Against her who destroys and confounds me,

I fear and distrust them all,

For well I know that they are all alike.

In this, she surely shows herself to be a woman,

My lady; that is why I reproach her.

For she does not want what one ought to want,

And what one forbids her, she does.

I have fallen into ill favor,

And I have indeed acted like the fool on the bridge;

I do not know why this happens to me

Unless I tried to climb too high.

Mercy is lost, truly,

And I never knew it,

For she, who ought to have most of it,

Has none, and where shall I seek it?

Ah! How terrible it appears, to one looking at her,

That this poor, love stick wretch,

Who will never have good without her,

She allows to perish, without helping him.

Since with my lady nothing avails me,
Neither prayers nor pity nor the rights I have,
And since to her it is no pleasure
That I love her, never shall I tell her again.
Thus I leave her and give up.
She has slain me, and by death I shall answer,
And I go away, since she does not retain me,
Wretched, into exile, I know not where.

Tristan, you will have nothing more from me,
For I depart, wretched, I know not where.
I forsake and give up singing,
And I hide myself from Joy and love.