



England and France in the time of Henry I

The Fortune of War: Henry I and Normandy, 1116 – 1120

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Henry I had great success in keeping the peace in England and Normandy, aside from the first two years of his reign. There were only two Norman uprisings against Henry, the first from roughly 1118-1119 and the second, with only five months of actual warfare, from 1123-1124. Henry I was devoted to maintaining peace throughout his kingdom, and the most dangerous threat he encountered in Normandy was the rebellion in 1118-1119. The uprising had its origins in Henry's attempt to secure his heir's future as Duke of Normandy. After Henry called upon the great lords of Normandy to swear oaths of allegiance to William Adelin in 1115 and came to an agreement whereby Louis VI would receive William Adelin's homage, Louis VI refused and instead supported the claim of William Clito. War broke out as Count Baldwin of Flanders and Louis VI began their invasion in 1117. Louis VI's refusal to recognize William Adelin's homage and his support for William Clito's claim to the duchy of Normandy forced Henry I to put down the rebellions throughout Normandy and destroy the alliance between Fulk of Anjou, Baldwin of Flanders, and Louis VI in order to defend his Norman lands and his son's succession from

Louis and greedy, rebellious nobles.

In Henry's attempt to get Louis to accept William Adelin's homage in 1115, he proposed what Hollister terms "the restructuring of Normandy's feudal relationship with France." Hollister claims the strategy was representative of Henry's characteristic inclination to compromise. In having his son pay homage to Louis, Henry was rendering homage personally without having to humble himself, and he was "placing Louis under a moral obligation to reject Clito's pretensions and accept the legitimacy of [his] rule and the succession rights of his son and heir."¹ As to why the conflict broke out, Suger offers great insight from the French perspective. He argues Louis VI regarded Henry as a vassal, but "the king of the English, having regard for the nobility of his kingdom and the wonderful abundance of its wealth, soon grew tired of his lower standing. With help from his nephew, the palatine count Theobald, and from many disaffected men of the kingdom of the French, he strove to unsettle the realm and disturb its king, for he wished to withdraw from his lordship."² This points to an interesting tension between Louis and Henry over the latter's willingness to submit to the French king's authority. Hollister argues the nature of Normandy's feudal subordination was a "complex, debatable, and long-standing issue" and it had become increasingly complex after the Norman conquest of England.³

In rejecting William Adelin's homage, Louis was rejecting Henry's right to

¹ C. Warren Hollister, *Henry I*, ed. Amanda Clark Frost (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 239-240.

² Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*. Trans. Richard Cusimano and John Moorhead (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992), 111

³ Hollister, 239.

Normandy and thus posing a serious challenge to Henry's control over Normandy and its nobles.

After reuniting England and Normandy in 1106, Henry I spent his life "defending, pacifying, centralizing and consolidating the state that had, beyond all expectation, fallen to him."⁴ Hollister and Keefe argue that Henry differed from such contemporaries as Louis VI, Baldwin VII of Flanders and William Mortain in his preference to bribery over battle. Henry's true aim throughout his reign was to preserve the status quo and ensure the survival of his kingdom and family. Therefore in 1115, Henry "made all the head men in Normandy do homage and swear oaths of allegiance to William, the son he had by his queen; and after that in the month of July he came here to the land."⁵ Green and Hollister, both referencing the Hyde Chronicler, assert Henry shortly after this sent messengers to Louis' court requesting he accept William Adelin's homage and sweetening the offer with a large sum of money.⁶ Louis kept the silver but William II count of Nevers, who was present at Louis's court, persuaded the king to refuse William Adelin's homage and give support to the claim of William Clito, son of Robert Curthose.⁷ In giving support to William Clito, Louis VI

⁴ C. Warren Hollister and Thomas K. Keefe, "The Making of the Angevin Empire," *Journal of British Studies* 12, no. 2 (May, 1973): 3-4.

⁵ *The Anglo Saxon Chronicles*, trans. Anne Savage (London: Guild Publishing, 1983), 248.

⁶ Hollister, 238-239.

⁷ Judith Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 134-135. Green references the Hyde Chronicle and Luchaire's *Louis VI* as her sources in claiming Louis VI was discouraged by the count of Nevers from accepting William Adelin's homage. Green also uses the Hyde chronicler to

rejected Henry's authority over Normandy and provoked the ensuing conflict. Soon after Louis's rejection, Henry's nephew, Theobald of Blois, arrested the count of Nevers for his part in supporting William Clito.⁸ According to Henry of Huntingdon, Henry gathered his forces and sailed to Normandy on April 2 of 1116 because Theobald of Blois had "taken up arms against his lord, the French King."⁹ Regarding Henry's departure, John of Worcester remarks upon an interesting detail. He notes that Henry had the "leading men and barons" pay homage to William Adelin and promise him fealty.¹⁰ Suger's account echoes Henry of Huntingdon in placing blame on Theobald for the outbreak of conflict between Henry and Louis as he writes, "the persistent plague of recurrent strife between them returned once more when the king of England joined efforts with Count Theobald and attacked the nearest border district of the king."¹¹ It would seem the sources place the blame on Theobald and Henry, but from Henry's perspective, the rejection was an affront to his authority over Normandy and inevitably brought rebellion there.

Between 1116 and the beginning of 1118, Henry captured the citadel of

argue that Count Baldwin of Flanders had pressed William Clito's claim before Louis' court possibly in 1114.

⁸ Ibid., 135.

⁹ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Diana Greenway (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 461. Furthermore, Henry of Huntingdon asserts the principal cause of the quarrel between Louis VI and Henry I was Henry's support for Theobald's rebellion against Louis.

¹⁰ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester: Volume III*, ed. P. McGurk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 139. This act of loyalty by the lords and barons of England may have been of great significance in keeping order in England while Henry was attempting to regain control of Normandy. It further displays his diplomatic tendency and ability to maintain peace throughout his kingdom.

¹¹ Suger, 111.

Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, which lies on the French side of the Epte river. In response, Louis disguised himself and his knights as monks and captured the town of Gasny, which lies on the Norman side of the Epte, and there built a castle.¹² Henry responded in kind by building two siege castles. Ordericus Vitalis claims, “war raged there for about four years, and both sides of the frontier were ravaged by fire, plunder, and cruel slaughter.”¹³ Baldwin of Flanders and Louis invaded Norman territory sometime in 1117 but left after a day in fear of Henry’s army.¹⁴ Suger also reports that Louis ravaged the countryside around Chartres and Brie, which had only recently come under the protection of Stephen of Mortain (Henry’s nephew and Theobald’s brother) sometime soon after Theobald had captured the count of Nevers.¹⁵ While Henry and his loyal lords were able to fare well enough for about the first year of fighting, 1118 was a disaster for Henry.

In 1118, Henry was met with an assassination attempt within his own household and the deaths of Robert of Meulan, Queen Matilda and William of Evreux. Henry also confronted rebellions along the fringe as well as in the heart of Normandy and faced a formidable alliance in Baldwin of Flanders, Fulk of Anjou and Louis VI. Suger sums up the year for Henry quite properly and writes,

¹² Suger, 112. Suger also mentions the Norman border was tightly defended, due to the foresight of the English kings and Norman lords, by “an impressive line of new castles and by the channels of the unfordable rivers that flowed there.”

¹³ Ordericus Vitalis, *The ecclesiastical history of Ordericus Vitalis: book VI*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 185-187. Chibnall notes that traditionally the capture of Gasny and Saint-Claire-sur-Epte have been dated to 1118 but this is a misunderstanding of Ordericus. She argues Ordericus is less chronologically specific and is instead recounting events from the previous two years.

¹⁴ Henry of Huntingdon, 461.

¹⁵ Suger, 111.

“The king of England had been enjoying very good luck after a long and wonderful run of successes, but now he found himself disturbed by a different and luckless turn of events, like someone falling from the top of the wheel of fortune.”¹⁶

A series of deaths in the first half of 1118 brought greater difficulties for Henry. William of Evreux died in April, Queen Matilda died in May and Robert of Meulan died in June. Ordericus attaches consequences to the deaths of each person and remarks, “After these persons had died great trials began for the Normans.”¹⁷ The deaths of Queen Matilda and Robert of Meulan impacted Henry’s ability to rule. Queen Matilda had been serving as Henry’s English regent while he was away, and Robert of Meulan had been an important political and diplomatic adviser.¹⁸ The most difficult death for Henry proved to be that of William count of Evreux. The county of Evreux was to pass to his nephew, Amaury III de Montfort, the uncle of Fulk V and a kinsman through marriage to Louis VI.¹⁹ Henry, supported by Bishop Audoin of Evreux, attempted to keep Amaury from the county by refusing his claim. In response, Amaury raised a major rebellion and “stirred up almost the whole of Gaul against Henry.” While Henry was at a church council in Rouen on October 7 of 1118, William Pointel

¹⁶ Suger, 113-114.

¹⁷ Ordericus Vitalis, 189. Ordericus, perhaps to add emphasis to the troubles Henry faced, also cites a convenient prophecy made by a pilgrim in which a cow birthed three piglets in the diocese of Ely. The pilgrim apparently communicated to the bishop and bystanders that three great persons would die and tribulations would follow.

¹⁸ Hollister, 247-248.

¹⁹ Ibid., 248. Hollister asserts Henry saw Amaury as an enemy and a threat to the heart of Normandy if he were to succeed in his claim to Evreux.

betrayed the citadel of Evreux to Amaury de Montfort and the city was plundered.²⁰

In the months before William Pointel's betrayal, rebellion had been spreading across Normandy, and external actors, such as Fulk V, Louis VI, and Baldwin VII, had launched attacks across Henry's realm in order to restore the duchy to William Clito. Baldwin of Flanders gathered his forces and "advanced into Normandy as far as Arques." Henry responded cautiously by fortifying his garrisons and placing Breton and English mercenaries near Bures. Having been arrested then released in 1117 for their apparent inclination to rebel, Henry count of Eu and Hugh de Gournay both decided to act on their inclination in 1118. After giving his sister in marriage to a magnate loyal to Henry in June, Hugh proceeded to take over the castle at Le Plessis, fortify other castles against Henry and plunder the regions of Caux and Talou.²¹ Henry furthermore faced rebellion in the South as Robert Giroie fortified the castle of Saint-Ceneri against Henry, and convinced Fulk of Anjou to besiege the castle of La Motte-Gautier-de-Clinchamp in northern Maine, which he took in eight days. The defeated garrison left the castle and went to Alencon, where Henry had called to battle the military contingents from across Normandy.²² Realizing the necessity to defend Alencon against further Angevin attack, Henry gave Seez and Alencon to Theobald; with Henry's permission, Theobald granted the region to his brother, Stephen.

²⁰ Ordericus Vitalis, 189.

²¹ Ibid., 191-195.

²² Ordericus Vitalis, 195-197.

Another region experiencing instability was that of l'Aigle. Richer, lord of l'Aigle sought succession to his father's lands in England, but Henry refused to grant the succession. This refusal then led Richer to offer a change in allegiance to Louis VI. Henry eventually agreed to restore the estates of Richer's father but it was too late. Louis attacked the garrison at l'Aigle and burned the town. Richer was forced to give the citadel to Louis on September 3, and Louis left l'Aigle in the control of Amaury de Montfort and William Crispin. Henry tried to return swiftly to l'Aigle but was diverted by a messenger to Rouen who had given him poor information about a threat from William Clito, Hugh de Gournay and Stephen of Aumale.²³ In Rouen, Henry attempted to lead a force to Hugh de Gournay's castle of La Ferte-en-Bray but was forced to give up the siege after torrential rains; Henry then turned southeastward from the castle and burned Neubourg because Robert of Neuourg had joined the rebellion.²⁴

In *Henry I*, Hollister claims the loyalty of the Norman magnates was fluid at this time because there was so much instability in the region. He argues it is quite difficult to distinguish between the royalists and rebels because many were "fence-sitters, trying to determine the direction of the political winds."²⁵ In Judith Green's "Lords of the Norman Vexin," she argues the lords of the Vexin consolidated their power with castles and were difficult to control due to the local

²³ Ibid., 197-199.

²⁴ Ibid., 201.

²⁵ Hollister, 250.

power they possessed.²⁶ Not only were the loyalties of Henry's magnates questionable, he also risked betrayal by his own men. Ordericus records, "At that time King Henry could not support a long siege, because in the general confusion that always occurs in conflicts between kinsmen he was unable to trust his own men. Men who ate with him favoured the cause of his nephew and his other enemies and, by prying into his secrets, greatly helped these men."²⁷ One of Henry's councilors was even found to be involved in a plot to kill the king, and is reported to have lost his eyes and genitals for his crime.²⁸

Henry received some relief in September after Baldwin VII of Flanders was wounded while attacking the region of Talou. He remained mortally wounded until his death in June 1119. With his injury, the northeastern region ceased to be tumultuous, as Charles of Flanders desired to keep peace with Henry.²⁹ Meanwhile, Stephen was horribly mistreating the subjects of Alencon. After being given Alencon and Seez, Stephen oppressed the people with heavy taxes and used their sons as hostages. Ordericus also accuses Stephen of arresting the wife of one citizen and allowing his guards to rape her. In response, the townspeople called on Fulk of Anjou and begged him to take the town. Fulk entered Alencon with his forces in late December 1118, captured the city and laid

²⁶ Judith A. Green, "Lords of the Norman Vexin," in *War and Government In the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J.O. Prestwich*, ed. John Gillingham and J.C. Holt (Suffolk: St Edmundsbury Press, 1984), 52.

²⁷ Ordericus Vitalis, 201. Suger indicates Henry's fears of conspiracy against him led him to change beds frequently, increase armed guards and sleep with a shield and sword.

²⁸ Suger, 114.

²⁹ Ordericus Vitalis, 191. Ordericus asserts Baldwin overindulged on meat, mead and a woman thereby bringing on a fatal sickness.

siege to the castle. Henry called upon Theobald and Norman forces to converge on Alencon, but Theobald and Stephen's forces made a crucial mistake in attempting to enter Alencon before Henry arrived. Fulk engaged in close combat with the Norman and English forces, and an Angevin relief force helped Fulk decisively defeat Henry.³⁰ Henry was forced to retreat and lost many of his men in addition to the castle.³¹

The year 1119 began just as poorly for Henry. In January, Louis VI captured the town and citadel of Les Andelys, on the Seine in the heart of Norman Vexin.³² The next difficulty Henry faced came in February, when Henry learned his daughter, Juliana, and his son-in-law, Eustace of Breteuil, were going to join the rebellion. Eustace of Breteuil was urged by Amaury de Montfort and other kinsmen to threaten to rebel unless the castle of Ivry was given to him. The castle at Ivry had belonged to Eustace's ancestors but Henry refused to restore it to him immediately. In a gesture of good faith, Henry attempted to ensure Eustace's loyalty by negotiating a prisoner exchange. Henry gave the son of the castellan of Ivry, Ralph Harenc, to Eustace in exchange for Eustace's two daughters. With the advice of Amaury de Montfort, Eustace put out the boy's eyes and sent him to the father. Distraught, Ralph Harenc revealed to Henry what Eustace had done. Henry was "deeply moved" by what he saw and "handed over his two granddaughters, so that he might take vengeance immediately. Ralph

³⁰ Ordericus Vitalis, 207-209; Hollister, 252. Hollister notes the battle at Alencon was the only major military defeat of Henry's career.

³¹ Suger, 115.

³² Ordericus Vitalis, 217-219. Les Andelys was a stronghold deep within Normandy, which Louis subsequently used to launch attacks and raids.

Harenc took Eustace's daughters with the permission of the angry king and avenged his son by cruelly putting their eyes out and cutting off the tips of their nostrils."³³ Upon hearing the news of his daughters' mutilation, Eustace fortified four of his castles and sent Juliana to Breteuil with a contingent of knights. The citizens of Breteuil, loyal to Henry, urged the king to come to the town. Henry arrived in Breteuil and laid siege to the castle until Juliana finally asked to speak to her father. When Henry went to speak to Juliana, she drew a crossbow and fired a bolt—but missed. Henry then destroyed the drawbridge and ordered that Juliana leap down into the castle moat. She went to Pacy to meet Eustace, and Henry restored to Ralph of Gael the entire holdings of his Breteuil ancestors apart from the occupied Pacy.³⁴

In May of 1119, William Adelin crossed from England to Normandy, and Henry revealed to him his plan to make peace with count Fulk of Anjou. Henry sent envoys to Fulk of Anjou, and William married the count's daughter in June.³⁵ Suger berates Fulk's decision and writes, "Fulk now put greed before fealty, and inflamed by treachery gave his daughter in Wedlock to William, son of the English king, without consulting King Louis. He falsely betrayed his sworn word to be an enemy of King Henry and joined himself to the English king

³³ Ordericus Vitalis, 211-213. Hollister, *Henry I*, 254. Hollister suggests Amaury de Montfort may have suggested the mutilation of Ralph Harenc's son as method to exact a definitive break between Eustace and Henry.

³⁴ Ibid., 213-215. Ordericus implies Henry's command to Juliana to leap into the moat was a most shameful act as it exposed her bare buttocks. Ordericus also notes Ralph of Gael was the nephew of William of Breteuil through his sister.

³⁵ Ibid., 225. As part of the count's terms, two rebellious nobles were restored back into favor with Henry and granted their previous lands except the citadels, which Henry garrisoned with his own men.

by ties of friendship of this kind.”³⁶ Henry then called a council of nobles at Lisieux where he announced his alliance with Fulk and the death of Baldwin of Flanders.³⁷ In July of 1119, Henry turned to Evreux once more with the intention to seize the castle, as an attempt at terms with Amaury de Montfort had not been received. Henry determined the only way to force the garrison to submit was to burn the town and did so with the permission of Bishop Audoin.³⁸ Judith Green suggests Henry’s primary objective in burning the town was to “spur Amaury to negotiate, but the garrison continued to hold out, and rejected the terms of the surrender they were offered.”³⁹ Henry sent the news of Evreux’s burning to Amaury, who returned to Pacy with his forces. While Henry placed his bravest men outside of Evreux to build a siege “castle,” Amaury and his forces harassed and raided Henry’s men from their stronghold at Pacy.⁴⁰ In the meantime, Louis VI had forced the surrender and burning of the castle of Dangu and was attempting to besiege Chateauneuf-sur-Epte in the French Vexin. Amaury sent him news of Evreux and asked him to send aid as swiftly as possible. Louis VI then decided to immediately withdraw from his current siege and unknowingly

³⁶ Suger, 116.

³⁷ Ibid, 225-227.

³⁸ Ordericus Vitalis, 229-231. Ordericus insists Henry intended to build the churches better than it was before if they were to be given success by God, and his magnates publicly promised large sums of money to restore the churches as well. Ordericus additionally notes the town citizens lost everything and were forced “to wander wretchedly from one strange cottage to another.”

³⁹ Green, *Henry I*, 150.

⁴⁰ Ordericus Vitalis, 231-233. Ordericus notes Henry’s bravest leaders were Ralph the Red, Simon of Moulins, Gilbert of Exmes and many others. He further indicates Amaury’s raids were ineffective but were costly for both sides.

made his way toward one of the most decisive battles of the conflict.⁴¹

Following his withdrawal from Chateauneuf-sur-Epte, Henry visited France and returned to Normandy with additional knights. On 20 August, Henry was at Noyon-sur-Andelle with his chief nobles. Ordericus claims he attended mass and then was preparing to set out on a campaign when his scouts spied armored troops moving toward Noyon. From Andely, Louis was making great speed toward Noyon and plotting to take the castle by treason. Louis gave his position away after burning a “barn of monks” near an “open field and wide plain called Bremule by the local people.”⁴² The sources vary as to the exact positioning of Henry’s five hundred men but it seems that he organized them into ranks while Louis sent forth his four hundred men in a more disarrayed and spirited manner.⁴³ Ordericus writes, “Certainly the French launched the first fierce attack but, charging in disorder, they were beaten off and, quickly tiring, turned tail;” he goes on to claim William Crispin and his men, who led the first French cavalry charge, had their horses killed and were surrounded. The first line initially succeeded, according to Ordericus, but they quickly fell back and many were captured. Louis decided his only recourse was to retreat to Andely.⁴⁴ Suger

⁴¹ Ordericus Vitalis, 233-235.

⁴² Ibid., 235-237. Both sides decided to battle in the open plain of Bremle after receiving advice from councilors.

⁴³ Green, *Henry I*, 151-152. Green mentions Henry of Huntingdon claimed three lines, nobles in the first, the king with his familia in the second, and Henry’s sons and infantrymen in the third line. The Hyde Chronicler claims there were four lines, two lines of nobles, a third line of infantrymen and Henry’s sons, and the king in the fourth line.

⁴⁴ Ordericus Vitalis, 239-241. Ordericus notes William Crispin identified Henry, charged at him and struck him twice but the collar of his hauberk protected his head from injury. Roger FitzRichard then struck William Crispin down and subsequently shielded

claims the first line of Louis's army cut down the first battle line of Normans and drove them back into the armed foot soldiers but "fell into disorder when they pressed against the Normans' surprisingly well-aligned and positioned ranks."⁴⁵

While 140 of Louis's knights were captured and only three deaths occurred among the 900 knights engaged, Judith Green argues the outcome of the battle was humiliating and costly for the French, as they had to ransom the captured knights.⁴⁶ The Battle of Bremule, coming after the destruction of Louis's alliance in June, can be seen as evidence of the changing momentum in the conflict. Henry of Huntingdon describes the general feeling of the Normans after what he deemed a "magnificent victory":

Henry, king and ornament of kings, has robbed the French of their proud spirits, for a greater king has overcome the great King Louis in the field of Noyon. Gauls ran headlong, preferring flight to fight, spurs to spears. Laurels and eternal praise crown the Normans, as they gained the mastery of fame and spoils. Thus this flower of commanders humbled their swollen hearts, and forced the proud mouths of the French to bleat.⁴⁷

Following the victory at Bremule, Louis and Amaury de Montfort met at Paris to discuss Bremule and their next strategy.

him with his body to protect William from being killed by Henry's men. Ordericus cites only three deaths for the entire battle; Chibnall notes, "the battle seems to have been fought almost entirely between knights, and to have had the character of a great tournament."

⁴⁵ Suger, 117. Suger emphasizes Henry's wisdom and Louis's boldness. He contrasts Henry, who took wise military precautions and even dismounted knights so they might fight more bravely, with Louis, who boldly rushed his men into a careless attack.

⁴⁶ Green, *Henry I*, 151-153. "Henry was said to have bought King Louis's standard for twenty marks of silver and kept it as a souvenir. On the day after the battle he returned the king's horse to him with its saddle and harness, and Prince William likewise returned William Clito's horse."

⁴⁷ Henry of Huntingdon, 465.

According to Ordericus, Amaury remarked, “My lord, you must not be discouraged by a defeat, for such things are the fortune of war and have often happened to the greatest and most famous emperors.” Amaury and Louis then decided to attack Ivry and Breteuil in hopes of installing allies and encouraging rebellion.⁴⁸ Suger notes Louis and his forces were successful in setting fire to Ivry and penetrating as far as Breteuil.⁴⁹ Once Louis reached Breteuil with his forces from all “the provinces of Gaul and Flanders,” they attacked the fortress but were met by the determined forces of Ralph of Gael. When Henry heard of the fighting at Breteuil, he sent his son Richard and Ralph the Red before him to aid Ralph of Gael. Richard, Ralph the Red and finally Henry scattered Louis’ forces.⁵⁰ Frustrated by his defeat at Breteuil, Louis VI turned toward Chartres in hope of exacting revenge against Theobald of Blois. Louis attacked the city and planned to burn it, but the clergy and townspeople approached Louis with the sacred chemise of the Virgin Mary. Louis then ordered his men to spare the city “out of the love and reverence he bore the church.”⁵¹

In October of 1119, Pope Calixtus held a council at Rheims. The council discussed church matters and then urged reconciliation between Louis and Henry. Louis was permitted to speak and addressed the long list of grievances he

⁴⁸ Ordericus Vitalis, 243-247.

⁴⁹ Suger, 118.

⁵⁰ Ordericus Vitalis, 245-249.

⁵¹ Suger, 118.

felt Henry had committed against him: Henry's invasion of Normandy in 1105-1106, his imprisonment of Robert Curthose, his disinheritance of William Clito, his support for Theobald's rebellion against Louis, and others. Representing Henry, Geoffrey, archbishop of Rouen, rose to answer for the king of England but was shouted down by enemies of Henry.⁵² Pope Calixtus II then addressed both sides and commanded them to seek peace saying, "This virtue, which I desire, which with the authority of the holy Scriptures and the common approbation of the general welfare I praise above everything, I will endeavor vigorously to seek out with all my might and spread abroad through the whole Church of God with his aid."⁵³ Hollister argues the pope's commandment was beneficial to the Anglo-Norman cause as Henry held almost all of Normandy by this point and "had every reason to seek peace."⁵⁴ Henry was in the midst of besieging Evreux during the Council of Rheims while Theobald was busy trying to pacify the rebels. Following the council, Amaury reconciled with Henry and surrendered the citadel. In return, Henry granted him the county of Evreux but garrisoned the castle with his own men. Eustace and Juliana then hurried to Evreux and entered Henry's tent barefoot to beg for reconciliation. Only after Richard interceded on their behalf did Henry allow Juliana to return to Pacy and granted Eustace an annual rent of three hundred marks of silver in England, but Henry still refused him his ancestral inheritance, which he had given to Ralph of

⁵² Ordericus Vitalis, 257-261; Hollister, 267.

⁵³ Ibid., 263.

⁵⁴ Hollister, 268.

Gael for being loyal.⁵⁵ Ordericus also mentions that soon after Amaury and Eustace surrendered, Hugh de Gournay and Robert of Neubourg repented and were granted the king's pardon. Stephen of Aumale initially resisted but likewise submitted after learning Henry was going to attack with an army. Henry pardoned everything and let Stephen return to his lands.⁵⁶ In November, probably 23 or 24, Henry met Pope Calixtus in Normandy. Henry fell prostrate before Calixtus, who "raised him kindly, blessed him in the name of the Lord, and gave him the kiss of peace." Henry then made account for all the grievances Louis had brought against him at Rheims and urged Calixtus that he only wished for peace now. Calixtus then sent Louis envoys to inform him of Henry's desire for peace.⁵⁷ Possibly around October of 1120, the Hyde Chronicler suggests Henry agreed to pay Louis an annual rent and had William Adelin give homage to Louis VI through Philip, in recognition that Louis could not break the oath he had already given to William Clito. Symeon of Durham and William of Malmesbury both claim homage was given to Louis.⁵⁸

The initial attempt to get Louis VI to recognize the homage of William Adelin took nearly four years and brought much bloodshed and destruction to the people on the fringes of Normandy. Louis's reluctance to accept William

⁵⁵ Ordericus Vitalis, 279. Ordericus adds Eustace lived for more than twenty years after this, but Juliana eventually abandoned "the self-indulgent life she had led for the religious life, and becoming a nun, served the Lord God in the new abbey of Fontrevault."

⁵⁶ Ibid, 279-283. Ordericus additionally mentions "all the Normans who had rebelled against the king...sought forgiveness both in person and through friends. The king, pardoning their offences, received the supplicants back into his favour."

⁵⁷ Ibid., 283-291.

⁵⁸ Green, *Henry I*, 162-163.

Adelin's homage and his promise to William Clito undeniably created the conflict. After Theobald captured William of Nevers and Louis VI mobilized his forces to attack Theobald, Henry was left with no other decision but to go to war and risk Normandy or lose it entirely to Louis, external nobles, and rebellious magnates. In analyzing the conflict, it becomes clear that rebellion within Normandy occurred in sequence with external threats or conflict. "Thus, the northeastern Norman rebellions ceased when Flanders withdrew, those of southern Normandy died out when Henry reached an accommodation with Anjou, and the cessation of French attacks ended hostilities among rebellious barons in the east."⁵⁹ Rebellious nobles, who were bound by oaths of fealty to Henry I, used William Clito's claim to the duchy of Normandy as an avenue for personal gain or felt compelled to rebel from the growing instability. Henry only turned the tide of the rebellion, thereby ensuring William Adelin's succession, after he removed the alliance between Baldwin, Fulk and Louis. All three external actors played a significant role in inciting rebellion, and once crushed the remaining strains of rebellion within Normandy died away.

⁵⁹ Hollister, 273-274. Hollister also asserts the months of invasion and rebellion show the "ghastly consequences of medieval warfare (burned fields, villages, and cities, kidnapped or murdered peasant families) and show with even greater clarity the reasons why the majority of Henry I's subjects appreciated so deeply the peace that he maintained throughout most of the years of his reign.