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A critical edition of the Crowland Chronicle

Ispir, Cristian Nicolae

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**A critical edition of the
Crowland Chronicle**



Cristian Nicolae Ispir

**A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

September 2015

*to my parents Cornelia & Ovidiu,
for the support and confidence*

ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks first to reveal and then to study a hitherto-unnoticed chronicle written at the abbey of Crowland in Lincolnshire around the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Through a close examination of the manuscript record, it has been possible to reveal the existence of a sophisticated historical narrative which I have titled the *Crowland Chronicle*. Parts of the work (i.e. 1202-1225) have been known to historians as the 'Barnwell chronicle', but my research has shown that the so-called 'Barnwell annals' are part of a larger universal chronicle extending from Incarnation to 1225.

In the thirteenth century, the abbey of Crowland was known for its considerable hagiographical output, with abbot Henry de Longchamp (1190-1236) commissioning a number of works. In this thesis, I argue that the chronicle was begun around 1212 by Roger, monk of Crowland, working under the supervision of Abbot Henry. Roger was also the author of the revised collection of *Lives of Becket* known as the *Quadriologus*. He compiled the Crowland chronicle during a time of enormous political transformations. Though the period from the Incarnation to 1211 is covered in short annalistic entries derived, *grosso modo*, from known sources, the annals for 1212-25 are of a different nature, much more substantial and analytic. The period covered by these annals saw the conflict between King John and the barons, Magna Carta and the challenges during the minority of Henry III. Roger's account of these years is perhaps the most perceptive of all contemporary narratives.

The thesis takes a comprehensive look at the way Roger constructed the past and observed the political and ecclesiastical developments around him. It emerges from

my research that the abbey of Crowland was not only a centre of hagiographical writing, but of strong history writing as well. Roger proved a very shrewd observer as well as a diligent compiler. He made use of a variety of sources, used Arabic numerals at a very early date and had his classical knowledge bear on his appreciation of contemporaneous events. The chronicle's computistical framework as well as a relative lack of local attachment ensured the chronicle's transmission and circulation, especially in East Anglia, at a time of intense monastic history writing.

Finally, this thesis contributes to our understanding of how monastic chronicles were assembled, how authors wove together different kinds of historical works for use in their breviate compilations and how they themselves understood the relationship between author (albeit anonymous) and work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank many people who have helped me through the completion of this thesis. At the top of a very long list are my supervisors, Professor David Carpenter and Dr Alice Taylor. There have been many supervisory meetings that would have struck the unsuspecting observer as a glorious exercise in the practice of good cop/bad cop. Only the four of us (including the (by now) suspicious observer)) will ever know which part each played on almost every occasion. David's unrelenting scepticism of the undisputed fact often matched Alice's bursts of fructuous imagination. In their collision, many of this thesis' key arguments were born. I would like to thank them as much for keeping me on the right track when arid tangents looked more alluring than the footpath, as for throwing me into the wild when over-familiarity threatened to become burdensome.

I would also like to extend my utmost gratitude to Dr Daniel Hadas, one of the most long-suffering and charitable experts in textual criticism that I was fortunate to meet and that I can now call my friend. His invaluable support in my first steps in stemmatics are the reason why these words now stand as acknowledgment in a work of textual scholarship.

Completing this thesis has not been a solitary effort. I particularly wish to thank my good friend Ian Stone for bouncing ideas with me and for the many coffees sipped in the company of manuscripts, ablative absolutes and medieval monks and aldermen. A special thank you goes to my fellow expat and friend Natan Mladin who, as an outsider to the august society of medievalists (though certainly jealous of its amour

propre), was therefore able to challenge me most successfully and to ask questions that would have never crossed my mind to ask.

If this thesis had been the fruit of a cloistered effort, it would have been a rotten fruit indeed. That being the case, I have to thank my fiancée Dana for breaking the spells of procrastination and inertia that would have added another two or three years to the four now elapsed. My parents Cornelia and Ovidiu have helped with that, although it should take another decade before I can do full justice to this fact. This thesis is dedicated to them.

I am grateful to the government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg for funding me all these four years. This thesis would not have seen the light of day without the valuable support of the *Centre de Documentation et d'Information sur l'Enseignement Supérieur* of Luxembourg which awarded me a four-year government scholarship.

There are many neglected people and institutions involved in the completion of a doctoral thesis that I would like to acknowledge. I would like to thank Dr Lynsey Darby and Mr Matthew Jones of the College of Arms for their kindness and assistance in consulting the manuscript collection. Similarly, I wish to thank Dr Christine Ferdinand of Magdalen College, Oxford for keeping the Old Library open just for me. A warm thanks also goes to the staff of Spalding Gentlemen's Society who have kindly welcomed me on a cold winter evening.

There will always be at least one who did not make it in the acknowledgments, but should have. As St Paul did when he addressed the Athenians in the Areopagus, I wish to invoke the unknown contributor and helper without whom this thesis would never have been completed. If I have forgotten you, ἄγνωστε ἐπίκουρε, be at peace, you will be in my thoughts, if not on this page.

A.M.D.G

ABBREVIATIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS:

References to the text of the *Crowland Chronicle* are given as *Crowland* followed by the annal number and the paragraph inside the annal. For example, *Crowland*, 1217.4 references the text under the annal for 1217, paragraph 4. For more information on the annal paragraphs, see the introduction to the text of the edition in Appendix 1.

<i>ASC E</i>	Irvine, S. (ed.), <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition vol. 7 MS. E</i> (Cambridge, 2004)
<i>Bermondsey</i>	Luard, H. R. (ed.), <i>Annales Monastici. Annales Monasterii de Bermundesia</i> , Rolls Series 36, (London, 1864-69), iii, 421-87
<i>BL</i>	British Library
<i>Brompton</i>	Twysden, R. (ed.), <i>Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X</i> (London, 1652)
<i>Burton</i>	Luard, H. R. (ed.), <i>Annales Monastici. Annales de Burton</i> , Rolls Series 36, (London, 1864-69), i, 181-510.
<i>CA</i>	College of Arms
<i>CAP</i>	Giles, J. A. (ed.), <i>Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense</i> (London, 1845)
<i>CCCC</i>	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College

<i>Chronicle of Mortemer</i>	Bethmann, D.L.C. (ed.), <i>Chronica Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi: Auctarium Mortui Maris, Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> (MGH), <i>Scriptores</i> , 6 (Hanover, 1844), 463-9
<i>Coggeshall</i>	Stevenson, J. (ed.), <i>Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum</i> , (London, 1875)
<i>DOMLBS</i>	<i>The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i> (London, 1975-2013)
<i>Dunstable</i>	Luard, H.R. (ed.), <i>Annales Monastici. Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia</i> , <i>Rolls Series</i> 36 (London, 1866), iii
<i>EHR</i>	English Historical Review
<i>Gervase</i>	Stubbs, W. (ed.), <i>The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury</i> , <i>Rolls Series</i> 73 2vols (London, 1879-80)
<i>GP</i>	Winterbottom, M., Thomson, R.M. (eds.), <i>William of Malmesbury: Gesta pontificum Anglorum</i> , 2 vols, <i>Oxford Medieval Texts</i> (Oxford, 2007)
<i>GRA</i>	Mynors, R.A.B., Thomson, R.M., Winterbottom, M. (eds.), <i>William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum</i> ,

- Oxford Medieval Texts, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-2002)
- GRHS* Stubbs, W. (ed.), *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, Rolls Series 49, 2vols (London, 1867)
- HH* Greenway, D. E. (ed.), *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1996)
- Hist. Croy.* Fulman, W. (ed.), *Rerum Anglicarum scriptorum veterum tom. I. Quorum Ingulfus nunc primum integer, cæteri nunc primum prodeunt* (Oxford, 1684)
- HWE* Gransden, A., *Historical Writing in England: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London, 1982)
- JW* Darlington, R.R., McGurk, P. (eds.), *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, Oxford Medieval Texts, 3vols (Oxford, 1995)
- MGH* Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- Orderic* Chibnall, M, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Oxford Medieval Texts, 6vols (Oxford, 1969-80)
- Oseneia* Luard, H. R. (ed.), *Annales Monastici*.

- Annales Monasterii de Oseneia*, Rolls Series 36, (1864-69), iv, 3-352
- PL Migne, *Patrologia Latina*
- RH Stubbs, W. (ed.), *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, Rolls Series 51, 4vols. (London, 1868-71)
- RLP Hardy, T. D., *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, (London, 1835)
- Theokesbury* Luard, H. R. (ed.), *Annales Monastici. Annales de Theokesberia*, Rolls Series 36 (London, 1864-69), i, 43-180
- Thomas of Marlborough* Jane, S., Watkiss, L. (eds. and trs.), *Thomas of Marlborough: History of the Abbey of Evesham*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2003)
- Waverley* Luard, H. R. (ed.), *Annales Monastici. Annales Monasterii de Waverleia*, Rolls Series 36, (London, 1864-69), ii, 129-411
- WC Stubbs, W. (ed.), *Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria : the Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry*, Rolls Series 58, 2vols (London, 1872-3)

Winchester

Luard, H. R. (ed.), *Annales Monastici*.

Annales Wintonienses, Rolls Series 36,

(London, 1864-69), ii, 3-125

WT

Huygens, R. B. C., (ed.), *Willelmi*

Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon,

Corpus Christianorum Continuatio

Medievalis 38 & 38a., 2vols. (Turnholt,

1986)

CITED MANUSCRIPTS:

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 175

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 92

Canterbury, Christ Church, CCA-DCc-ChAnt/M/247

London, British Library, Additional 35168

London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A.v

London, British Library, Cotton Julius A.xi

London, British Library, Cotton Nero C.v

London, British Library, Cotton Otho B.xiii

London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xiii

London, British Library, Royal 5 B.xii

London, College of Arms, Arundel 10

London, Society of Antiquaries, 60

Oxford, Bodleian, Rawlinson, B 177

Oxford, Magdalen College, Latin 175

Oxford, Magdalen College, Latin 36

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 830

MANUSCRIPT SIGLA USED IN THE STUDY:

- | | |
|---|--|
| A | London, College of Arms, Arundel 10 |
| C | Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 175 |
| L | London, British Library, Additional 35168 |
| M | Oxford, Magdalen College, Latin 36 |
| S | London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A.v |
| V | London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.xiii |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Illustration.1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 175 (C), fol. 7r showing the inscription *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*.
- Illustration.2 Diagrammatic representation of the history of the *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria* according to William Stubbs.
- Illustration.3 Diagrammatic representation of the history of the *Memoriale Walteri de Coventria* according to Richard Kay.
- Illustration.4 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 175 (C), fol. VII V.
- Illustration.4.1 London, British Library, Royal 5 B.xii, fol. 4v showing the *memoriale* inscription of ownership not dissimilar from that of the Corpus Christi manuscript.
- Illustration.5 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 175 (C), fol. 41r.
- Illustration.6 Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 36 (M), fol. 178v, showing the annal heading for 1213.
- Illustration.7 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 1r showing the *ex libris* inscription in the upper margin.

- Illustration.8 Diagram showing the ancestry of John of Worcester's *Chronica* in the *Intermediate Chronicle*.
- Illustration.9 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), showing the Marianist explicit
- Illustration.10 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 163r featuring the annal heading for 1152. It includes (from left to right), the Marianist incarnational date (VA), the regnal year and the *anno domini* (AD) date.
- Illustration.11 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 165r showing the annal heading for 1155. The Marianist incarnational date (VA) and the regnal year have been replaced with the dominical letter.
- Illustration.12 L, fol. 199r showing the incipit inscription 'Cronica secundum Rogerum de Hoveden' in the upper right margin.
- Illustration.13 London, CA, Arundel 10 (A), fol. 68v showing late-medieval and early-modern marginal references to Barnwell Abbey.
- Illustration.14 London, CA, Arundel 10 (A), fol. 81r showing the marginal references to Barnwell Abbey.
- Illustration.15 London, CA, Arundel 10 (A), fol. 83r depicting one of the marginal annotations relative to the priory of Barnwell.

- Illustration.16 London, CA, MS Arundel 10, fol. 13v: A leaf of the diagrammatic tabular chronicle.
- Illustration.17 London, CA, MS Arundel 10, fol. 28v: Diagram showing the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms commonly known as the Heptarchy.
- Illustration.18 Diagram showing the relationship of MS Arundel 10 (A) and MS Cotton Claudius A.v and their common parent, θ , now lost.
- Illustration.19 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 164v showing the space left blank before the *1155-69 annals*.
- Illustration.20 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 165r showing the new sheet on which the interstitial annals 1155-69 were entered.
- Illustration.21 BL MS Additional 35168 (L), fol. 165r showing the erasure s.a. 1169.
- Illustration.22 The same passage but with different levels of contrast for emphasis.
- Illustration.23 Table showing the origin and distribution of the annal entries s.a. 1177–80.

- Illustration.24 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 198v showing a whole folio left blank at the end of the annal for 1180.
- Illustration.25 Diagram showing the growth of the *Crowland Chronicle*.
- Illustration.26 Table illustrating the first annalistic item under each year from 1203 to 1225.
- Illustration.27 Graph showing the variation in textual size of each annal from 1189 to 1225.
- Illustration.28 Diagram showing the construction and transmission of the Crowland chronicle and its affiliated manuscripts.

CONTENTS

Abstract.....	3
Acknowledgements.....	5
Abbreviations and manuscripts.....	8
List of illustrations and tables	14
Introduction.....	20
Chapter 1 Recovering the Crowland Chronicle.....	36
Chapter 2 Between universal chronicling and monastic focalisation.....	180
Chapter 3 Questions of authorship and chronologies of composition.....	239
Chapter 4 Narrating the hodierna dies: sources and skills.....	275
Conclusion.....	319
Appendix 1 The text of the <i>Crowland Chronicle</i>	326
Appendix 2 Notes to the text of the <i>Crowland Chronicle</i>	641
Bibliography.....	714

INTRODUCTION

Medieval monastic communities are textual communities. They are centres of historiographical and hagiographical production, constantly reaffirming themselves as foci of identity, piety and intellectual thought. A monastery's sense of identity was often produced and reinforced in and through the way that community chose to present itself and the world around it in the various types of writing available to its resident monks. Whether it was through a *Life* of their founding figure (usually saint) or through a historical narrative focused instead on the whole community, monasteries projected their identities, claiming their share of time and space in the macro story of Creation and Redemption.

Monasteries existed and told stories. They told stories about themselves and about the world they inhabited, explaining their origins and making sense of the local and larger histories of which they were part. Most of all, monasteries produced histories, chronicles and annals – works that both record and explain the passage of time and the shifting place of communities and individuals in it.

The present study focuses on the monastery of Crowland in the fens of Lincolnshire. In developing this study, the choice for the monastic community at Crowland did not really come as a choice, but as a constraint imposed by research that only seemed to yield to predetermined assumptions, when it was in fact opening altogether new spaces of inquiry. To put it simply, Crowland was not on the map of this project as it appeared four years ago. At the time, the focus was on a number of anonymous annals of whose provenance scholars could only say that they may have had

something to do with the Augustinian priory of Barnwell in Cambridgeshire, perhaps not written there, but nevertheless affiliated with the priory. It soon became clear that Barnwell was not a helpful hypothesis and was dropped altogether.

The object of this study, however, is not the history of Crowland Abbey, but an important work that was produced there in the early thirteenth century. It must be said from the outset that the *Crowland Chronicle* is not the title of the work known to historians as *Pseudo-Ingulf* or *Historia Croylandensis*, although the latter has sometimes been called *the Crowland Chronicle*.¹ The title of the work under examination here belongs to the author of this study, who had to find a label for a text that had previously been – in large part – unknown and unacknowledged. The *Crowland Chronicle* represents, therefore, the fruit of discovery and it is the aim of chapter 1 to explain the reasons why the designation of *Crowland Chronicle* is both justified and constructive.

The *Crowland Chronicle* presents itself as an annalistic universal chronicle extending from the Incarnation down to 1225. Universal chronicles have made the object of ample study, in particular by Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken and Michael Allen.² Paul Hayward's discussion of the Winchcombe and Coventry chronicles, both reliant on John of Worcester's influential *Chronica Chronicorum* showed the extent of John

¹ As in Nicholas Pronay and John Cox (eds.), *The Crowland chronicle continuations, 1459-1486* (London, 1986). The *Historia Croylandensis* is discussed more fully in chapter 3.

² A-D. Von Den Brincken, *Studien Zur Lateinischen Weltchronistik Bis in Das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising* (Triltsch, 1957); Michael Allen, 'Universal history 300-1000: origins and Western developments', *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (Leiden, 2002), 17-42.

of Worcester's legacy to the twelfth century.³ The *Crowland Chronicle* is also heavily indebted to John of Worcester's *Chronica*. What none of these studies –or others–, however, made clear was whether the world chronicle in the style of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, could find a purchase in the thirteenth century historiographical landscape.

The monastic chronicle belonged to two worlds. On the one hand, there was the universalism of divine time, according to which every event, figure and phenomenon was related to all the others by virtue of its participation in the mystery of Creation. On the other, there was the particularism, so to speak, of contingent time – national, regional and community history. Both these embodiments of time claimed a share of the work of monastic historiography and it is for this reason why Western monks responsible for these works were always on the edge of these two worlds, narrating events as far away as the Byzantine and Muslim-Arab world and as close as the building next door. When, for instance, they record, in the same breath, that the Byzantine emperor died and that the abbey church tower collapsed, they bring together two historiographical modes that define monastic history writing.

The question of historiographical genre, therefore, is essential for our understanding of how historian monks related to time, space and to the idea of historical worthiness. The topic has received a great deal of nutriment from recent scholarship, as chapter 2 makes clear. Yet, many questions remain. Were twelfth- and thirteenth-century authors aware of the ancient and early medieval distinctions between histories, chronicles and annals as was, for instance, Gervase of Canterbury in the

³ Paul Hayward, (ed.), *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, 2vols (Tempe, 2010).

late 1180s?⁴ Even without articulating it as well as Gervase did, how did they reconcile the paratactic style of terse annals with the ornate, free-flowing manner of the full-blown narrative? Did genres mix or were they always at variance with one another in the same work? When the author of the *Crowland Chronicle*, for instance, infuses an otherwise dry annal with a puff of Vergilian verse, is he acknowledging the legitimacy of bridging two seemingly irreconcilable styles or is he acting subversively?⁵

The question of genre leads naturally into that of composition. As Bernard Guenée argued, the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries saw the emergence of the *savant* chronicler, more concerned with the sources he uses and the way he uses them than with rhetoric and stylistic effect.⁶ *Inventio* evolves into *compilatio* and the archive becomes more and more the place where history is being written. In chapter 4, it is argued that the author of the *Crowland Chronicle* travelled to Canterbury in the 1210s where he consulted a number of charters which were later woven into the narrative of his work. William of Malmesbury had done the same in relation to Glastonbury muniments, but were the two inspired by the same epistemological desire?⁷

The thirteenth-century chronicler increasingly assumed the role of *compiler*, collecting material from previous sources and arranging it in his own *florilegium*. The new genre of *Flores* appears in the early thirteenth century. Though embodied by the

⁴ Gervase, i, 87-91.

⁵ *Crowland*, 1139.3.

⁶ Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et Culture Historique dans l'Occident Médiéval* (Paris, 1980), 51

⁷ Rodney Thompson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 1997), 20.

works of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris at the monastery of St Albans, the genre of *history-picking* may have an earlier source. If scholars are in agreement as to the emergence of this new type of history writing in the early thirteenth century, it remains unclear how these *compilatores* worked and how they discriminated against what should and should not be included in their works. This problem is related to that of abridgment, whereby chroniclers did not copy the selected text of their source, but epitomized and reshaped it to fit their purposes. The *Crowland Chronicle* is a good example of how chroniclers can summarise and adapt the material they find in their sources. Yet, the *Crowland* author was not the only one to have done this. The Winchcombe and Coventry chronicles witness to this process of epitomising large narrative chunks and reducing them to few words and a few lines. While the genre of *compilatio* has received some attention from Chazan and Hathaway, much remains to be said about the way chroniclers abridged their text.⁸ Did they privilege certain details? Did they have an agenda and if so, is that visible in the text they remoulded? May we come closer to the author by understanding the way he cut and pasted the text of his sources?

The problem of *compilatio* and the role of the *compiler-abbreviator* raises serious questions about the authorship of a given work. Chapter 3 deals with this theme, but it is important to make a few observations here. The nature of monasticism and of the monastic life has an impact on how we should approach the concept of authorship in relation to works produced *à l'abri des cloîtres*. The Enlightenment-

⁸ Mireille Chazan, 'L'usage de la compilation dans les Chroniques de Robert d'Auxerre, Aubri de Trois-Fontaines et Jean de Saint-Victor', *Journal des savants* (1999), 261-294; Neil Hathaway, 'Compilatio: From Plagiarism to Compiling' *Viator* 20 (1989), 19-44.

bred assumption that each work has its own author (and the author understood as a stable entity responsible for the text from conception to completion) does not prove very constructive when confronted with the reality of medieval monastic textual production. Annals evolve from a collective authorial effort into something approaching our modern ideas of single-authorship. Yet, even then, collaboration and reliance on others is something that often happens. The *Annales (qui dicuntur) Xantenses* were first compiled by someone named Gerward, a royal librarian affiliated with monasteries at Lorsch and Ghent, and then continued by a number of anonymous monks.⁹ Similarly, Sigebert de Gembloux's *Chronica* was extended after 1111 by the abbot of Gembloux and then by a flurry of continuators outside the abbey.¹⁰ While the concept of medieval authorship has been very fruitfully analysed, there is still some isles of *terra incognita* relative to the collaboration between the monk commissioned to put together an annalistic chronicle and a superior (why not the abbot?) supervising and directing the project. Here, David Carpenter has had some interesting insights into the Pershore *Flores*, but many questions remain unanswered.¹¹ The *Crowland Chronicle*, it is argued, was the result of such a collaboration between monk and abbot, and the exploration of the relationship between the two is hoped to enrich the discussion of medieval authorship more generally.

⁹ Löwe, H., 'Studien zu den Annales Xantenses', *Deutsches Archiv* 8 (1951), 59-99, at 87.

¹⁰ Leah Shopkow (trans.), *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres of Lambert of Ardres* (Philadelphia, 2007), 21.

¹¹ David Carpenter, 'The Pershore *Flores Historiarum*' in *English Historical Review* 127 (2012), 1343-66.

Authors of medieval chronicles are not always known. If due allowance is made for the wealth of monastic annals and chronicles, it may reasonably be said that most of these works have remained anonymous. Recent scholarship has repeatedly tried to identify authors where anonymity seems implacable but almost always conclusions are far from conclusive. The *Annales Fuldenses* have been attributed to Einhard, Rudolf of Fulda and to the latter's pupil Meginhard, but the heated debate has failed to cool into something decisive.¹² Sometimes, authors are identified and previous attributions are made redundant, as was the case of John of Worcester's replacing 'Florence of Worcester' as the author of the entire *Chronica chronicarum*.¹³ Another displacement of authorship is that relative to the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, long attributed to Benedict, abbot of Peterborough. Stenton convincingly showed that the work belonged to Roger of Howden, author of the *Chronica*.

John of Worcester's *Chronica chronicarum* and Roger of Howden's *Gesta Regis Henrici* are two of the main sources used by the author of the *Crowland Chronicle*. It is perhaps an accident, however, that the *Crowland Chronicle* joins the list of works whose author has only recently been recognised or reassessed. Chapter 3, therefore, suggests that the Crowland author was a monk named R. (a letter traditionally expanded as Roger(i)us on the basis of another work authored by him). As important as the recognition of a possibly identifiable author are the methodological insights that this suggestion makes. The author's name is not mentioned at all in *Crowland*, so the leap from anonymity to what may be called

¹² Timothy Reuter (trans.), *The Annals of Fulda* (Manchester, 1992), ii, 1-9.

¹³ Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England: c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1973), 143-4.

'comparative attribution' (attributing a work to an author based on another work where the attribution has been validated) calls for serious reflection.

The temporal constraints of medieval chronicles is perhaps one of the least explored aspects of medieval historiography. While the computistical and calendrical fibre of a monastic work is something that has received almost constant attention, questions relative to chronologies of composition have been largely neglected. That is not to say that scholars have not inquired about when a given work was begun and when completed. What has been less explored is the internal chronology of a work of compilation and assemblage. Did the annalist work contemporaneously? If so, how close to the events was he or those on whose testimony he relied? Did that have an impact on the narrative and visual presentation? Some work has been done on the problems facing twelfth-century historians writing contemporary history, but the less politically problematic space of monastic chronicling has not been much explored.¹⁴

The compilation of a universal chronicle extending from Creation or Incarnation down to the present time is always a two-stage process. First, the annals covering the years prior to living memory are filled with material extracted from other works to which the compiler has access. When the chronology approaches the years close to the time of writing or compiling, sources become more varied and the annalist has the opportunity to comment on events and figures to which he has less mediated access. That is not to say that annalists only relied on oral sources for the years covered by their own lives. It is true that some had an extensive network of

¹⁴ Norbert Kersken, 'Dura enim est conditio Historiographorum...Reflexionen mittelalterlicher Chronisten zur Zeitgeschichtsschreibung', *The Medieval Chronicle III* (Amsterdam, 2004), 61-75.

informants, such as Matthew Paris. Vaughan notes more than forty individuals on whom Matthew could rely for information.¹⁵ Yet, annalists could also go out in search of written records outside their monastery, as suggested in chapter 4.

However, that was far from being common practice. Benedictine history-writing bore the mark of cloistered monasticism, which meant that sources (oral and written) usually came to the monastery, rather than the monk's going out in search of them. The reason why the story of the Flemish whom God punished inside St Edmund's church in Damietta in 1219 was known at Bury St Edmunds and Crowland was due to Richard of Argentina, who had fought in the siege and commissioned a painting depicting St Edmund's martyrdom. The story was known at St Edmunds because Richard had written to the abbot. At Crowland, on the other hand, it is probable that Richard (or someone who knew him well) visited the abbey, where a slightly different version of the story was known.¹⁶

Monastic chronicling has usually been regarded as a wasteland of rhetoric and classical erudition. If anything, monastic annals are arid, concise and, at best, achieve a minimum of narrativity. Because annals, unlike histories, are not arranged, at least apparently, according to a theme, it has been suggested that one should not look for intellect and style in them. Annals are not the home of eloquence, while parataxis is the enemy of demonstrative and deliberative rhetoric. Some chronicles, however, suggest that this is not always true and that chronicler monks may have been more scholarly than previously thought. There is, admittedly, a world apart between works such as the *Waverley*, *Dunstable*, *Hyde*, *Southwark* and *Worcester*

¹⁵ Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), 13-17.

¹⁶ see below, 281-2.

annals, on the one hand, and the chronicles of Ralph of Coggeshall, Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, on the other. They are all works of annalistic historiography, but the variation in style is enormous from the former group to the latter. What is the place of classical erudition and rhetoric in this mix of styles? Matthew Kempshall has surveyed the strategies open to medieval historians to apply the wisdom of classical rhetoric to their own treatment of history, but nothing similar has been attempted in relation to the more recondite options open to annalists and chroniclers.¹⁷ To take the example of demonstrative rhetoric, that branch of rhetoric which teaches how to praise and censure a public figure, the concision which characterizes monastic annals makes it extremely difficult for compilers to express their views on individuals and give an account of their lives. Sometimes, they restrict themselves to one word of admiration (*laus*) which tells the reader that a person is to be commended, as the Crowland author did in his record of Roman emperors.¹⁸

If rhetoric is on the defensive in works of annalistic writing, then classical-mindedness is not a feature of the genre. Brevity precludes the use of references to classical authors. If references are nonetheless used, they usually point towards the Bible and to the Fathers. It is also reasonable to expect to find references to classical authors when the style is flowing and expansive, as in Matthew Paris' work.¹⁹ Yet, it would be difficult to understand, for example, why a compiler would suspend the use of his written source only to replace it, temporarily, with verses from the Aeneid that, functionally, do the same trick.²⁰

¹⁷ Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History* (Manchester, 2011).

¹⁸ For instance, *Crowland*, 180.

¹⁹ Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, 259.

²⁰ see below, 121.

The only science truly available to medieval annalists was that of *computus*. This they exercised both in theory and in practice. It has been suggested that annals descend from Easter tables.²¹ This is perhaps not very true, but annals undoubtedly owe something to Paschal tables because the calculation of the date of Easter remained an important feature of medieval annals and chronicles up to the thirteenth century. *Computus* is the science of calculating the date of Easter for liturgical purposes. It is a blend of Biblical, historical and astronomical considerations and has proved a very fruitful intellectual endeavour, especially in medieval England.²²

Chapter 2 discusses the computistical legacy that the *Crowland Chronicle* inherited.

Monastic annals and chronicles are produced with a clear object in mind. Most such works are put together to record the history of the abbey which produced them. The 'monastico-centrism' is a key feature of the genre. Antonia Gransden has argued that in the second half of the twelfth century, all the abbeys which produced historiographical works were mainly concerned with their own affairs.²³ The same may be said about thirteenth-century annalistic productions. Yet, for all this uniformity, the *Crowland Chronicle* manages to puzzle. The very fact that its provenance and authorship remained unknown for so long is a testament to the hybridity of its nature. But this brings us back to the function that annalistic chronicles performed. They were records, first of all, but not exclusively. Antony Hayward has

²¹ David Dumville, 'What is a chronicle?', *The Medieval Chronicle. Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 2002), 1-27, 5.

²² Nothaft, C.P.E., *Dating the Passion : the Life of Jesus and the Emergence of Scientific Chronology (200-1600)* (Leiden, 2011).

²³ Gransden, *HWE*, 270-95.

looked at world chronicles in breviate form that could be seen to act as educational texts, as commemorative texts, and as political texts.²⁴ Except for the political function, which Hayward himself thinks unlikely to have been the case for works of this genre, annalistic chronicles recorded history and taught computus, the science of sacred time.

The place to look for an articulation of the work's functionality is in the prologue. Medieval prologues are a fascinating topic that has produced a number of interesting studies.²⁵ The prologue is the *locus* where the author reveals himself, announces the nature and scope of his work and specifies to what end he has decided to undertake it. Historical prologues are remarkable declarations of intentionality. They say a lot about the authors and their methodologies. The prologue is the author's opportunity to engage with his readership and audience and, by doing so, to reveal his assumptions and expectations in relation to them. Anonymous monastic chronicles usually lack prologues, and that should not surprise anyone. Why would an author seize the first person singular (or plural, according to convention), only to abstain from making himself known to the reader? This is a reasonable objection, but reasonable only to a modern mind. A Benedictine chronicle remained, however stylized and vigorous – one is thinking of the St Albans school of historiography – a

²⁴ Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry*, i, 37-60.

²⁵ Antonia Gransden, 'Prologues in the historiography of twelfth-century England', *England in the Twelfth Century. Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), 55-81; Christine Marchello-Nizia, 'L'historien et son prologue: formes littéraires et stratégies discursives', *La Chronique et l'Histoire au Moyen Age, Colloque des 24 et 25 mai 1982*, ed. D. Poirier (Paris, 1984), 13-25; Schultz, J.A., 'Classical Rhetoric, Medieval Poetics, and the Medieval Vernacular Prologue', *Speculum* 59 (1984), 1-15; Lake, J., *Prologues to ancient and medieval history : a reader* (Toronto, 2013).

monastic product, on the edge of individualism and collectivism. Single-authored chronicles fought the individualism of the enterprise with humility. This is one way to understand the professions of humility that many medieval historical prologues contain.²⁶ As Marcy North noted, 'the author's rejection of praise and fame and his subjection to the divine author morally justify his or her anonymity'.²⁷ Yet, what should we make of an author who leaves a prologue without consciously letting himself be known in it? Or that he vituperates against one or another, laments the war in England with the words that Vergil's Aeneas lamented the fall of Troy, and yet resists identification?

A study of the *Crowland Chronicle* has the potential to throw light on all these matters that have now been briefly outlined. That is because the chronicle stands on the edge of so many escarpments and thus has the ability to make fault lines stand out: fault lines between genres, between directions of development and, more generally, between old and new modes of understanding history and the place of man and community in it.

Yet, before we look at the *Crowland Chronicle* for insights into these historiographical points, let us remind ourselves that the *Crowland Chronicle* does not exist until one has validated its claims to existence. Chapter 1 takes up this task, seeking to demonstrate that indeed an annalistic universal chronicle extending from

²⁶ Anita Obermeier, *The History and Anatomy of Auctorial Self-Criticism in the European Middle Ages* (Amsterdam, 1999); Julius Schwietering, 'The Origins of the Medieval Humility Formula', *PMLA* 69 (1954), 1279–91.

²⁷ Marcy North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago, 2003), 50.

Incarnation down to 1225 was begun in the 1210s at the Benedictine abbey of Crowland in Lincolnshire and that it deserves to be titled the *Crowland Chronicle*. It is also argued that the process of putting the chronicle together was not effortless, but that it required a great deal of skill, patience and attention. The monastic *scriptorium* was not always a centre of slavish copying of manuscripts, but of intelligent and learned construction. 'In the history of historiography, the Middle Ages may have been the age of compilation', warned Bernard Guenée almost forty years ago, 'but one must not underestimate the quality of scholarship that compiling can muster'.²⁸ This is certainly true of William of Malmesbury. Rodney Thomson has demonstrated that William's 'omnivorous' appetite for reading and collecting books for the abbey library shows in the high level of scholarship that he brought to bear on the compiling of his *Polyhistor* and *Liber Pontificalis*.²⁹ The author of the *Crowland Chronicle* was no doubt far from the profile of William of Malmesbury, but he too could put a lot of effort into apparently jejune annals. The suggestion made in chapter 3 that the Crowland author may be identified as R. (Roger?), *monachus Croilandie*, seems all the more plausible, as R. had completed one of the most sophisticated hagiographical compilations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a collection of *lives* and letters of Thomas Becket, known as the 'second' *Quadriologus*.

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 are ambitious enough to make claims to discovery. Chapters 1 and 2 reveal the existence of a hitherto-unnoticed chronicle behind layers of other texts and set out to explore the hybridity noted above. The tension between

²⁸ Guenée, 'L'Historien par les mots', *Le Métier d'Historien au Moyen Age. Etudes sur l'Historiographie Médiévale*, ed. B. Guenée (Paris, 1977), 13.

²⁹ Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 1997), 8.

universalism and localism explains how some chroniclers can be silent and articulated at the same time, achieving the degree of self-effacement needed by their piety but remaining firmly in control of the narrative. The tension also explains if and how annals and chronicles circulate outside their 'production site' and underlines their 'exportability index'. In this respect, this study looks to complement Martin Brett's research on the networks of circulation of London annals.³⁰ Chapter 2 also suggests that the abbey of Crowland was part of what Jennifer Paxton has called a 'textual community' of other abbeys in the Fenland area and beyond.³¹ Ely, Spalding, Peterborough and Evesham abbeys may have joined Crowland in a potential network of historiographical exchange.

Chapter 3 also makes the claim to a discovery, and this is the identification of the Crowland author as *R(ogierius) monachus Croilandie*. Moreover, it also suggests that R. did not work alone, but received important guidance from the abbot, Henry de Longchamp.

The last chapter examines the author's representation of the recent past, in particular the way he described the last years of King John's reign and the baronial crisis. This case study is not arbitrary, because the author's historiographical strength resides in the record of the last twenty or so years covered by the chronicle.

³⁰ Brett, 'The annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton', *Church and City, 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, ed. D. Abulafia, M. Franklin and M. Rubin (Cambridge, 1992), 279-311.

³¹ Paxton, 'Textual Communities in the English Fenlands: A Lay Audience for Monastic Chronicles?', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 26 (2003), 123-138.

Under investigation is not only the author's understanding of the civil war, but also that of history.

Studies of the medieval chronicle have become increasingly plentiful in the last twenty years. From Brill's Encyclopedia of the *Medieval Chronicle* to the wonderful series of Erik Kooper's *The Medieval Chronicle*, going through more and more Oxford Medieval Texts editions (The *History of Selby abbey*, the *Hyde Chronicle*, *Bernard Itier's chronicle*, the *St Albans Chronicle* have all been printed in the last five years), the field of monastic historiography looks well. Yet, one should be reminded that the thirteenth century produced more monastic chronicles than either before or after and that most of these are yet to be adequately studied. Luard's five-volume collection of the *Annales Monastici* published between 1864 and 1869 is still the only place where many chronicles contained therein may be read in print. At stake is not only a better edition than what the second half of the nineteenth century had to offer, but also comparative studies that have the potential to throw light on the world of the English monastic chronicle.

CHAPTER 1 RECOVERING THE *CROWLAND CHRONICLE*

Introduction

This chapter introduces the *Crowland Chronicle*, a Latin universal chronicle whose best version survives in London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 10. The text of the chronicle spanning from the birth of Christ to 1225 was composed in England in the first half of the thirteenth century and shows interest in both English and, more generally, European history. From the beginning down to 1202 it is an abridgment of a compilation of known texts, although the compilation was put together in an innovative way and with a good knowledge of *computus*. The period between 1202 and 1225 is covered by what appears to be an original text, for no earlier witness of it survives. Written in annalistic form, the *Crowland Chronicle* may be regarded as a universal or world chronicle, a historical genre met most often in a monastic setting.³²

No composition has ever been known by the name of the *Crowland Chronicle* because the text I discuss in this study has never been recognised in its original form. Historians have known parts of the chronicle text since the sixteenth century, but not under the name of the *Crowland Chronicle*. In 1873, William Stubbs published a section of the text of the *Crowland Chronicle* covering the years 1202–

³² For a good introduction to the genre of universal chronicles, see Hayward, J.P.A. (ed.), *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, 2 vols (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2010), i, 11-61; Krüger, K.H., 'Die Universalchroniken' *Typologie des sources du moyen age occidental* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976); Croke, B., 'The Origins of the Christian World Chronicle', *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*, eds. B. Croke and A.M. Emmet (Sydney, 1983), 116-31.

25 in the Rolls Series volume entitled *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*.³³

Stubbs estimated that this 1202–25 section of the chronicle was composed at the Augustinian Priory of Barnwell in Cambridgeshire: as a result, the section of the chronicle covering the years 1202–25 became known as the 'Barnwell Chronicle' or 'Barnwell Annals'. Since Stubbs' edition, these annals have been regarded as an important source for the history of England during the reign of King John and the minority of Henry III. Stubbs' understanding of the text, however, served to create an artificial divide in the *Crowland Chronicle*, confining the earlier pre-1202 section to scholarly irrelevance and elevating the post-1202 'Barnwell' section to the status of an autonomous series of annals. Unlike the 'Barnwell' text, which has become relatively famous, the earlier part has never been reconsidered until now, mainly because it was thought to have no historical value. This will be discussed more fully later in this study.

The discussion of the *Crowland Chronicle* requires a delicate methodology, especially as we are faced with a text that has been almost completely misunderstood in regards to its conception. It is also complicated by the fact that no extant manuscript of the full *Crowland Chronicle* actually survives: the manuscript at the base of the edition is the best surviving *version* of the work, not a fair copy of it. In order to better understand the construction of such a text, I shall begin by giving a brief outline of the studies that the *Barnwell Annals* have generated over the years, in order to highlight the limitations of past scholarship on this text. Owing to the fact that the *Crowland Chronicle* incorporates a compilation of earlier texts, a detailed

³³ Stubbs, W. (ed.), *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria: the Historical collections of Walter of Coventry*, Rolls Series 58, 2vols (London, Longmans, 1872-3).

discussion of the manuscripts in which these texts survive will be essential to understanding the history as well as the construction of the *Chronicle*. I shall then use the manuscript evidence to reveal a previously unrecognised composition. Justification of the title of *Crowland Chronicle*, surviving in College of Arms MS Arundel 10, will conclude this chapter.

I. Past Scholarship on the 'Barnwell Annals'

The construction of the *Barnwell Annals* has received very little attention from scholars.

In the preface to his edition, Stubbs offered his own view of the history and construction of the text. His conclusions went unchallenged until 1999 when Richard Kay offered a different interpretation.³⁴ With the exceptions of two further minor and isolated discussions of the *Barnwell* annals, historians have only gone to the text for its historical evidence.³⁵ This subsection first outlines Stubbs' understanding of the annals, then Richard Kay's contrasting conclusions are explored. This allows me to clear the field before my own argument is introduced.

In 1873, Stubbs published an edition of a large chronicle in two volumes under the name *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*. The chronicle he edited ran from 1002 to 1225. This included the 1202–25 text: the 'Barnwell Annals'. Stubbs used Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 175 (henceforth the Corpus Christi manuscript) preserved in the Parker Library as his base manuscript, which has been dated to the late thirteenth century. The name of a certain 'brother Walter of Coventry' was mentioned in the manuscript but Stubbs was unsure about whether that was supposed to be taken as an indication of ownership or authorship.³⁶ After a lengthy but fruitless discussion trying to identify Walter, Stubbs concluded that the

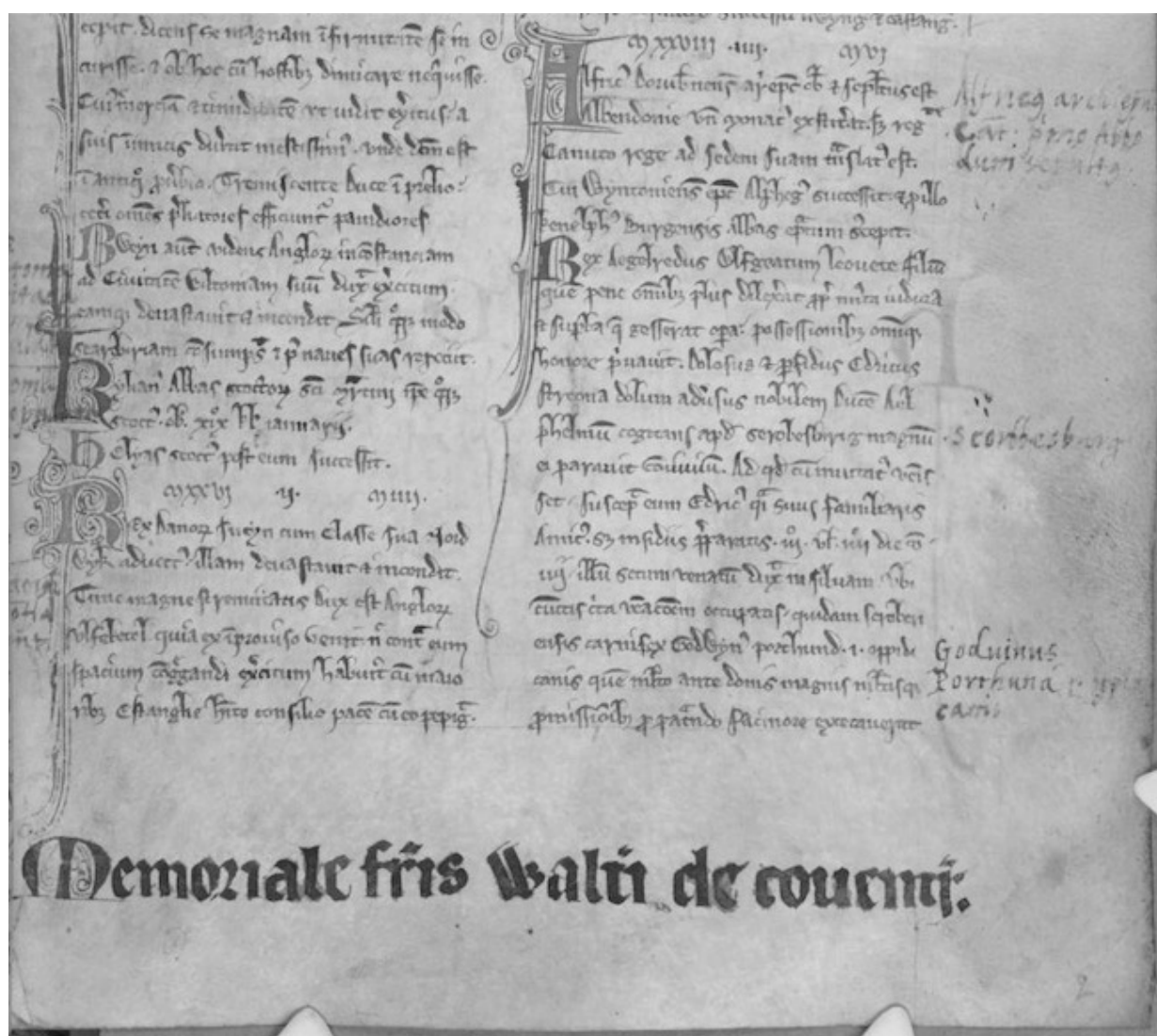
³⁴ Kay, R, 'Walter of Coventry and the Barnwell Chronicle', *Traditio* 54 (1999), 141–67.

³⁵ Liebermann and Gransden have briefly offered their view of the annals, Liebermann, F., 'Über ostenglische Geschichtsquellen des 12., 13., 14. Jahrhunderts', *Neues Archiv*, xviii (1892), 225–267, at 235–6; Gransden, A., *Historical Writing in England: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 341–2 [henceforth *HWE*].

³⁶ *WC*, i, xxi–xxx.

manuscript had not only belonged to but had also been 'written by or under the direction of Walter of Coventry', who was perhaps a monk of St Mary's Abbey in York, around the turn of the fourteenth century.³⁷

Stubbs further refined his view of Walter's role in the production of the manuscript by stating that Walter copied an earlier exemplar, abbreviating his source and adding the Barnwell annals.³⁸



³⁷ WC, i, xxi-xxii, xxiii-xxvii.

³⁸ WC, i, xxi

Illustration.1 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 175 (C), fol. 7r showing the inscription
Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria.

As stated above, the main text of Stubbs' edition was the Corpus Christi manuscript³⁹. But Stubbs also noticed that the same text survived in two other manuscripts, Oxford, Magdalen College MS Latin 36 and British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E.xiii, while parts of it were preserved in London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 10, which, he observed, contained annals from the Incarnation to 1307.⁴⁰ As Stubbs thought that the 1202–25 annals were drawn from College of Arms, MS Arundel 10, he recorded where it differed from the Corpus Christi manuscript for that section of the narrative only. He therefore discounted the 1–1201 material contained in the Arundel manuscript that was absent from and irrelevant to the Corpus Christi manuscript he was printing. This is significant for Stubbs' understanding of the text. By dismissing the 1–1201 annals in the Arundel manuscript from the edition, Stubbs created an artificial divide in the main text, between the pre-1202 material and the 1202–25 annals.

By examining the manuscript evidence, Stubbs concluded that Walter of Coventry copied the *whole* of his text from 1002 to 1225 from a no longer extant exemplar containing a text which Stubbs designated the 'Intermediate Compilation'.⁴¹ This putative text, essentially copied in the Corpus Christi manuscript, was thought to be a collection of known chronicle texts spanning from 1002 to 1225.⁴² Stubbs

³⁹ *WC*, i, xi

⁴⁰ *WC*, i, xli-xlii.

⁴¹ *WC*, i, xxxv.

⁴² *WC*, i, xxxv-xxxviii.

suggested that all the manuscripts, with the exception of MS Arundel 10, revealed a single historiographical project of assembling different well-known texts of the twelfth and the first years of the thirteenth century.⁴³ The justification of the name of the *Intermediate Compilation* lay in Stubbs' understanding of how the text was constructed, regarding it as 'an abridgment of an abridgment, a compilation from a compilation, which last is drawn from the originals'.⁴⁴ Stubbs categorised MS Arundel 10 as the exception because its pre-1202 text was not found in the same form as in the other manuscripts. Stubbs did notice that, technically, the Arundel manuscript started in 1 AD, not 1002 AD, like the other manuscripts he had examined.⁴⁵

Stubbs, as he himself noted, was not the first to identify the components of the so-called *Intermediate Compilation*. Antiquaries and historians such as John Bale, Thomas Hearne and Thomas Gale had identified the constituent parts of the text contained in the Corpus Christi manuscript.⁴⁶ Stubbs listed these texts: from 1002 to 1131 the text was drawn from John of Worcester's *Chronica Chronicarum*, known to Stubbs as *Florence of Worcester*, which included the later part of the Chronicle of Marianus Scottus as used by John of Worcester; from 1132 to 1154, the compilation drew on Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*; from 1170 to 1177, its source was

⁴³ WC, i, xxxv.

⁴⁴ WC, i, xxxv. It may be hard to understand what exactly Stubbs meant by this elusive description. On the one hand he points out that the *Intermediate Compilation* was the abridgment of an already-abridged compilation, but then elsewhere he writes that the author of the *Intermediate Compilation* worked from copies of the original texts, WC, i, xxxiv-xxxv, xliii.

⁴⁵ WC, i, xxxviii; It is important to note that Stubbs did not think that both the Arundel and the Corpus Christi manuscripts could have drawn their unequal matter from a common exemplar.

⁴⁶ WC, i, ix-xx.

Roger of Howden's *Gesta Regis Henrici*, known at the time as 'Benedict of Peterborough'; from 1181 to 1201, Roger of Howden's *Chronica*. When it came to the 1202–25 section of the chronicle, the so-called *Chronicle of Barnwell*, Stubbs was inclined to believe that the scribe of the *Intermediate Compilation* had copied it from College of Arms MS Arundel 10 or Arundel's supposed exemplar.⁴⁷

The *Intermediate Compilation*, Stubbs thought, reflected the compiler's effort to construct a coherent universal chronicle. Stubbs identified two series of short 'interstitial' annals for the period 1155–69 and 1177–80 inserted to fill the gaps between the main component texts. Thus, those for 1155–69 fill the gap between the end of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* and the beginning of Howden's *Gesta Regis Henrici*; those between 1177 and 1180 fill the gap between the compiler's use of the *Gesta Regis* and his use of Howden's *Chronica*.⁴⁸ None of these interstitial annals, Stubbs observed, were drawn from any known source. He claimed that the short annals descended from the Arundel manuscript, which he thought was older than the other manuscripts, written, as he thought, shortly after 1225.⁴⁹ That led him to the conclusion that the component texts of the *Intermediate Compilation* were collected and compiled into a single work around 1250 and later incorporated, through a lost exemplar, by Walter of Coventry into CCC MS 175.⁵⁰

One thing Stubbs did not address was the question of how the abridged chronicle in the Arundel manuscript, covering the years 1–1201, was produced. He merely

⁴⁷ *WC*, i, xlili.

⁴⁸ *WC*, i, xxxv–xxxviii.

⁴⁹ *WC*, i, xxxviii.

⁵⁰ *WC*, i, xxxv, xlii–xliv.

pointed out that the compiler of the *Intermediate Compilation* copied the 1202–25 *Barnwell Annals* as well as the missing annals for 1155-69 and 1177-80 as preserved in the Arundel manuscript.⁵¹ The focus of his investigation was thus on the Walter of Coventry manuscript which not only represented the basis of his edition but also the justification for its form and content. The introduction reads like an Olympian exercise in obscuring the fact. He does acknowledge that he would have been glad to find an excuse not to publish the first portion of Walter of Coventry's work, namely everything down to 1201.⁵²

Nevertheless, it remains unclear why Stubbs based his edition on the Corpus Christi manuscript. It is certainly not the best version of the chronicle text, given the many omissions and abbreviations ascribed to Walter; neither is the manuscript the earliest in the group. It is difficult to pierce through Stubbs' silence and see why he edited the text as found in the Corpus Christi manuscript but two insights could be offered here. First, the Corpus Christi manuscript offered a longer and unabbreviated text for the years 1002–1225, compared to the Arundel manuscript. Second, the Corpus Christi manuscript rendered a service that neither the Magdalen nor the Vitellius manuscripts could: it provided some answers as to where it was written and who was associated with it. The Magdalen College manuscript, though older than the Corpus Christi manuscript, was perhaps deemed inferior on the ground that it 'contained no indications of its origin'. Vitellius E.xiii was ruled out because it had sustained serious damage.⁵³ It could also be argued that Stubbs was seduced by the affiliation of the

⁵¹ WC, i, xxxvii–xxxviii.

⁵² WC, i, xx, n. 1.

⁵³ WC, i, xxxix–xl.

text with the 'shadowy' figure of Walter of Coventry, whose reputation as a writer of English history 'dates from the middle of the 16th century.'⁵⁴

The attribution to Walter of Coventry is, in fact, based on nothing more than an inscription on the first folio of the Corpus Christi manuscript.⁵⁵ This, as illustrated above, reads *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria* in a hand contemporary with that of the main text of the MS, dated to the late thirteenth century.⁵⁶ Stubbs used the inscription as the title for his edition in the Rolls Series while Walter's name rescued his work from the anonymity to which the other unnamed manuscripts had condemned it. Despite the dubious evidence for this attribution, the name endured to such an extent that the *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, edited in 2010, still refers to Walter of Coventry as the 'compiler of the Latin chronicle found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi, MS 175.'⁵⁷

The existence of the *Barnwell Chronicle* has already been noted. It is the name given to the 1202–25 section of the *Intermediate Compilation* and, under the title of the 'Barnwell Chronicle', it has become a well-known source of English history of the early thirteenth century. Its relevance and reliability for the political history of that period have never been challenged, although its annals have yet to be fully studied within the genre of contemporary annalistic writing. Historians have acknowledged

⁵⁴ *WC*, i, ix. The celebrity of Walter of Coventry, as it emerges from Stubbs' introduction, was misleading. Though Stubbs devoted a large section of his introduction of *WC* to the question of the authorship of the Corpus Christi manuscript, it did not become clear why he thought that manuscript was to be favoured above the Magdalen manuscript.

⁵⁵ *WC*, i, xxii.

⁵⁶ *WC*, i, xx.

⁵⁷ Dunphy, G. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1493.

the many merits of this source, particularly the balanced attitude towards King John and a non-partisan perspective on the events leading up to Magna Carta and the ensuing civil war.⁵⁸ Antonia Gransden, for instance, noted that the author 'had no taste for the dramatic or for colourful exaggeration and, having no marked loyalty to any one man or place, he manages to be fairly objective.'⁵⁹ J.C. Holt thought him to be perceptive and W.L. Warren praised the 'judicious Barnwell annalist' in his biography of King John.⁶⁰ Standing abreast of the equally reputable but far more outspoken *Chronicle of Ralph of Coggeshall*, the 1202–25 continuation known as the 'Barnwell Chronicle' is held up as one of the most reflective contemporary narrative sources for this period of English political history.

Nevertheless, whether these annals actually had anything to do with the Augustinian priory of Barnwell in Cambridgeshire is debatable. Past historians have raised serious doubts as to whether the 1202–25 annals were composed at or for Barnwell Abbey.⁶¹ But none of these doubts has yet been enough to challenge the status quo set by Stubbs: the designations 'Barnwell Chronicle', 'Barnwell annals', 'Barnwell annalist' that first appeared in his work are now almost always taken for granted by English historians.⁶² In some sense, with all the reservations expressed by Antonia

⁵⁸ An important factor in this outlook was the general backdrop of history writing in the first half of the thirteenth century, characterised by headlong condemnation of John and a biased point of view on the First Barons' War.

⁵⁹ Gransden, *HWE*, 341-2.

⁶⁰ Holt, J.C., *Magna Carta*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1992), 223; Warren, W. L., *King John* (Yale, 1997), 188.

⁶¹ Liebermann in 1892 was the first to point out that the evidence is insufficient for such a conclusion, 'Über ostenglische', 236.

⁶² It is true that some more recent historians have used the word *Barnwell* within inverted commas to highlight the uncertainty.

Gransden and, later, Richard Kay, the usage of this title by historians is a tacit approval of Stubbs' pronouncement: 'there can I think be no doubt that [the Arundel manuscript] was written for the monastery of Barnwell, the leading events of whose history it carefully marks.'⁶³ But describing these as 'leading events' is an exaggeration, for they are, in fact, only attested by three marginal notes in later hands in London, College of Arms MS Arundel 10.⁶⁴ They cannot confirm, *ipso facto*, that the volume was written at Barnwell, but only that it came into the possession of the monastery at a later stage of its history. These marginal notes will be examined in more detail below.

Stubbs was certainly not aware of the confusion he caused when he decided to attach the tag *Barnwell* to that section of the annals. His justification for it is as ambiguous as his decision to edit the Walter of Coventry manuscript instead of other, better witnesses. He was certain that MS Arundel 10 was produced *for* Barnwell but not whether the text was first composed there.⁶⁵ He observed that other priories feature in the text of the Arundel manuscript, of which prominent were notices relative to the abbey of Crowland in Lincolnshire, for which reason he seemed inclined to believe, in a logic unworthy of Stubbs' other Rolls Series introductions, that the manuscript was produced at Crowland.⁶⁶ He nevertheless referred to the

⁶³ Gransden, *HWE*, 339; Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 144-5; *WC*, i, xli.

⁶⁴ Historians have always used cognates of 'Barnwell' when referring to the 1202–25 annals edited by Stubbs.

⁶⁵ *WC*, ii, xli.

⁶⁶ He was so ambiguous that he suggested that the Barnwell manuscript may 'have travelled from Crowland to Peterborough' while he had just earlier expressed his certainty at the Barnwell origin of the manuscript. *WC*, i, xli-xliii.

annals as the *Barnwell Annals*, which is a strange editorial decision based on weak assumptions.

A final question worth noting here is Stubbs' view of the inter-penetration of historical writing around Peterborough. Indeed, whether Barnwell or Crowland, all of Stubbs' roads led to the Fen country. Stubbs observed that parts of the 1202–25 text survived in two Peterborough-related manuscripts, from which he inferred that the *Barnwell Annals* should somehow point to Peterborough.⁶⁷ He tentatively concluded that the *Intermediate Compilation* is 'the historical treasury of the Fen monasteries', which is a gentle way of acknowledging defeat. It should not be surprising that Stubbs reached such ambiguous conclusions, for he did not look closely at some of the evidence that he had at his disposal. It will be shown that his interpretation of the manuscripts as well as the narrative divisions were flawed and a radically different understanding of the manuscript evidence will be offered here. In order to distinguish how this examination of the relationships between the relevant manuscripts differs from that of Stubbs', the following diagram has been given to illustrate Stubbs' view of the *Intermediate Compilation* and the various manuscripts involved in the textual transmission:

⁶⁷ The manuscripts were London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius A.v and London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 60, WC, i, xlii–xliv.

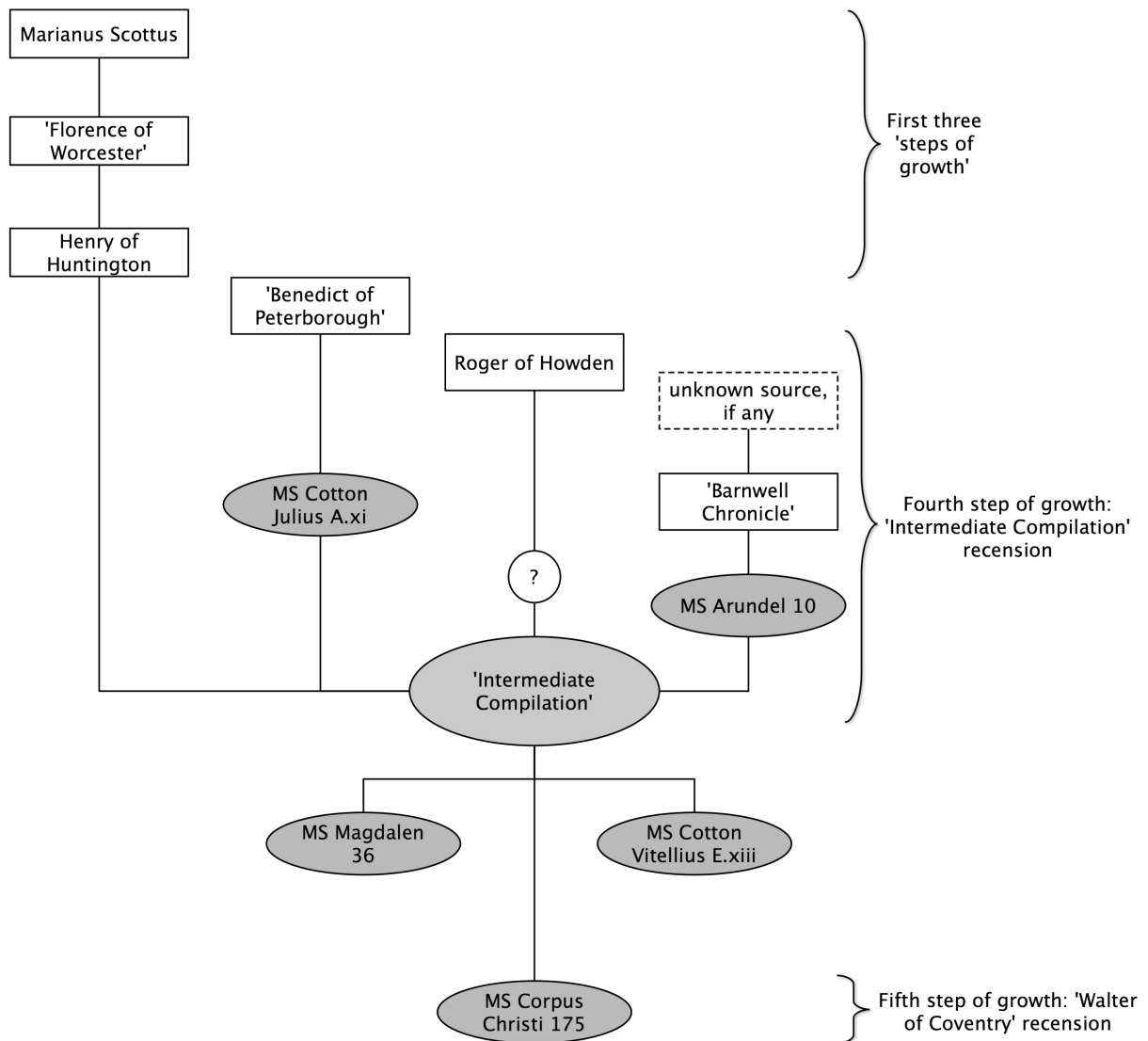


Illustration.2 Diagrammatic representation of the history of the *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria* according to William Stubbs

For all its limitations and imperfections, Stubbs' work remains an important first step in understanding the manuscripts responsible for the transmission of the putative *Intermediate Compilation*. Despite its use, however, it will be shown that many of his attributions were imperfect: the *Intermediate Compilation* did not exist or was not at all *intermediate*, whatever may be understood by this word. The *Barnwell Annals* is not a fitting title, for London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 10 containing these

annals only appears to have been acquired by Barnwell abbey after its production. Moreover, Stubbs' narrative division at 1202 was misleading, for the 1202–25 annals are not a continuation of Howden, but part of a single, seamless work. All in all, one may conclude that Stubbs' work on the *Memoriale* might not compare with his other more successful studies of medieval chronicles, but that the complexity of the text raised questions that neither his research nor the poor state of the evidence and of the past scholarship promised any spectacular achievement.⁶⁸

In 1999, more than a century after Stubbs' edition, Richard Kay published a study of the relationships between the manuscripts of the *Intermediate Compilation* and the text of the *Barnwell Annals*.⁶⁹ He brought new evidence to bear on the transmission of the text, in particular by examining a manuscript in the British Library that Stubbs had not known about, for the British Museum had only acquired it in 1898.⁷⁰ The manuscript, British Library MS Additional 35168, contains the text of what Stubbs had called the *Intermediate Compilation*, but the text of this manuscript began in Creation, not in 1002, as in the Corpus Christi manuscript.⁷¹ On the evidence of the Additional manuscript, Kay produced the first stemmatic analysis of the entire group of manuscripts used by Stubbs in the edition.⁷² He argued that BL MS Additional

⁶⁸ In particular, I give credit to Stubbs for his attempt to disentangle the manuscripts containing texts which he himself had previously edited and discussed.

⁶⁹ Kay 'Walter of Coventry', 141–67.

⁷⁰ *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1894–1899* (London, 1901), 195–6.

⁷¹ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 146.

⁷² These were Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, [hereafter CCCC] MS 175, Oxford, Magdalen College, MS Latin 36, London, British Library [hereafter BL], MS Cotton Vitellius E.xiii, London, College of Arms [hereafter CA], MS Arundel 10, London, BL MS Additional [hereafter Add.] 35168, London, BL MS Cotton Claudius A.v and Society of Antiquaries MS 60.

35168 was a fair copy of the original manuscript of the *Intermediate Compilation* (a term that Kay accepted) and that all the manuscripts used by Stubbs derived from it. In other words, Kay claimed to have identified the lost manuscript of the *Intermediate Compilation*, which Stubbs had long before postulated but considered lost.

An important departure from Stubbs' understanding of the manuscripts, however, was Kay's view of MS Arundel 10, which he regarded as an abridged version derived from the newly discovered Additional manuscript. The details and implications of this will be discussed below. The subordination of the other three manuscripts to the Additional, namely Corpus Christi College Cambridge 175, Oxford Magdalen Latin 36, and Cotton Vitellius E.xiii was easier to demonstrate.⁷³ The methodology adopted in this instance was one of proper stemmatics derived from Paul Maas, and was the first attempt to apply the canons of textual criticism to the history of the *Barnwell Annals*.⁷⁴ Kay's methodology consisted in analyzing the text of two full-length documents found at the end of the 1225-annal.⁷⁵ Indeed, Kay's entire textual sample was drawn from the document-rich section of the chronicle, a decision justifiable, he noted, on the ground that better readings of document texts may be found in external sources.

In this, Kay went beyond Stubbs, establishing the relationship between the various manuscripts of the textual tradition. Kay's *stemma codicum* can be briefly described as follows: Oxford Magdalen College MS 36 and BL MS Cotton Vitellius E.xiii are

⁷³ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 149-52.

⁷⁴ Maas, P., *Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 1958).

⁷⁵ These were the papal bull *Super Muros Jerusalem* of 1225 and the description of the council of Bourges in the same year, Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 147.

both copies of a lost recension which Kay designated δ , which was, in turn, derived from an earlier exemplar denoted by γ , which produced 'Walter of Coventry' manuscript, CCCC MS 175. γ shares with CA MS Arundel 10 the same parent β , which descends directly from Kay's champion manuscript, BL MS Add. 35168. This is not the ultimate source or archetype of the tradition for it descends from α , the archetype of the *Intermediate Compilation*, which also generated BL Cotton MS Claudius A.v and Society of Antiquaries MS 60, the two Peterborough manuscripts mentioned above.⁷⁶ Because Additional 35168 was regarded as closest to the earliest manuscript α , Kay concluded that the *Intermediate Compilation* originally covered the period from 1002 to 1225.⁷⁷ These conclusions are represented in the following diagram:

⁷⁶ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 156–67.

⁷⁷ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 155.

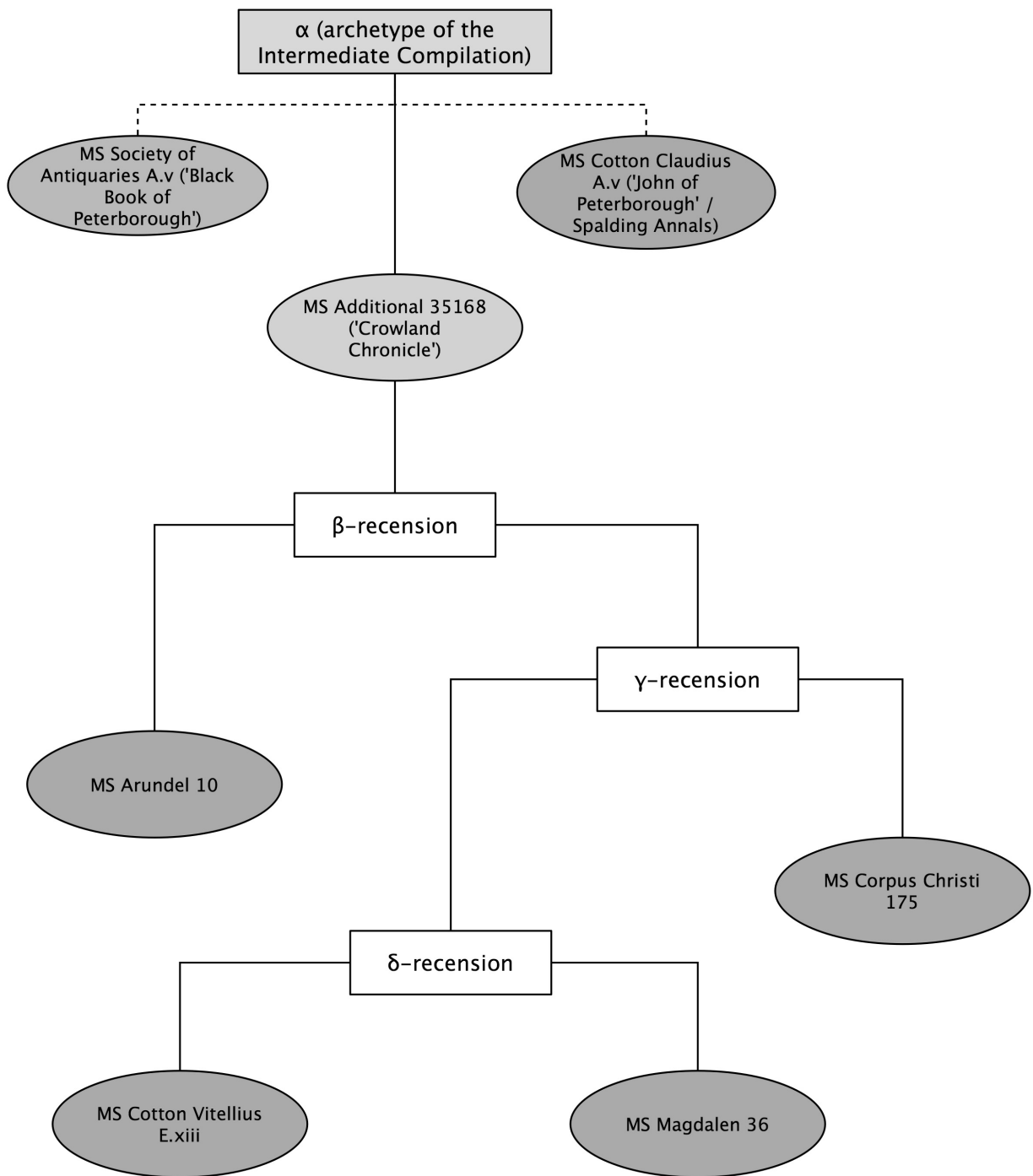


Illustration.3 Diagrammatic representation of the history of the *Memoriale Walteri de Coventria* according to Richard Kay

It is easy to see how different Stubbs and Kay's conclusions are in regard to the place of the College of Arms (CA) MS Arundel 10 in the *Intermediate Compilation*.

There is no direct affiliation, in Kay's view of the transmission, either between CA MS Arundel 10 and CCCC MS 175, or between CA MS Arundel 10 and BL Cotton MS Claudius A.v, as Stubbs suggested. The closest manuscript to the archetype of the *Intermediate Compilation* was, in Kay's view, BL MS Add. 35168, from which all the other manuscripts descended.

Kay's other contribution to the study of the *Intermediate Compilation* is related to the composition and provenance of the *Intermediate Compilation* itself. He pointed out that the archetype was transmitted to the rest of the manuscript family through a general process whereby chronologically-earlier matter was progressively removed.⁷⁸ Thus, BL MS Add. 35168 began the chronicle with the date of the Creation. By the time the text was copied into CA MS Arundel 10 manuscript, he argued, the annals between Creation and Incarnation had been removed from the narrative, for CA MS Arundel 10 begins its series of annals from year 1 AD. A further retrenchment occurred in the copies of the γ -recension, which began in 1002. It was this comparative analysis that persuaded Kay to accept BL MS Add. 35168 as the source of CA MS Arundel 10 as it contained the most complete text of the *Intermediate Compilation*, even more complete than Stubbs had ever supposed. It will become evident below that this view, plausible as it may seem, is untenable since it can be disproved by the manuscript evidence.

Kay then went on to consider the provenance of the archetype: if the text of the archetype could thus be reconstructed, was it possible to establish its provenance? Stubbs, after all, had worked his way down to the Fenland area, where he

⁷⁸ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 155.

conjectured that his version of the *Intermediate Compilation* – shorter than Kay's – had been assembled. Kay pointed out that the abbey of Crowland was the 'home' of BL MS Add. 35168. He brought three strands of evidence to substantiate this claim: first, an *ex libris* inscription on the first manuscript leaf with the text '*Liber Croylandie*' indicated that the manuscript had belonged to the abbey.⁷⁹ Second, a number of documents, now mutilated, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century and relating to Crowland, were entered in a different hand on the final leaves.⁸⁰ Third, the British Museum cataloguer of Add. 35168 had identified the manuscript as the source of the extracts that Crowland Abbey delivered to King Edward I's commissioners in 1292.⁸¹ This led Kay to conclude that 'the state of the text represented by L [BL MS Add. 35168] can accordingly be designated *The Crowland Annals*.'⁸² It must be inferred from Kay's silence that nothing could be found in the chronicle *text* of the manuscript to suggest that it had been copied at Crowland. The *ex libris* mark is written in a thirteenth-century hand but is different from that of the main text of the chronicle.⁸³ There is no list of abbots of Crowland, no independent record of the abbey's affairs, save for the few damaged charters at the end of the manuscript which were entered in a different hand from that of the chronicle text. On the evidence of other Peterborough-related manuscripts, Kay concluded that the original text α was assembled at Peterborough, and then later travelled to Crowland, as witnessed by BL MS Add. 35168.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ London, British Library, MS Additional 35168, fol. 1r.

⁸⁰ British Library, *Catalogue of Additions*, 195; BL MS Add. 35168, fols. 312r-314v.

⁸¹ Palgrave, *Documents and Records*, i, 77.

⁸² Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 147.

⁸³ BL MS Add. 35168, fol. 2r.

⁸⁴ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 166. In a way, Kay reached the right conclusion for the wrong reasons and on the basis of the wrong manuscript.

It becomes clear just how different the conclusions were that Stubbs and Kay reached. For Stubbs, the lost archetype of the *Intermediate Compilation* grew out of discrete texts collected and compiled into a single work. For this reason, Stubbs could regard 'Barnwell' as an individual composition, a continuation to a well-known body of chronicle texts. For Kay, on the other hand, the original recension was a text from which all subsequent recensions made significant reductions and simplifications. The name 'Barnwell' was consequently made redundant, for the 1202–25 annals were seen to be part of the same recension and not to have had a life of their own prior to the compiling of the original text. The status of the text contained in CA MS Arundel 10 was explained away as a less important abridgement of a later recension of the original compilation. But neither Stubbs nor Kay attempted to explain why CA MS Arundel 10 preserves an abridgment only down to 1201, whereas the rest of the text down to 1225 overlaps with that of BL MS Add. 35158.⁸⁵ Did the scribe of MS Arundel 10 really choose to abridge down to a point, whereupon he copied the rest in full from his manuscript, as Kay surmised?⁸⁶

These diverging conclusions essentially stem from not looking at the whole compilation in *all* the manuscript witnesses, and perhaps even the assumption that nothing of stemmatic value can be learnt from the repetition of material taken from other known narratives. By dismissing CA MS Arundel 10 as an abridgment and not considering the pre-1202 annals contained therein, Stubbs and Kay both ignored a

⁸⁵ It may be suspected that when Stubbs wrote that MS Arundel 10 'wears the appearance of an independent work', he might have referred to the strange nature of the abridgment, *WC*, i, xliii.

⁸⁶ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 167.

key part of the evidence, without which they developed views which fall short of the textual and stemmatic complexities that such an examination would have revealed. In what follows, it will become clear that this oversight was enough to obscure a more evidence-based understanding of the relation between the manuscripts. It is by correctly recovering the various stages of composition from the manuscript witnesses that the text of the *Crowland Chronicle* may be revealed for the first time, a text which was very different from Kay's 'Crowland Annals', which, it will be shown, never existed.

It should be noted that the major difficulty in this study is the existence of three very different versions of a chronicle text, one that extends from 1002 to 1225 (and represented by the Corpus MS), another that begins the narrative with the date of Creation (the Additional MS) and a third that starts with Incarnation (the Arundel MS), abridges down to 1201 and then continues the annals into 1225. The three versions overlap in the 1202–25 annals alone. Stubbs and Kay were alive to this complexity but they did not tackle it effectively. The three versions differ in scope and composition. To these versions, a fourth version may be added, even more complex than the others, which has not yet been discussed. Its text survives as part of BL MS Cotton Claudius A.v which, though very different from the other versions, is too bound up with them to be easily dismissed.⁸⁷ It will be shown that all four versions are related to each other and that they point to the existence of a previously unknown composition, which I will show to be worthy of the title of the *Crowland*

⁸⁷ Stubbs noted the affinity between this manuscript and CA MS Arundel 10 in the pre-1201 annals but that does not seem to have left any significant marks on his overall conclusion (*WC*, i, xlii). Kay considered the manuscript but utterly ignored the pre-1201 material. (Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 161-2).

Chronicle. To better introduce the *Crowland Chronicle*, it is necessary to begin with a discussion of what Stubbs called the *Intermediate Compilation*. The reasons for this methodological choice will become evident once all the manuscripts of the *Intermediate Compilation* have been described. This has to be done because the history of the text of the putative *Intermediate Compilation* is instrumental in recovering the *Crowland Chronicle*. In the course of this analysis, it will become evident that the *Intermediate Compilation* is a misnomer. Nevertheless, I shall keep Stubbs' designation for the sake of clarity until I have fully proved this claim.

II. The manuscripts of the 'Intermediate Compilation'

1. Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 175 (C)

English, saec. xiii^{ex}

169 fos; two columns (41, 45 lines to a page)

288x192mm

This manuscript provided Stubbs with the main text for the Rolls Series edition of the *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventreia*, to which he assigned siglum C, which has been kept here.⁸⁸ As C was his base text, Stubbs devoted much attention to it in the introduction to volume i of the *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventreia*. C was discovered by Leland in the mid-sixteenth century and was acquired by Matthew Parker not long afterwards, shortly before 1572.⁸⁹ The manuscript is now in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge. Stubbs missed a few significant textual variants but his transcription is generally satisfactory.

C is a composite manuscript, also containing, in addition to the '1002–1225' text, eight minor and unrelated items, each taking no more than a folio, bound together in the same volume at an unknown date but no earlier than the fourteenth century.⁹⁰ The eighth and last item is Stubbs' edited text and the only one in the manuscript that is of interest to this study.

⁸⁸ WC, i, xi.

⁸⁹ James, M. R. (ed.), *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College* (Cambridge, 1912), 404.

⁹⁰ These are: 1. Cardinal titles; 2-6. Extracts from different historians; 4. Privilege of church St Peter York; 7. Prophecies of Sybill and Merlin; 8. *Annales Angliae per Walterum Coventrensem*. Stubbs briefly discussed these items in WC, i, xxx-xxxiv.

Fos. 7r– 166r contains a universal chronicle running from 1002 to 1225. This is Stubbs' edited text, as stated above. At the bottom of fol. 7r is an inscription in a large hand, saec. xiv^{1/4} which reads: *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventreia*. As we have seen, this is the only evidence for Stubbs' view that this text was 'written by or under the direction of Walter of Coventry'.⁹¹ M.R. James refuted Stubbs' view of the relationship between Walter of Coventry and C and suggested that the inscription referred to a donation on the part of one Brother Walter.⁹² Kay mentioned a note *Cronica Walteri de Coventrarii* scribbled at the end of the volume in a fourteenth-century hand to suggest, not without reason, that the chronicle, although not composed by Walter, was quickly attributed to him.⁹³ The scribble is in a different hand and later than the inscription at the beginning of the chronicle.

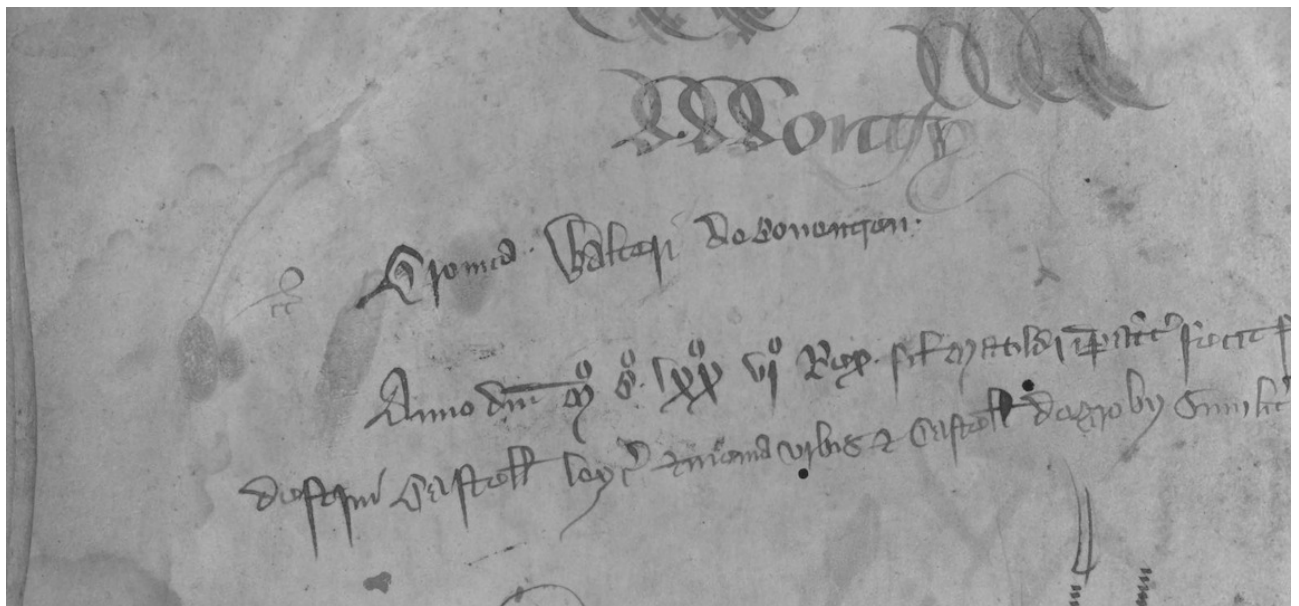


Illustration.4 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 175 (C), fol. VII V.

⁹¹ WC, i, xxii.

⁹² James, *Descriptive catalogue*, i, 404-5.

⁹³ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 143.

There can be little doubt that the inscription *memoriale fratris Walterii de Coventria* referred to Walter's ownership, and not authorship, in the same way that the catalogue of the library of the cathedral priory of St Andrews, Rochester, put together around 1202 by 'Alexander huius ecclesie quondam cantor', makes clear that it belonged to Humphrey, the precentor: *Memoriale Humfridi precentoris* (illustration.4.1).⁹⁴ Seen in this light, Walter of Coventry may have also held a similar title, but the difficulty of linking the Corpus Christi manuscript to a particular location makes Walter's identification none the less problematic.

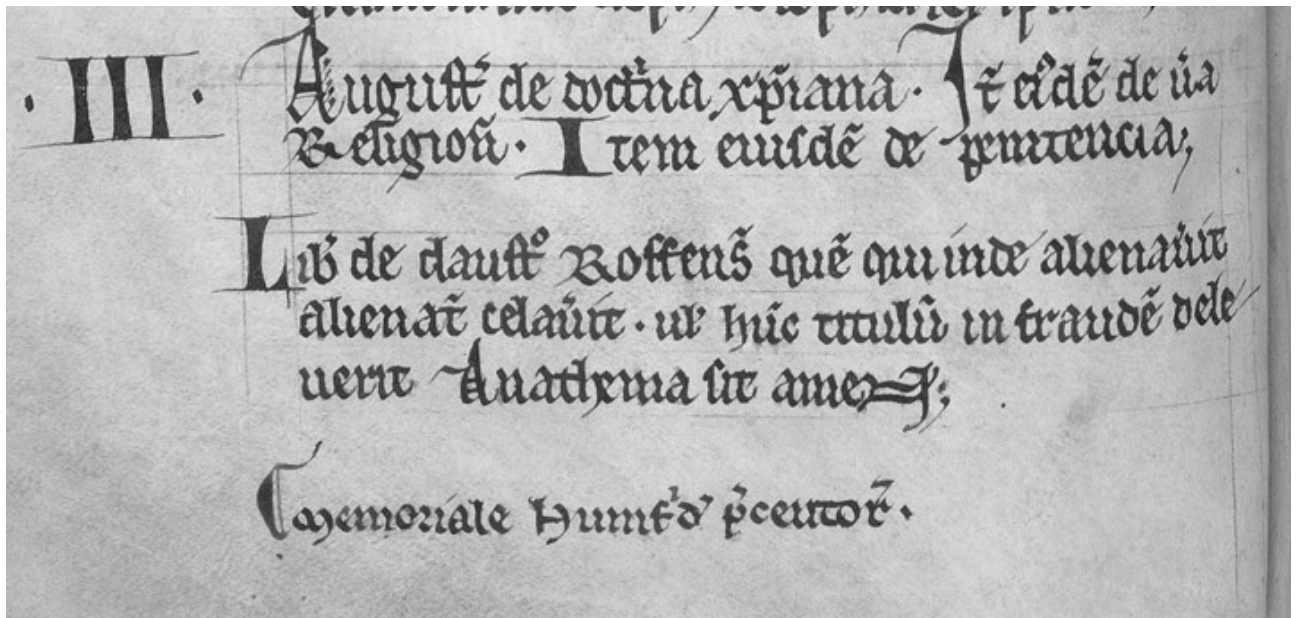


Illustration.4.1 London, British Library, Royal 5 B.xii, fol. 4v showing the *memoriale* inscription of ownership not dissimilar from that of the Corpus Christi manuscript.

Going back to Stubbs' preferred manuscript, the whole chronicle is written in double columns in one hand of the late thirteenth century. Capitals are fairly decorative with

⁹⁴ London, British Library, Royal 5 B.xii, fol. 3r-4v

floral motives and bright colours. Most annals are introduced by a rubricated heading (illustration.5).

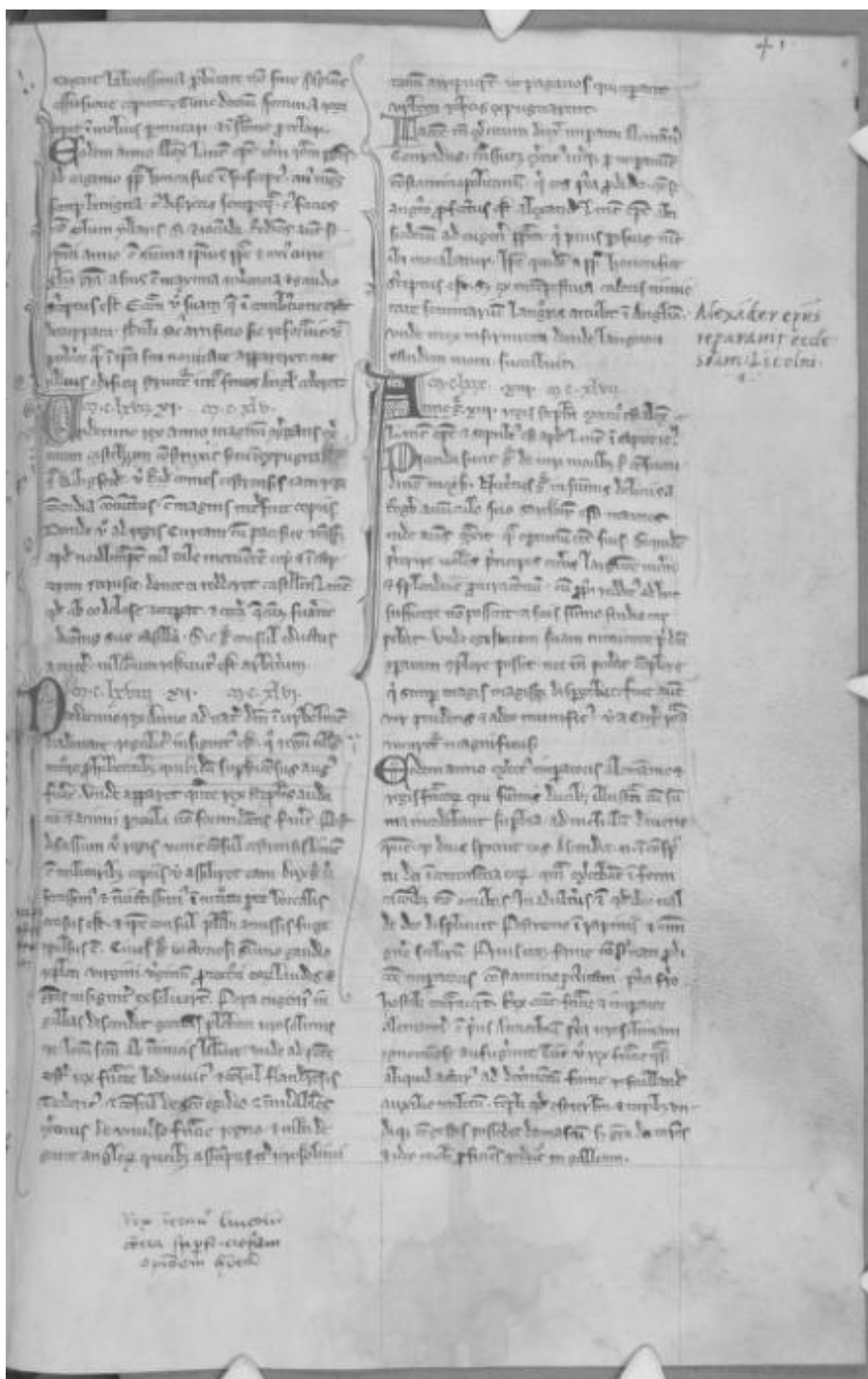


Illustration.5 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 175 (C), fol. 41r

The text of the chronicle covering 1002–1225 is what Stubbs called the *Intermediate*

Compilation. There is no evidence that the copyist used more than one exemplar. As will become evident in what follows, C's exemplar was itself a copy of the Additional manuscript, L, described below.

2. Oxford Magdalen College MS Lat 36 (M)

English, saec. xiii^{ex}

197 fos; long lines, (44 lines to a page)

250x175mm (180x125mm)

This volume was written at the turn of the thirteenth century in one hand in *anglicana* script.⁹⁵ It had belonged to a certain 'brother Richard of Kneesall', as evidenced by a fourteenth-century inscription.⁹⁶ After coming into the possession of John Bale (d. 1563) who examined and annotated it, the volume then passed to John Foxe (d. 1587), then to his son Thomas. Both John and Thomas were fellows of Magdalen College, which ultimately acquired it on their deaths.⁹⁷

Stubbs collated the text of this manuscript as M in the edition of *Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventreia*. This siglum has been kept for this study.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Stubbs suggested that the hand was of c. 1270. I have reviewed the manuscript and on Ralph Hanna's authority, I have concluded that the script is later than what Stubbs once thought. The hooked ascenders of the *long-s* and *f* place the hand in the 1290-1310 range.

⁹⁶ Oxford, Magdalen College MS 175, fol. 2v: 'Ex dono Fratris Ricardi de Knesall'.

⁹⁷ For a description of the manuscript, see Ker, N. R., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1983), iii, 644-5. A more comprehensive description by Ralph Hanna is forthcoming.

⁹⁸ Stubbs discussed the history of the manuscript in *WC*, i, xl.

Fos. 3-197^v contain the same chronicle text as the one in C, running from 1002 to 1225. The text begins and ends exactly as in C. The chronicle is written in long lines and without any decoration or even annal headings, although there was some effort to isolate what must have been year headings in the exemplar (illustration.6).

1217-

Cordie ut e nos uisat medaia medaalis addebant cordie a nona iponabant
 Inquis de corde suo medaia pphans. hoc petru duxisse asse rebat.
 e. Aipha tunc aralis i feto su exarim. hora noctis pma.
 e. hnt fobes cumm pmi. Dualline hntreps ex q ciuitas i regu lnt dnam dument.
 e. hnt r galley? Gigozi eps. De Gausps ff. res Angloy Eboz archieps vlt in ex
 illo apud Francos. ff. v. co. xij.
 e. p. Anglie qui apud Francos exulabant. Roma p ca Angliane etat aduepnt. Ad
 quoz pars amos vnp apud. sine malis imponit statuit. scilicet s. Francoz regi
 pto r illaz pta pncipibz. qd n rex Angloy ut nunc restitueret. ipi Anglia
 i manu fozt ab eo liberarent. Hec erat nra longis pabz aut monas uti. eo qd
 eent a multo tpe ad id pmi. et odio plone. in amoz arava r amn qbz dya qe
 die habundant horrent. se mutuo. nra pparant naues fabricant. r ab omi
 lictore tne marino naues conuocant. facientes ut i pazu uno simul naues aduante
 oms simul pphicant. Hec autem Francoz rex no longe a mari nauia capia apie
 bat. Capta r em erat su nuno. no mnt qm mille quingenta fuffide qredant
 multitudine. Cordie s. offhebant ad pazu naues. r ad castra milites. Induunt
 hoc rex Angloy. fecit qd ab abz Anglie pazu naues aduanti i multitudine
 magna. pparat galas suis vnos fozas. r i armis firmos. d ai manu Galida
 pugnatoy hostiu resistere r obuarent molimmbz. eozq pte p. Gurbz dampni
 carent. Sumonit r sub nra aluctasii r pteue feruicacis. Et oms eozm ad
 rex nra tuerdu r res caput defendendia. Armata ad ai uenire. Conuoc s. mlt
 tude qten no memant etas nra qe qe p pte ubi puzi timet. ai dastis
 pte diuidens. oms robur qad pta pteuitt. pte douram. etaq no longe in
 lictore dastis resistu. Similit r galas parate ad bella. Erat autem eoz pte
 fluctuans. r qd facile in qm pte pteuere. qd arentibz. hnt p. timore r
 expectate eoz. q in pte supuonms qredant. r pteuere multos. Gurbz pte
 r instans aduonpms dies. que qd fatalem rex dederat. plimos mlt r dntu.
 Dnq sic i pendulo eoz r expectate. eoz quida de mltis regis q in sine anni
 pximo pteu Roma aduepnt ai suma fittmaoz ad qm pteu. qd pteuozm
 dederat ei mandatu. qd pteu qd ai es d mltis quida nra pteuozm. qui
 rex mandatu exequat mltiteret. Et erat her Roma respia. qd an ff. mlt
 nra pteu pteu r pteu rex mltiteret r anam regis eo pteu r id man
 dante rex fozma fittmaoz qui signata pteu r mltiteret adimplem. qd
 qe id de hnt pteuozm pteu. r am pteuozm qui eoz pteuozm. Inq.
 ia est. pteuozm r nra no hnt. Quid mltia. Inq. ut credit ab eo pteu
 manu corda hnt rex aduonpms pteu. pteuozm qd mlt pteuozm a pteu
 mam. r Comes Helonie. Giltms comes de Caroma. Giltms comes de fteuozm.
 Giltms comes pteuozm ff. res r qe id de hnt pteuozm pteuozm ff. pteuozm
 r paulo r sine Romane etat subidex ex mltis soluntate. r ad captemozm pteuozm
 pteuozm r. Et qe r heredes su in pteuozm soluntate pteuozm pteuozm
 pteuozm annuatim pteuozm pteuozm. Giltms pteuozm Anglie r pteuozm
 centas qd hnt pteuozm. saluo dntano su pteuozm. pteuozm pteuozm homozm pteuozm

Et hnt rex subidex dnt
 r hnt pteuozm pteuozm r ab hnt
 m. mille mltis annis.

Illustration.6 Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 36 (M), fol. 178v, showing the annal heading for 1213

The cursive hand and the complete lack of decoration suggest that this copy was produced for a limited purpose. The overall aspect is one of haste. Much of its provenance remains unknown.

3. British Library MS Cotton Vitellius E.xiii (V)

English, saec. xiii¹, xiii^{3/4}

Abbey of Crowland

289 fos.; single column, (43-48 lines to a page)

aprox. 220-170 mm (aprox. 190x150mm)

This manuscript was heavily damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731. It survives now only in fragments but a close collation of the fragments help clarify its place in the manuscript tradition.⁹⁹ A partial transcript was made of the manuscript before the fire by Thomas Gale sometime before 1702.¹⁰⁰ Stubbs assigned the MS the siglum V, which is retained here. It still preserves some of its formal beauty, especially in its delicate script. Not much is known of its provenance before its acquisition by Robert Cotton in the first half of the seventeenth century. It might also have been owned by the manuscript collector Henry Savile of Banke (d. 1617), who noted a manuscript that may match Vitellius E.xiii, although the parallels are not exact.¹⁰¹ Nothing is known about the place of composition or its early provenance.

⁹⁹ Collecting and collating textual remnants is perhaps not something Stubbs enjoyed doing. His record of the V-variants in his edition reflect a unsteady effort of transcription.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Gale collated it with the 1201–25 text of the Corpus Christi manuscript. Stubbs recorded Gale's comments in his own footnotes, *WC*, I, xii. Gale's record of variants is not going to be taken into account in this critical edition.

¹⁰¹ Watson, A.G., *The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London, 1969), 19, no. 13.

The manuscript contains two independent works written a century apart that have been bound together in the same volume. The first is a decretal collection, saec. xiii¹, taking up the later part of the volume.¹⁰² The first and larger part of the manuscript (fos. 1r-203v) is a universal chronicle running from 1002 to 1225¹⁰³, written in one hand, which I have tentatively dated to the late thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Its contents are an almost verbatim text of that in C and M.

4. British Library MS Additional 35168 (L)¹⁰⁵

English, saec. xiii²

289 fos.; two columns, (43-48 lines to a page)

350x240 mm (230x160mm)

This folio manuscript contains the fullest text of the so-called *Intermediate Compilation*, which demonstrates that its text supposedly started not in 1002 but at Creation. It contains all the 1002–1225 text of MSS CMV but does not begin, as CMV do, with the annal for 1002, but at Creation. It is written in one thirteenth-

¹⁰² V, fols. 204r-288r.

¹⁰³ The end-text of the chronicle is legible in V and stops earlier than C and M, not mentioning Otho's 1226 legation to England. Not having seen the manuscript, Kay was forced to admit doubt, but he still assumed in his exposition that the chronicle in V ended in 1226.

¹⁰⁴ This date conflicts with that asserted by Kay, who did not consult the manuscript himself, but only relied on Stubbs' notes. Kay indicated a date 'in the 1250s', which he inherited from Stubbs, 'Walter of Coventry', 143; Stubbs dated the script to 'a little later than the middle of the thirteenth century', *WC*, i, xxxix. There are many paleographical features to favour a later hand, agreeing more with the date given by the British Library online catalogue (saec. xiv¹).

¹⁰⁵ I have preserved Kay's siglum of choice out of deference to the fact that it was Kay who first discussed this manuscript in the context of its larger textual tradition.

century hand throughout and no other significant composition was bound with this text.¹⁰⁶ The first two folios and the last seven have been damaged by damp. The last seven folios are no longer legible. The text appears to end in 1225 or, at least, the heading for 1225 is still on an undamaged folio. Judging by the space lost to damp towards the end of the volume, it is estimated that the manuscript included at least the annal for 1225 contained in CMV. It is impossible to know whether the account of legate Otho's presence at the council of London in May 1226 was in the manuscript, as it appears in CMV.¹⁰⁷

The date of the copying of the main text in the manuscript is debated. Kay followed the author of the 1901 British Library catalogue, who had dated the manuscript to the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁸ Though Kay did not explicitly date the manuscript, he must have thought that it could not postdate the middle of the thirteenth century. He argued that L was the source of MS Arundel 10, which he had dated to the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Patrick McGurk and Diana Greenway assigned a later date for L, which was the second half of the thirteenth century at the earliest.¹¹⁰ It will be argued below that L's date is dependent on that of MS Arundel 10 and, as such, cannot have been produced earlier than the mid-thirteenth century. The text is written in double columns. Quires are signed in Latin numerals and run in perfect sequence to the end of the volume.

¹⁰⁶ Five mutilated documents were added to the end of the volume but, as it is explained below, they were foreign to the chronicle text, both by date and by nature.

¹⁰⁷ *WC*, ii, 279.

¹⁰⁸ *Catalogue of Additions*, 196.

¹⁰⁹ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 143.

¹¹⁰ Greenway, D. E. (ed.), *Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1996), cxxii [hereafter *HH*].

The manuscript was acquired by the British Museum in 1898, some decades after Stubbs had published his edition of the *Memoriale* in 1873. The manuscript was examined again in 1995 by Patrick McGurk for his and R.R. Darlington's edition of the chronicle of John of Worcester.¹¹¹ Four years later, Kay published his study where he presented the manuscript as the missing puzzle in the transmission of Walter of Coventry's *Memoriale*. Kay assigned this manuscript the siglum L, which has been kept here.

There is a double *ex libris* inscription on the first folio that connects the manuscript to Crowland Abbey in Lincolnshire. Both *ex-libris* read: 'Liber de Croylandie' but their script is of saec. xiv and xv, respectively. ((illustration.7)

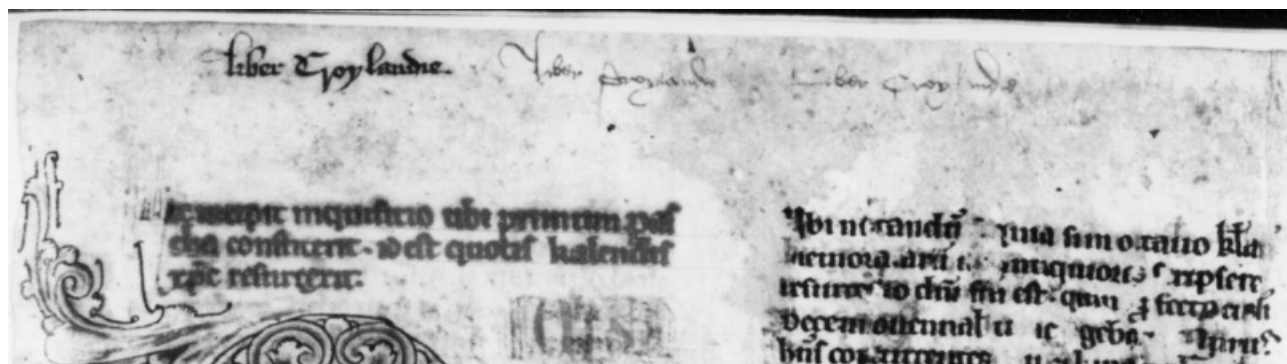


Illustration.7 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 1r showing the *ex libris* inscription in the upper margin

The compiler of the British Museum catalogue suggested that this must have been the manuscript from which notices relating to Scotland were submitted by Crowland

¹¹¹ Darlington, R.R., McGurk, P. (eds.), *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, Oxford Medieval Texts, 3vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995). Only volumes ii and iii have been published. Volume i is forthcoming.

to King Edward I in 1292, which may only be argued on the basis of the *ex-libris* evidence.¹¹² The textual variation makes it impossible to determine for certain whether MS Additional 35168 was indeed the exemplar from which the royal commissioners worked. For this reason, it is also impossible to say when the manuscript reached the abbey. There is nothing in the original contents of the MS to suggest a Crowland connection before the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Two marginal notes record the founding of the abbey, but they are in a different hand, probably of a fourteenth-century date, which may suggest that the text of the chronicle was not originally written for Crowland.¹¹³ There is also a note written in a hand of the early fourteenth century in the margin of the annal for 1075 recording the burial of Earl Waltheof at Crowland, an occurrence already present in the main text.¹¹⁴ This, however, does not suggest *ipso facto* a Crowland connection. At the end of the manuscript, there are small fragments of what can be identified as five documents, four of them relative to Crowland.¹¹⁵ Despite their mutilated form, it can be safely said that they are not in the same hand as the rest of the text, although they may not postdate it by much. The earliest datable document on the list bearing a relation to Crowland is item (b) in the British Library Catalogue, a quitclaim made by a certain 'Thomas filius Lamberti de Multon' to Crowland. The document may be dated to around 1277, but that is inconclusive, for the scribe interested in recording this acquisition of property could very well have written it long after the transaction

¹¹² *Catalogue of Additions*, 195-6; Palgrave, F. (ed.), *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland*, 2vols. (London, 1837), i, 77-84.

¹¹³ The two notes occur *s.aa.* 716 and 756 and they appear to be in a fourteenth-century hand. No other Crowland memorabilia were recorded, which is curious at best.

¹¹⁴ L, fol. 142v.

¹¹⁵ L, fols. 311r-314r.

had been recorded in a charter; it thus only provides a *terminus post quem* for the documents. These four documents cannot have been part of the original composition and they are not helpful for explaining the provenance of the chronicle or the early composition of the manuscript.

L looks like a fair copy but it will be shown that its exemplar is indeed a complex composition for which more than one manuscript was used to construct the narrative. The absence of significant contemporary annotation in the margin or in the main text, the lack of corrections, emendations or glosses, suggests that L was not a working copy either, but had copied a large part of the text, without interference, from a lost exemplar. There are two important exceptions, which are discussed below.

Given that L contains the most complete text of the Creation–1201 section of the putative *Intermediate Compilation* and it is the ultimate source of CMV, it is now important to discuss its components before the text of the *Crowland Chronicle* can be identified and introduced. The justification of this methodological decision finds support in the fact that the *Crowland Chronicle*, as will be argued below, incorporates a version of the Creation–1201 text found in L, to which the following discussion constitutes an essential introduction.

The constituent elements of the Intermediate compilation in L

A first long section runs uninterrupted from Creation to 1154. It contains the texts of John of Worcester's *Chronicle* (hereafter *JW*) and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*. This composition, as I explain below, was called the 'Chronicle of Marianus' in L itself, even though Marianus Scottus' *Chronica* was not a direct

source of either of its components.

I. fos. 3r-157v - *Chronica Chronicarum* (sometimes called *Chronicon ex Chronicis*) of John of Worcester. The events covered are those from Creation to 1131. The material from the beginning of the chronicle down to 1073 is taken from the *Chronica* of Marianus Scottus which *JW* copied.¹¹⁶ The only items missing from Marianus before 1073 are the preliminary lists of popes, kings, archbishops and bishops.¹¹⁷ The text ends after the end of the annal for 1131 on fol. 157^v. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that L's source derived the text from a manuscript of John of Worcester, now held in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 92, (written for the most part at Abingdon but perhaps completed at Peterborough) or the exemplar of this manuscript.¹¹⁸

Of the many manuscripts of John of Worcester's *Chronica*, two need to be mentioned below, as they are instrumental in recovering the history of manuscript L.

These are:

- a. Oxford, Corpus Christi College 157, (saec. xii^{med}) (henceforth MS CCCO

¹¹⁶ *JW*, ii, 4–607 and iii, 4–23.

¹¹⁷ The complete text of the first two books of Marianus Scottus has not yet been edited. A first unpublished volume of the Oxford Medieval Texts edition of *JW* containing this material has long been promised. For the preliminary lists, see items 2, 2a, 4, 5, 6 and 9, *JW*, ii, lxxvii.

¹¹⁸ Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 92 is manuscript *P* in McGurk's edition of *John of Worcester* and manuscript *Cb* in Greenway's edition of *Historia Anglorum*. The source I refer to is ω in the manuscript stemma in Greenway, *HH*, cxviii. According to McGurk, four scribes produced the manuscript, the first three being contemporary and working at Abingdon and the fourth perhaps 'at or for Peterborough', although this suggestion depends on the relationship between CCC MS 92 and BL MS Add. 35168, *JW*, ii, lviii–lix, n. 23.

157). This was written at Worcester by three scribes and contains the final recension of John of Worcester's *Chronicle* continued down to 1140.¹¹⁹

b. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 92, (saec. xii^{ex}, with continuations of saec. xiii, xivⁱⁿ). The work of multiple scribes, the manuscript contains an extensive compilation of John of Worcester's *Chronicle* extending to 1132, then a continuation in annalistic form drawn from Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (1132-54), and the Peterborough version of the *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds* bringing the text down to 1295.¹²⁰

MS CCCO 157 was regularly annotated by three contemporary scribes, of which one, identified by McGurk as C³, interpolated, among many others, a large number of extracts from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* (hereafter *GP*).¹²¹ MS CCCC 92 descends from MS CCCO 157 and is the work of a number of scribes.¹²² Two of them copied most of the annotations from the *Gesta Pontificum* made by scribe C³ into the main text of MS CCCC 92. One significant example of the presence in *JW* of material from *GP* via scribe C³ occurs in the annal for 1043, in which the chief priories of Dorset, Wiltshire and Berkshire are described. This material which is added from *GP* into the margins of CCCO 157 but appear in the main text of CCC 92, demonstrating that the scribe of CCC92 incorporated them from the margins of CCCO 157.¹²³ Manuscript L reproduces the text of MS CCCC 92 (i.e. also has the *GP*-material in the main text) which itself is a copy of MS CCCO

¹¹⁹ A complete description of this manuscript and an overview of the multiple recensions may be found in *JW*, II, xxi-xxxv.

¹²⁰ A complete description of this manuscript may be found in *JW*, ii, liii-lix.

¹²¹ *JW*, ii, lxxi.

¹²² *JW*, ii, lvii.

¹²³ *JW*, ii, 538-40.

157.¹²⁴ However, McGurk observed that L had some material that MS CCCC 92 omitted from CCCO157 and that it did not reproduce some of the items present in MS CCCC 92.¹²⁵ Consequently, McGurk concluded that L cannot have derived from MS CCCC 92 directly, without the intervention of another manuscript, from which the missing material could be supplied. This would suggest two possible cases of transmission: either that L and MS CCCC 92 descend from the same exemplar or that L was subject to horizontal transmission or interpolation, through which material absent from L's exemplar reached the copy from a secondary manuscript. Stubbs noted the presence in CMV of two instances where the text differed from the known sources.¹²⁶ One of them concerned a passage opening the annal for 1126 where the scribe acknowledged that the imperial regnal years, which had previously been part of the rubricated annal headings, are missing and that English regnal years would have to be used instead:

*Quoniam a tempore Lotarii anni imperatorum in chronicis nostris defecerunt, ideo a vicesimo sexto anno regni Henrici regis superposuimus annos regum Anglie, in loco annorum imperatorum.*¹²⁷

Since the years from the time of emperor Lothar ceased to be available in our chronicles, I have introduced the years of the kings of England instead of those of the emperors, beginning with the twenty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry.

¹²⁴ L, fol. 134v.

¹²⁵ *JW*, ii, lix, n.23.

¹²⁶ *WC*, i, xlvii.

¹²⁷ MS CCCC 92, fol. 166r; L fol. 156r; *WC*, i, 147; This note occurs at the end of Henry V's nineteen-year reign. It is likely that what scribe P⁵ found in its exemplar was the absence of a regnal year because B had not transmitted the number of years of Lothar's reign, *JW*, iii, 158 and 159, n.5. It is not clear however, from McGurk's notes, whether MS CCCC 92 used English regnal years after 1126.

Stubbs surmised that the note was entered by the 'intermediate compiler', but in fact it occurs in the margin of MS CCCC 92 alongside the annal heading for 1126 by a hand identified by McGurk as P⁵ and dated to 'the later twelfth century'.¹²⁸ It appears that Stubbs did not examine MS CCCC 92 – or, if he did, he did not mention it – when he wrote the introduction to the *Memoriale*. The passage is present in the main text of L and all its copies (CMV). It becomes likely, then, that the passage was transmitted from MS CCCC 92 to L, making its way from the margin into the main text. Naturally, the possibility of MS CCCC 92 reproducing the marginalia of its own exemplar is to be discounted, given that it was not the practice of its scribes to do this. Rather, it may be argued that Scribe P⁵ acknowledged a disruption in the annalistic sequence, wherefore a note was left to correct it in a subsequent copy. L inherited this alteration from its exemplar, which must itself have been a copy of MS CCCC 92. That the latter cannot have been L's source is explained by the fact that MS CCCC 92 omitted two textual items that L preserved, namely Marianus' general preface and chapter-lists.

Contamination, though almost impossible to ascertain, must then be admitted as a possible explanation of how the two kinds of material were included in the same volume. However, owing to the pedestrian character of L and the improbable situation in which the L-scribe had knowledge of the missing preliminary tables that a fuller recension of *Marianus* transmitted, contamination becomes an unlikely possibility. However, if regarded differently, it is arguable that, in the process of transmission, the source of L copied a manuscript which had *Marianus*' preface and chapter-lists but, at some point, that manuscript became unavailable and a different

¹²⁸ *JW*, ii, lvii.

copy, CCCC MS 92, was made available, from which the rest of the text is taken. That the preface and the chapter-lists, all bundled together at the beginning of the manuscript, are the only items in L that are missing from CCCC MS 92, this hypothesis becomes even more plausible. This seems to be the only way that L's relationship to CCCC MS 92 can be explained using the current state of the evidence. The following diagram illustrates the possible transmission of John of Worcester's *Chronica Chronicarum* into L. ω indicates a hyparchetype that Diana Greenway postulated in her edition of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, where she discusses parts of the *Intermediate Compilation*.¹²⁹ This graphical representation is expanded below as I discuss the rest of the compilation components. ((illustration.8))

¹²⁹ *HH*, cxviii, cxxv.

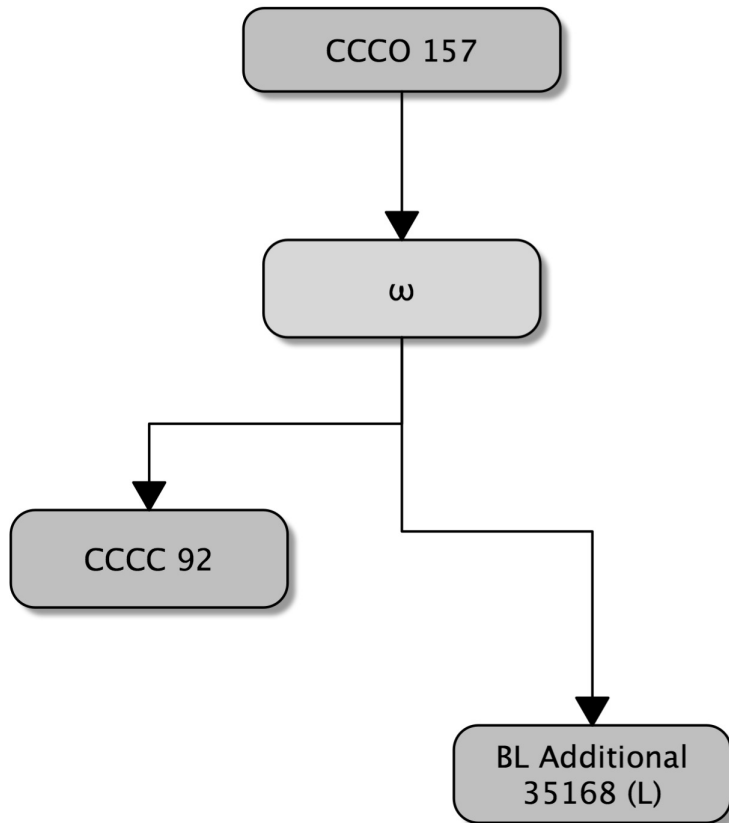


Illustration.8 Diagram showing the ancestry of John of Worcester's *Chronica* in the *Intermediate Chronicle*

Although not directly copying from it, the general layout in L is the same as that in MS CCCC 92 for the years covering Creation–1131. Through L, CMV did the same for the years 1002–1131, as is demonstrated below.

John of Worcester had inherited a peculiar editorial convention from his use of Marianus Scottus' *Chronica* that required each annal to be introduced by a double set of years, the principle of which Marianus set out in the first two books of his *Chronica* and which *John of Worcester* reproduced throughout his work.¹³⁰ One set

¹³⁰ Verbist, P., 'Reconstructing the Past: the Chronicle of Marianus Scottus' *Peritia* 16 (2002), 284-334, at 294; Verbit, P., *Duelling with the Past: Medieval Authors and the Problem of the Christian Era*

of years was given according to the reckoning of Incarnation by Dionysius Exiguus, better known as *anno domini*.¹³¹ The other was the result of Marianus' refutation of Dionysius' calculation of the Incarnational date.¹³² The date of the birth of Christ was corrected to 21 BC, giving a discrepancy of twenty-two years, which Marianus promoted as evangelical verity ('*juxta evangelicam veritatem*') or *verior assertio* (VA), hoping to supplant the *anno domini* reckoning (AD), which had become dominant before the eleventh century.¹³³

Marianus Scottus' chronicle was later absorbed into that of *JW* with such headings for each annal: the *verior assertio* year was followed by regnal years and then by the *anno domini* year.¹³⁴ Instead of stopping the VA/AD system in 1131, when he

(Turnhout: Brill, 2009); Nothaft, C.P.E., 'An Eleventh-Century Chronologer at Work: Marianus Scottus and the Quest for the Missing Twenty-Two Years', *Speculum*, 88 (2013), 457-482; Von den Brincken, A.-D., 'Marianus Scottus als Universalhistoriker iuxta veritatem Evangelii' *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. H. Löwe (Stuttgart, 1982), 970-1009; Von Den Brincken, A.-D., 'Marianus Scottus. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der nicht veröffentlichten Teile seiner Chronik' *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 17 (1961), 191-231. Though this dating convention was implemented in many twelfth-century chronicles of *JW* derivation, the present chronicle is the only thirteenth-century witness to the endurance of this annalistic practice.

¹³¹ A good introduction to the problem of Christian time-reckoning and how the Dionysian model became prevalent in western historiography are Declercq, D., *Anno Domini: The origins of the Christian era* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000) and Declercq, D., 'Dionysius Exiguus and the Introduction of the Christian Era' *Sacris Erudiri* 41 (2002), 165-246.

¹³² Verbist, 'Reconstructing the Past', 288.

¹³³ For an introduction to time-reckoning, Holford-Strevens, L., *The History of Time: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2005); Beckwith, R.T., 'Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies', Beckwith, R.T., *Calendar and chronology, Jewish and Christian: biblical, intertestamental and patristic studies* (Boston : Brill, 2001); Schwarzbauer, F., *Geschichtszeit: über Zeitvorstellungen in den Universalchroniken Frutolfs von Michelsberg, Honorius' Augustodunensis und Ottos von Freising* (Berlin, 2005), esp. 9-18, 86-140.

¹³⁴ Marianus' *Cronica* survives in two manuscripts outside John of Worcester's work, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. Lat. 830 and London, British Library Cotton MS Nero C.v.

stopped using *JW*, L preserved the VA/AD system until the end of the 1154-annal, which corresponded to the end of the next section discussed below, that of the text of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*. This may be surprising, as Henry of Huntingdon himself did not use annal headings to separate the years in the narrative in any of the versions of his *Historia*. The VA/AD dating convention was thus introduced to a part of the text which had never made use of it, since the whole text of the *Historia Anglorum* was not transmitted in annalistic form. On the basis of this feature alone, it is impossible not to imagine that the significant change in dating practice discernible after 1154 corresponds to a different stage in the growth of L or its exemplar.

II. fos. 157v-164v - *Historia Anglorum* (HH) of Henry of Huntingdon. The manuscript is a copy of version 6, redaction A of the *Historia Anglorum*, to follow Diana Greenway's designation.¹³⁵ This was Huntingdon's last edition of his *Historia*. In L, it continued *JW* down to 1154 and was subsequently copied into L from an exemplar in which the texts of *JW* and *HH* had already been fixed together and known as *Cronica Mariani*. This compilation runs from 1132 to 1154, the last annal heading being that for 1152.¹³⁶ As briefly noted above, Henry of Huntingdon did not organise the text of his *Historia Anglorum* by annal headings, but he divided it into twelve books, corresponding to different historical periods and general themes. The period covered in L (1132–54) thus represents only a part of book VII and the whole of book

¹³⁵ For the composition of the text and its different versions, see *HH*, cxvii-clviii. For version 6, redaction A, see *ibid*, clvii.

¹³⁶ L, fol. 163r.

X.¹³⁷ Unlike Henry of Huntingdon's original work, however, these years in L are not divided into books but into years.

For this period, L used the text represented by the source of the same MS CCCC 92, which records no division lines, exhibits no *explicit* or change in layout, between the end of 1131 and the next annal.¹³⁸ In both MS CCCC 92 and L, the two textual components of *JW* and *HH* are perfectly arranged one after another as though they were part of the same scribal effort. The text was not only arranged as such, but was also regarded as the work of one author.¹³⁹ At the end of the 1154-annal, L carries an *explicit* written in a large contemporary hand ascribing the narrative down to that point to Marianus Scottus: '*Explicit cronica Mariani*' (illustration.9).¹⁴⁰ It appears that L preserves the earliest manuscript attestation of this attribution, though a *Cronica Mariani* was known to Gervase of Canterbury in the 1180s.¹⁴¹ We can see traces of this attribution down into the fourteenth century.¹⁴² The circulation of a *Cronica Mariani* including John of Worcester's *Chronica Chronicarum* and Henry of

¹³⁷ The section covers books vii.42–vii.44, *HH*, 488–493 and x.1–x.40, *HH*, 698–777.

¹³⁸ This has been suggested by Greenway in *HH*, *cxvii* and appears to agree with our findings:

s.a. 1135 - fol. 158r: Talia vulgus liberum diversificabat] *om.* L CCCC 92.

s.a. 1136 - fol. 158v: Dunestable] *om.*, *blank* L CCCC 92

¹³⁹ *HH*, *cxvii*.

¹⁴⁰ L, fol. 164v.

¹⁴¹ Gervase began writing the preface to his *Chronicle* in 1188: 'Haec est enim de annis Domini inter Evangelium et praefatum Dionisium dissonantia, sicut in suis cronicis testatur Marianus Scottus, spatium scilicet annorum viginti duorum. Quoniam igitur praedicta cronica Mariani, ex auctoribus diversis collecta nomini tamen eiusdem Mariani dicata', Stubbs, W. (ed.), *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, Rolls Series 73 2vols (London, 1879-80), i, 89. A copy of *Cronica Mariani* was at Canterbury in the fourteenth century, Barker-Benfield, B., (ed.), *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* (London: British Library, 2008), 959–60.

¹⁴² *HH*, *cxvii*.

Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* from the twelfth to fourteenth century has not been given much attention.

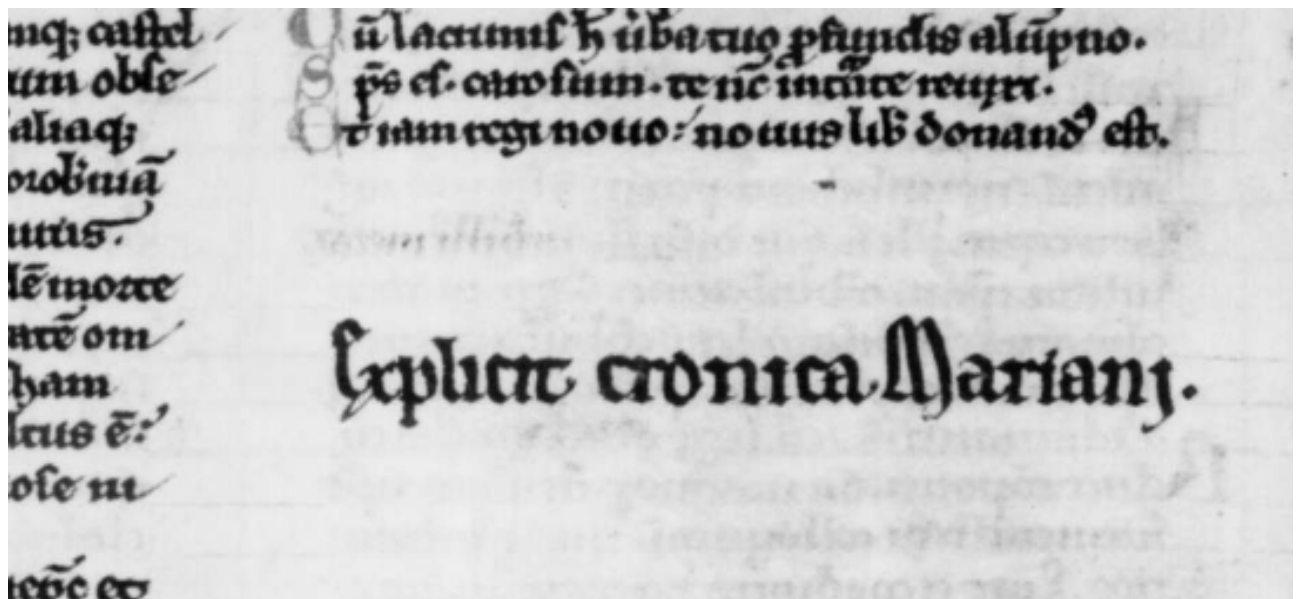


Illustration.9 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), showing the Marianist explicit

The *explicit* is present in exactly the same form in CMV, which again argues for their descent from L. This is explored further below. The juxtaposition of the two texts without any mention of authorship marking the transition from the 1131– to the 1132 – annal supports the attribution. This is a curious fact that raises the question of why *JW* (using *Marianus*) and *HH* ended up together or whether they were collected before their circulation as part of the Intermediate Compilation, namely prior to the inclusion of Roger of Howden's *Chronica* into the main narrative. *JW*, organised by annal, and *HH*, organised by book, are so structurally different that whoever first brought the texts of *JW* and *HH* together had to make a serious effort to iron out any differences in general presentation. Moreover, this suggests that the so-called *Cronica Mariani* had a separate existence *before* it was incorporated into the so-called *Intermediate Compilation*. Since the subsequent components from 1154 of

the large compilation in L, discussed below, do not follow the pattern of the earlier sections, the composite text down to 1154 must have been put together before the end of the twelfth century and had a longer history of circulation.

III. fos. 165r-198v The next section of the *Compilation* ranging from 1170 to 1177 comprised a copy of part of *Gesta Regis Henrici* (henceforth *Gesta Regis*), which was known to Stubbs as *Benedict of Peterborough*, but more recently attributed to Roger of Howden, parts of which were revised by the latter and copied into his major work, the well-known *Chronica*.¹⁴³ The earlier recension of the text of the *Gesta Regis* survives in two manuscripts, British Library MS Cotton Julius A.xi, saec. xii² and British Library MS Cotton Vitellius A.xvii, saec. xii^{4/4}, another victim of the Cotton fire.

MS Cotton Julius A.xi ends with the following text under 1177: *vir siquidem omnium honestate preditus*¹⁴⁴ and we would think that was the end of the phrase if the Vitellius manuscript did not supply the rest of the phrase and of the chronicle text. The same interruption can be observed in L, with the word *preditus* being the last word copied from the *Gesta Regis*. The 1170–1177 text in L thus seems to have

¹⁴³ Stubbs, W. (ed.), *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, Rolls Series 49, 2vols (London, 1867), i, 3–195 [hereafter *GRHS*]; Lady Stenton, David Corner and Antonia Gransden were the first to recognise that Roger of Howden was the author of the *Gesta Regis*. For a discussion of this attribution, Stenton, D., 'Roger of Howden and Benedict' *English Historical Review* 68 (1953), 574–582; Gransden, *HWE*, 222–30; Corner, D., 'The Earliest Surviving Manuscripts of Roger of Howden's 'Chronica'' *English Historical Review* 387 (1983), 297–310; Corner, D., 'The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, parson of Howden', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical research* 56 (1983), 126–144.

¹⁴⁴ *GRHS*, i, 195.

a relationship with MS Cotton Julius A.xi. This can be confirmed with readings from two passages from 1177:

The first passage concerns King Henry's business in Ireland:

*Nam occiso a regalibus rege monoculo qui erat rex de Limeric; qui etiam, cum prefatus rex Angliae in Hiberniam veniret ad subjiciendam eam sibi, devenit homo regis Angliae de Limeric et de aliis tenementis suis Hiberniae; succedit ei in regno quidam nomine _____, qui cum vidisset mala gentis suae....*¹⁴⁵

The blank space after *nomine* is reflected in MS Julius MS A.xi and L, but omitted in MS Vitellius A.xvii. The second passage is shorter and bears on King Henry's legislation on the payment of debts of crusaders:

*nisi homo eiusdem debiti debitor aut plegius exstiterit.*¹⁴⁶

MS Vitellius A.xvii makes a mistake and transcribes '*debiti debitor aut plegius*' as '*debiti debitor aut debitor*'. L, instead, follows MS Julius A.xi, by correctly preserving the word *plegius*. Based on these two examples, it is clear that L does not descend from MS Vitellius A.xvii but from the Cotton Julius manuscript. The 1170–1177 section of L begins and ends exactly like MS Julius A.xi, as David Corner has also pointed out.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ GRHS, i, 173.

¹⁴⁶ GRHS, i, 194.

¹⁴⁷ Corner, 'Earliest manuscripts', 300.

The text of the *Gesta Regis* in MS Cotton Julius A.xi is not structured by annal headings like *JW* or the way MS CCCC 92 had broken down the text of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* to accommodate the VA/AD style begun in *JW*, also adding annal headings where Henry of Huntingdon had not used any.¹⁴⁸

Consequently, the VA/AD system which L, following the text represented by MS CCCC92, had used down to the year 1154 ceases to be the general principle unifying the annalistic material in L. This suggests that in the composition of L, there has been a hiatus between the pre-1154 and the 1170-1177 components. This hiatus is observable in a number of points:

1. The structural lack of yearly headings in the fabric of the main text. This deficiency, which clearly separates the editorial practices of the Creation-1154 and the 1170-7 sections of the text, appears to have been acknowledged by the compiler of L, as years were added by the same hand in the margin to allow annalistic separation, albeit in a minimal way. Howden began each year of the *Gesta Regis* text with a note of where the king held Christmas court, preceded by the *anno domini* in narrative form.¹⁴⁹ The Roman numerals added in the margin correspond to these

¹⁴⁸ Histories generally differ from chronicles and annals in their treatment of chronology. Where chronicles make the chronological sequence central to their structure, histories are more discursive and rhetorical and give precedence to themes, rather than events recorded in a chronological sequence. Chroniclers were careful to note the years under which the matter of their composition is arranged, which is something that authors of medieval *historiae* did not do. For a discussion of genre differences, see Guenée, B., *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1980); Dumville D., 'What is a chronicle?', *The Medieval Chronicle. Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference*, ed. E. Kooper (Amsterdam, 2002), 1-27.

¹⁴⁹ Gillingham, J., 'Writing the Biography of Roger of Howden, King's Clerk and Chronicler', *Writing Medieval Biography, 750-1250*, eds. D. Bates, J. Crick, and S. Hamilton (Woodbridge, 2006), 207-20,

subsections of the 1170–7 text, making it easier to spot the discrete years in the *Gesta Regis* narrative.¹⁵⁰ One perhaps significant exception is the heading for the first annal of this section, that of 1170, which drops the VA/AD convention, keeping the *anno domini* only. This marks a departure from the earlier arrangement, which had used the double incarnational date, suggesting that little was done to reconcile the fragment from the *Gesta Regis* with the previous narrative. The text was first juxtaposed and it was only later that efforts were made to give it an appearance of continuity through the use of the marginal years.

2. Between the end of the Worcester-Huntingdon (the *Cronica Mariani*) and the Howden narratives, L contains two series of short annals. One series fills in the years 1155–69, thus marking the chronological break between the Marianus-section and Howden's *Gesta Regis*. The second series fills the chronological gap between the end of the use of Howden's *Gesta Regis* and the beginning of the use of Roger of Howden's *Chronica* in 1181. The second series of annals thus run from 1177–80. Neither the 1155–69 set or the 1177–1180 set resemble the Worcester-Huntingdon (*Cronica Mariani*) or the Howden narratives. The provenance of these short annals will be discussed later. It will suffice to say here that they were added in order to fill the void left by the three large narratives, *Cronica Mariani*, Howden's *Gesta Regis* and *Chronica*, whose annalistic material failed to interlock chronologically. Stubbs noted their presence in the compilation but did not examine them more closely.¹⁵¹

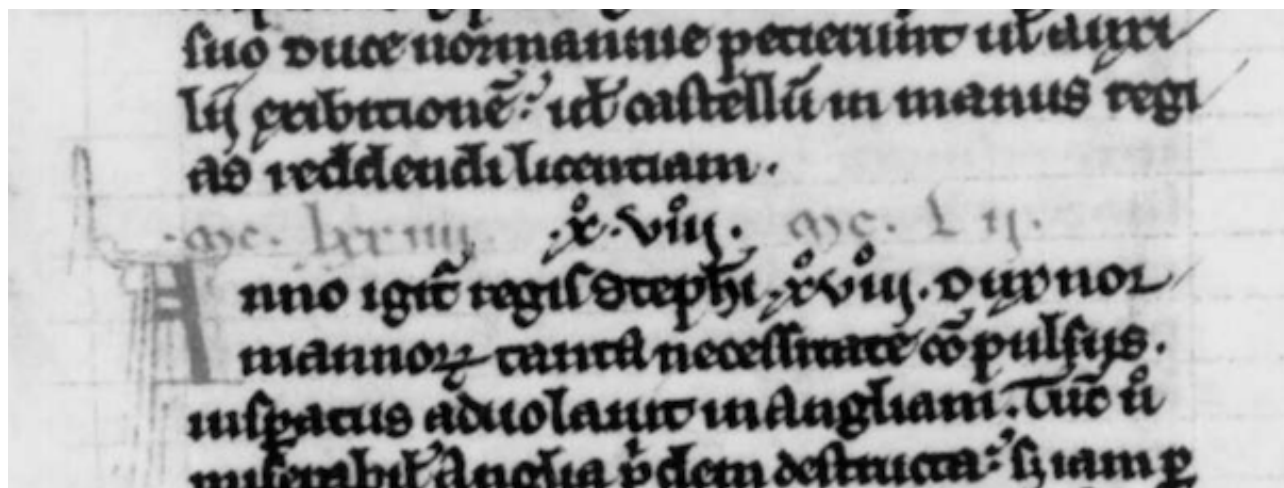
at 212; Stubbs, W. (ed.), *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, Rolls Series 51, 4vols. (London, 1868-71), iv, xxx. [hereafter *RH*]

¹⁵⁰ L, fols. 166v, 170r, 171r, 175v, 178v, 183r, 186v.

¹⁵¹ *WC*, I, xxxviii.

The two sets of annals are discussed in more detail below. Here, it is important to note that the 1155-69 annals are the first section of the large narrative where the VA/AD system ceases to operate, marking the first fault line in the arrangement of the compilation.¹⁵²

The annals of both sets (s.aa 1155–69 and 1177–80) are introduced by rubricated headings containing the dominical letter and the *anno domini*, in contrast to the arrangement of the pre-1152 matter (illustrations.10 and .11).¹⁵³ The 1170 annal heading mentioned above merely continues the practice set out in the 1155-69 set. That the 1171–1177 rubricated headings are absent suggests that the compiler responsible for stitching the *Gesta Regis* text to the pre-1154 material did not make an effort to produce a seamless narrative, but was simply copying the text of his exemplar as he found it.



¹⁵² The last instance of VA/AD being used is for the 1152-annal on fol. 163r.

¹⁵³ They fill fol. 165r almost perfectly.

Illustration.10 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 163r featuring the annal heading for 1152. It includes (from left to right), the Marianist incarnational date (VA), the regnal year and the *anno domini* (AD) date.

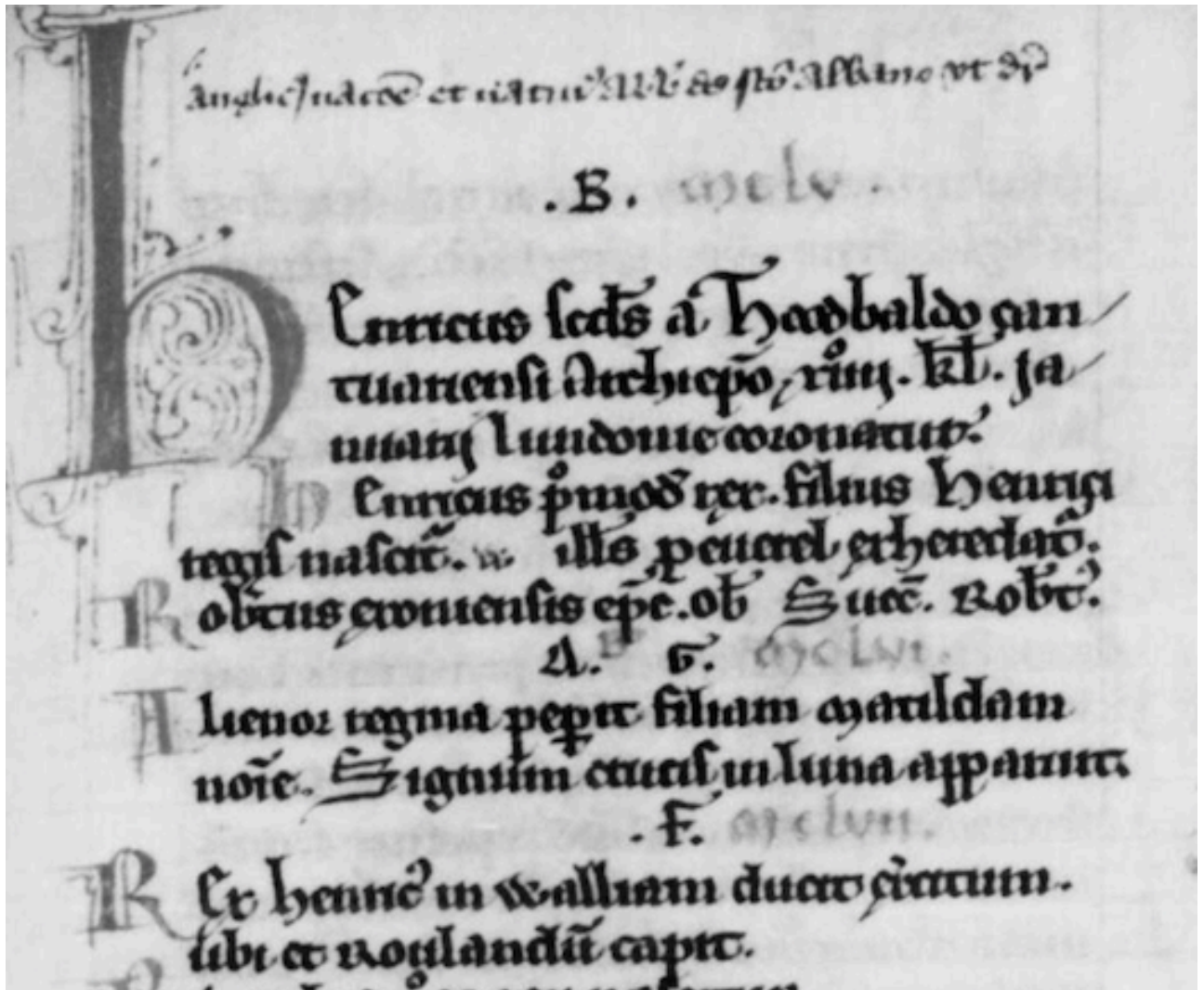


Illustration.11 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 165r showing the annal heading for 1155. The Marianist incarnational date (VA) and the regnal year have been replaced with the dominical letter.

3. The 1170–7 section does not carry an *incipit* or *explicit*, suggesting that the work was done from a copy of the *Gesta Regis* which circulated independently and anonymously.¹⁵⁴ This possibility becomes all the more likely as the subsequent component of L, drawn from Howden's *Chronica*, contains a marginal *incipit*

¹⁵⁴ There is no evidence to suggest that at any point in the thirteenth century, Howden's *Gesta Regis* and *Chronica* circulated together or were regarded as the work of the same author.

attributing that section to Roger of Howden (illustration.12).¹⁵⁵

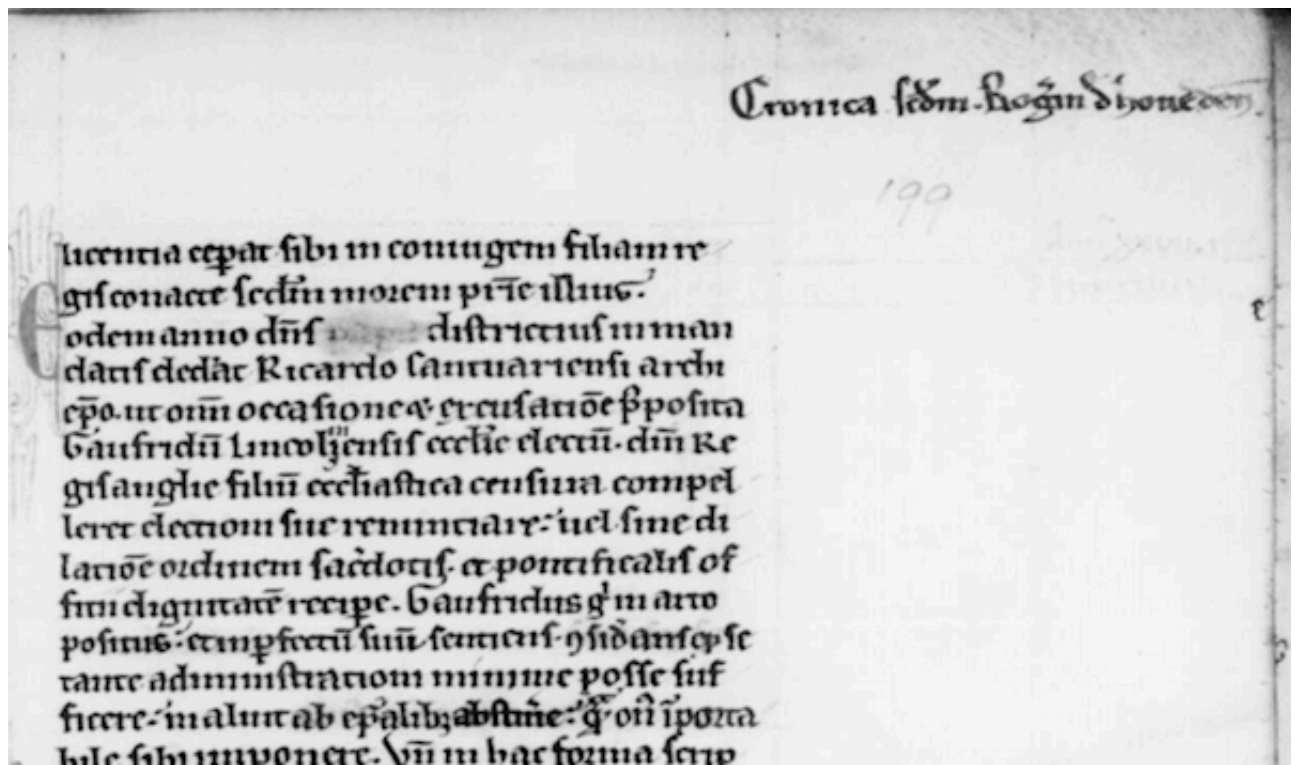


Illustration.12 L, fol. 199r showing the incipit inscription 'Cronica secundum Rogerum de Hoveden' in the upper right margin.

IV. fos. 199r-292v This longer section contains the text of Roger of Howden's *Chronica* (henceforth *RH*) from 1181 to 1201.¹⁵⁶ The text has both an *incipit* and an *explicit*, both of them written in contemporary hands, positively attributing the text to Roger of Howden. Rubricated year headings consistently introduce each annal in the same style (dominical letter and *anno domini*) as that which characterises the annals from 1155–69 and 1177–1180. To come closer to the ancestry of this section of L, it is necessary to briefly discuss the early manuscripts of Howden's *Chronica*.

¹⁵⁵ L, fol. 199r.

¹⁵⁶ The section in L covers the text of *RH*, ii, 253-367 and iv, 3-189.

The chief particularity of the manuscript transmission of the *Chronica* lies in the fact that the earliest witnesses are two volumes, which divide the text into two parts.¹⁵⁷ The *Chronica* begins in 732 and reaches down to 1201. One manuscript (London British Library MS Royal 14.C.2) contains the text from 732 to 1180, the other (Oxford Bodleian Library MS Laud 582) from 1181 to the end in 1201. In an important study of Howden's earliest manuscripts, David Corner concluded that the two manuscripts, though bound separately, belonged together and 'were intended to be the first full edition' of the completed *Chronica*.¹⁵⁸ The dividing line of 1180 is significant for the history of the text of L. As has been shown above, the 1170–7 section of L was drawn not from Howden's *Chronica*, but from his *Gesta Regis*, strongly suggesting that the compiler did not have access to the 732–1180 section of Howden's text. The 1177–80 set of annals, we have seen, was meant as a supplement to the use of two texts of the *Gesta Regis* and the *Chronica* which, though composed by the same author, were not recognised as such and, more importantly, circulated independent of one another. That the text of L only contains the second part of Howden's *Chronica* (1181–1201) may seem to suggest that L copied the respective annals from the Bodleian manuscript, as no other manuscript of Howden's work reflects this division.¹⁵⁹ However, a close comparison between the Howden manuscripts and L reveals that L is closer to another Howden manuscript of a later date, British Library MS Arundel 69.¹⁶⁰ This manuscript, however, preserves

¹⁵⁷ *RH*, i, lxxiv.

¹⁵⁸ Corner, 'Earliest manuscripts', 310.

¹⁵⁹ *WC*, i, xxxvii.

¹⁶⁰ The agreement is especially discernible in *RH*, iv, 146, n.2: interliniar *medio* against an omission recorded in the Bodleian MS; *RH*, iv, 163, n. 7: *marcas* against *libras* and an omission where the Bodleian MS had *erit semper*.

the whole of Howden's *Chronica* and, as such, cannot be a copy of the same exemplar used by L. MS Arundel 69 is dated to the second or third quarter of the thirteenth century, which excludes, on this ground, any direct filiation between a copy of it and L.¹⁶¹ In the absence of further evidence, one may tentatively conclude that L drew from a copy of MS Laud 582 that may have served as the source of the second part of the undivided text of Howden's *Chronica* in MS Arundel 69.¹⁶² More will be said about the growth of L once the last section of the Compilation, namely the 1202–25 annals, has been discussed.

V. fos. 292v-315r This is the last section of the manuscript, which contains the text of the 1202–25 annals, which Stubbs referred to as the 'Barnwell Annals'. The first annals down to 1212 are rather short, but the matter under 1212–17 is considerably longer, with a peak in 1215, which runs to more than 3000 words. The text from 1202–25 is also in CMV. The annals are written in the same hand as the rest of the chronicle, though it is argued below that the opening notices under 1202 reflect a change in hand. Corrections are minimal and annotations insignificant. None are contemporaneous with the main text. They mostly record ecclesiastical *fasti* or notable events drawn from the main text, suggesting that later scribes were merely drawing attention to entries in the text that seemed most interesting to them. The last folios are damaged but remnants of the text can be identified down to fol. 315r, s.a. 1225.

¹⁶¹ *Catalogue of Manuscripts in The British Museum*, 1 vol. in 2 parts (London, 1834-40), i, part i: *The Arundel Manuscripts*, 15.

¹⁶² If Corner's assessment is right and the two early manuscripts of the *Chronica* were indeed produced no later than 1202, then the copying of the 1181–1201 annals from Howden's *Chronica* may have occurred shortly thereafter, Corner 'Earliest manuscripts', 310.

It has been pointed out that the text of L survives in CMV only from 1002.¹⁶³ Stubbs recognised this chronological peculiarity of CMV and suggested that they had been copied from an incomplete volume, where the pre-1002 matter corresponding to John of Worcester's use of Marianus was absent.¹⁶⁴ It was Kay who brought L to bear on this matter, presenting a complete recension of the compilation, unknown to Stubbs. However, Stubbs' suggestion has not been challenged and may still be correct. Since CMV share the same range of the chronicle text, they are to some extent related. Their relationship to L must be one of subordination since L also preserves the pre-1002 text of the compilation, absent from CMV.¹⁶⁵ The oldest manuscript of the CMV group is V, whose text, as I suggested above, cannot have been written earlier than the last decades of the thirteenth century. As L is even earlier (i.e. it was written before the last few decades of the thirteenth century) and includes the whole recension of *JW*, the CMV group is a derivation of an incomplete version of L. Indeed, CMV all reproduce the textual peculiarities of L, of which two deserve to be outlined below:

The first occurs under 1210 and refers to King John's expedition to Ireland. The short account of CLM - V is unreadable at this point – begins with *Iohannes rex Anglie traduxit exercitum, captisque castellis et Hugone de Laschi fugato...* The words *in*

¹⁶³ CMV begin with 'Romanorum nonogesimus tertius Henricus regnavit annis xx. duobus', corresponding to the end of the 1002-annal in *JW*, ii, 452; *WC*, i, 27.

¹⁶⁴ *WC*, ii, xxxix, n. 1.

¹⁶⁵ Stubbs did not pursue this, but Kay attempted a stemmatic reconstruction of the relationships between CLMV, Kay 'Walter of Coventry', 149-153. My view agrees with Kay's insofar as the CLMV cluster is concerned. My departures from Kay's stemmatic conclusions are significant. I shall discuss them in the remainder of this study.

Hibernia are missing from CLM and if we did not have the reading in MS Arundel 10, we would think that the earliest recension omitted John's destination.¹⁶⁶ Another revealing variant is under 1204 and represents a classic example of scribal oversight. The CLM text reports the following under 1204:

*Rex Francie Philippus Normanniam, Andegaviam, Cenomanniam, et fere totam Andegaviam, sine multa cede et sanguine capit, Rotomagi muros et castellum demoliri facit*¹⁶⁷

fere totam Andegaviam must surely be the result of a mis-transcription. The correct reading *fere totam Aquitanniam* is supplied by the text of College of Arms MS Arundel 10.¹⁶⁸ These examples may be multiplied.¹⁶⁹ Additionally, V, whose reading may only be sporadically recorded due to the state of the manuscript, follows, as far as can be observed, all of L's errors.¹⁷⁰ In his stemmatic analysis, Kay reached the same conclusion that CMV are descended from L and he set out to identify the precise relationships within the CLMV group based on the 1225-annal.¹⁷¹ I need not duplicate the effort here, especially since my reading of the variant record based on my own collation confirms his findings for the entire 1202–25 text. My aim in this study is not so much to recover the transmission of the L-text into later copies as to establish the earlier history of the text in order to recover, in turn, the ancestry of the *Crowland Chronicle*. For this reason, I shall refer any further consideration of the CLMV affinities to Kay's authoritative analysis. This dismissal is also the result of a close examination of the variant record of the 1202–25 annals in CLMV which

¹⁶⁶ The reading is supplied by CA MS Arundel 10, which is described and discussed below.

¹⁶⁷ WC, ii, 197; L, fol. 292v.

¹⁶⁸ MS Arundel 10, fol. 76v.

¹⁶⁹ WC, ii, 222 (*rex muniebat*), 231 (*Linniam*), etc.

¹⁷⁰ WC, ii, 228 (*ipsi dediderunt*).

¹⁷¹ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 147-153.

confirms that CMV do not contain significant common errors likely to reveal a different affiliation in respect of L than the one already suggested. The readings of CLMV can be followed in my edition. What is important, however, is that CMV descend from L and, as such, they are not going to be helpful in recovering a lost archetype. In the remainder of this chapter, the text of the 1002–1225 annals which survive in CMV will be covered by references to L, since recourse to the texts of CMV will no longer be required. Significantly, this conclusion also challenges the justification for the name of the *Intermediate Compilation*. L is the ancestor of CMV and contains a more complete narrative, going back to the date of Creation. Consequently, Stubbs' view that CMV reflected 'an abridgment of an abridgement, a compilation from a compilation' is untenable. I do not see any reason to preserve the name of the *Intermediate Compilation*, as there is nothing intermediate about it.

5. College of Arms MS Arundel 10 (A)

English, saec. xiii¹ –xiv¹

114 fos.; two columns, (38-40 lines to a page)

270 mm x 180mm (185 x 120 mm)

This is the chief manuscript of the present edition, and I have followed Stubbs and Kay in their designation of it as A. It is a quarto manuscript whose earlier history is not very well documented. Internal evidence strongly suggests that this manuscript came into the possession of the Augustinian priory of Barnwell in Cambridgeshire at some point in the fourteenth century. The references to Barnwell may be identified in four marginal annotations:

a. two notes, one under 1213 (fol. 81r, illustration.14), the other under 1214 (fol. 83r, illustration.15), written in the same hand dated to the second half of the thirteenth century. The first note records the death of William of Devon, prior of Barnwell from 1202 – death mentioned on 25 May 1213 – and the succession to the abbacy of the sacrist William of Bedford.¹⁷² The other mentions William of Bedford's death on 28 November 1214.¹⁷³

¹⁷² *Hoc anno scilicet m.cc.xiii ab Incarnatione Domini octava kalendarum Iunii, die Sabbati proxima post Ascensionem Domini obiit Willelmus Devoniensis prior de Bernewellis et vacavit prioratus usque ad diem Sancti Romani proximo sequentem qui est decimo kalendarum Novembris, quo die scilicet feria quarta electus est in priorem Willelmus de Bedeford sacrista eiusdem loci, A, fol. 81r .*

¹⁷³ *Obiit Willelmus de Bedeford prior de Bernewellis quarto kalendarum Decembris feria sexta, A, fol. 83r.*

b. a note dated to 1444 (lower margin of fol. 68v, illustration.13) mentions the founding of a cemetery, possibly intended as an appendix to the annal for 1093.¹⁷⁴

c. a note written in a late-sixteenth, early seventeenth, century hand (lower left margin of fol. 68v) which is of no use to the present discussion.¹⁷⁵

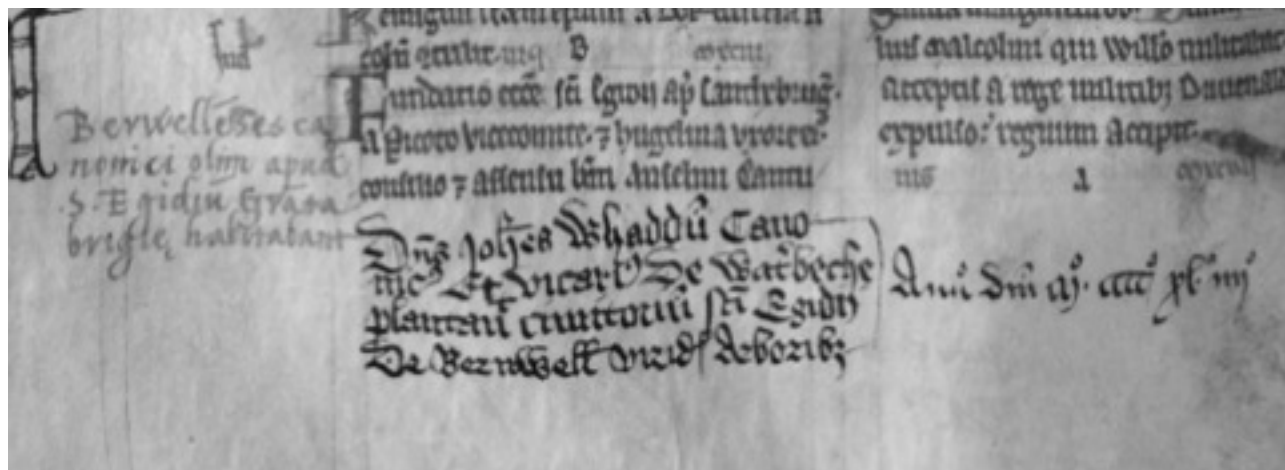


Illustration.13 London, CA, Arundel 10 (A), fol. 68v showing late-medieval and early-modern marginal references to Barnwell Abbey

¹⁷⁴ *Dominus Iohannes Whaddun canonicus et vicarius de Waterbeche plantavit cimiterium sancti Egidii de Bernwell viridis arboribus. Anno domini m cccc xliiii, A, fol. 68v; Kay strangely attempts to refute Antonia Gransden, first by offering a mistranscription of the note - which he must have obtained at second-hand – and then by misquoting Gransden's own accurate transcription. 'Walter of Coventry', 145, n. 22.*

¹⁷⁵ The hand appears in a number of marginal inscriptions.

<p>uimus et iocundo. oblectante le rege et exhi larante cum episcopi et proceribus qui uenie rant. Ut autem transactus est dies in om ni prosperitate et leticia putantes huius qui petri dicti fidem adhibuerant. huiusmodi pocotam ex simplicitate deceptum: qui regi diem Ascensionis prefererat. cum finem quaterdecim annis secundo uisio nem sibi ostentam perstrisse debuisse.</p>	<p>cc anno. l. c. ca xiiij. ab incarnati. d. viii. k. Junij. die sabbati prima pasche orie dni. O. Willm tenonj p[ro] de bene West. et uacavit po rat usq; ad diem sa Romani primo saq; q; decimo. k. houebj. Quo die. l. fep. iij. elect. in priorem Willm de Adeford facta eade loci.</p>
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Illustration.14 London, CA, Arundel 10 (A), fol. 81r showing the marginal references to Barnwell Abbey

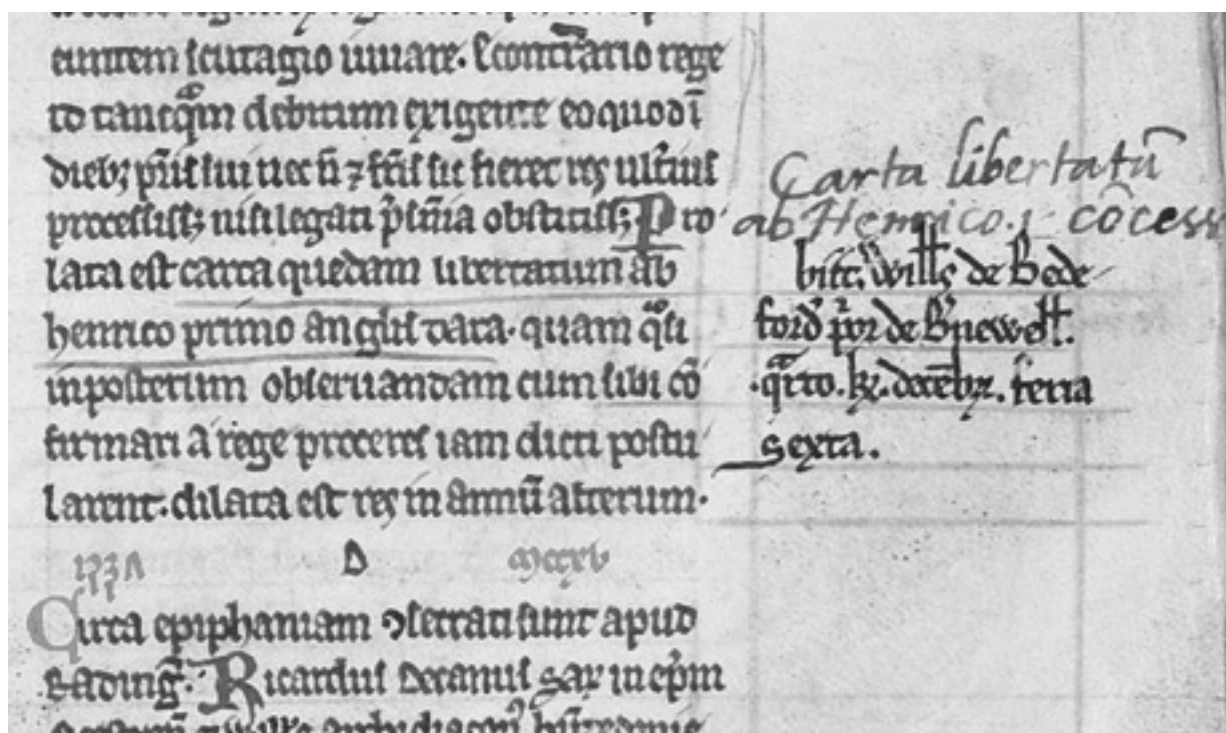


Illustration. 15 London, CA, Arundel 10 (A), fol. 83r depicting one of the marginal annotations relative to the priory of Barnwell

Apart from this marginalia, there is nothing else to link the manuscript to the priory of Barnwell and it must be assumed that the manuscript travelled to the monastery after its production. It was certainly at Barnwell in or after 1444. The Stubbsian attribution of the anonymous 1202–25 annals to Barnwell, long thought to have been written for the abbey because the manuscript seemed to have a Barnwell birth certificate, is incorrect because we can only know that the manuscript was acquired by Barnwell, not that the manuscript was written there, and not that the 1202–25 were composed there. The fact that there is nothing other than these isolated notes about Barnwell makes it almost certain that the text was not written at or for Barnwell. It remains to be established where these annals originated and whether they are really a discrete set of annals or rather part of a larger historiographical project.

The provenance of the manuscript prior to the sixteenth century is poorly documented.¹⁷⁶ The manuscript was acquired, perhaps in 1589, by the antiquary Lord William Howard of Naworth (1563–1640), third son of Thomas, duke of Norfolk. He left the family motto and his autograph at the top of fol. 1r: *Volo sed non valeo*. William Howard 1589'.¹⁷⁷ He was the first to assume, on the evidence of the aforementioned marginalia, that the manuscript had been written at the priory of Barnwell.¹⁷⁸ The manuscript then passed to Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel (1585–1646), and then came into the possession of the Herald's College, now College of Arms.¹⁷⁹

Black (1808-1872) described the manuscript in 1829, giving a rather poor report of what he found in the volume.¹⁸⁰ He dated it to the thirteenth century without any more precision and failed to mention Stafford's attribution to Barnwell, which surely Black had then no reason to doubt. His description of the manuscript items is moderately accurate, but so brief that its uses are limited. In what follows, I shall provide a more detailed discussion of the different compositions contained in the

¹⁷⁶ The earliest attestations of the manuscript is *Bibliotheca Norfolciana, sive, Catalogus libb. mancriptorum & impressorum in omni arte & lingua* (1681), 126 and '5523. 98. – Liber de Vitis Pontificum, et in fine Historia Angliae ad Hen. III' in Wanley, H. (ed.), *Catalogi librorum mancriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti cum indice alphabetico*, 2 tomes (Oxford, 1698), t. 2, 177.

¹⁷⁷ Howard examined and annotated the volume. It was his hand, for example, that wrote the inscription about Barnwell on fol. 68v, see above.

¹⁷⁸ He mentioned the marginal notes on the first flyleaf.

¹⁷⁹ Black, W. H. (ed.), *Catalogue of the Arundel manuscripts in the library of the College of Arms*, unpublished, (College of Arms, 1829), viii.

¹⁸⁰ Black, *Catalogue*, 16–7. Black noted: 'At the end of the volume, 'J. de Wangeford' is written, in a hand of the thirteenth century, *Catalogue*, 17. Though the manuscript has not declined in quality since Black's examination, a mention of J. de Wangeford is absent from the volume.

volume, focusing on the last item, namely the text of the chronicle, to whose edition this study provides the introduction.

1. fos. 1r–17v contain a catalogue of popes, archbishops, bishops, dioceses and major parish churches, both in England and in the rest of Europe. The catalogue is written in a single hand of the thirteenth-century, except for the papal catalogue which is continued in a fifteenth-century hand. These nominal lists lack all description. Internal evidence suggests that the catalogue was completed circa 1225–1226. Geoffrey de Burgh, bishop of Ely, elected in 1225, is the last name on the Ely episcopal list.¹⁸¹ Pope Honorius III (d. 1227) is the last pope whose name is written in the same hand and style in which all the previous papal names were written.¹⁸² The list is continued in a fifteenth-century hand and brought down to pope Paul II (1464–1471).¹⁸³ Pandulf (died 16 September 1226) is the last bishop of Norwich mentioned, offering a *terminus ante quem* of 1226. This section has the appearance of an original composition. The layout is rather careless and names seem to have been compiled from personal notes.

2. fos. 18r–38v contain a diagrammatic chronicle listing, in parallel columns, popes, archbishops of Canterbury, dukes of Normandy, kings of England, kings of France and Holy Roman Emperors running from the apostolic age down to the early years of the 13th century (illustration.16).¹⁸⁴ As William Monroe pointed out, this composition

¹⁸¹ A, fol. 7v.

¹⁸² A, fol. 3r.

¹⁸³ A, fol. 3v.

¹⁸⁴ Kay's assessment of this section was incorrect because he was following Black's equally faulty manuscript description. They both stated that the chronicle ended in the twelfth century, which is not

is strikingly similar to the one contained in Cotton MS Faustina B. vii (fols. 41r-70r).

Monroe suggested that the Arundel diagrammatic chronicle might be a copy of

Faustina, but, as I pointed out above, it is difficult to tell.¹⁸⁵

the case, Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 143; Black, *Catalogue*, 16. The last datable event recorded was under the column reserved for the reign of king John and took note of John's absolution by Pandulph in May 1213. These are the last lines of the column: *apud Wintonie in facie ecclesie absoluit, data prius cautione standi iudicio ecclesie tam regis sigillo quam quorundam procerum Anglie sigillo corroborata. Rege autem ei faciem hyllarem pretendente, quamvis ecclesia anglicana soluta vinculo interdicti non esset, ecclesiam suam adiens in sede archipresulatus reverenter quantum illo tempore licebat intronizatus est*, fol. 38v. The imperial column is less specific and records how emperor Otho, after his consecration, went against the pope. The column ends with these lines: *cernens autem dominus papa quia obstinate intertis eius vulneribus vini et olei nil mederetur infusio ferrum et ignem excommunicatis apposuit comminans quod nisi ad satisfactionem congruam festinaret cum tanta potestate eum ab imperii culmine deiceret, quanta eum ad apostolicem illum promovisset*, A, fol. 38v. The text does not fill either of the columns, which remain blank, though ruled. This seems to suggest that the tabular chronicle was finished or left unfinished no later than 1213. It may also be an original work of discontinued labour.

¹⁸⁵ Monroe, W.H., *13th and Early 14th Century Illustrated Genealogical Manuscripts in Roll and Codex: Peter of Poitiers' Compendium, Universal Histories and Chronicles of the Kings of England* (PhD Thesis, Courtauld Institute London, 1990), 222–226. The chronicle in MS Arundel 10 is shorter and lacks the pre-Incarnation material present in Cotton MS Faustina B. vii.

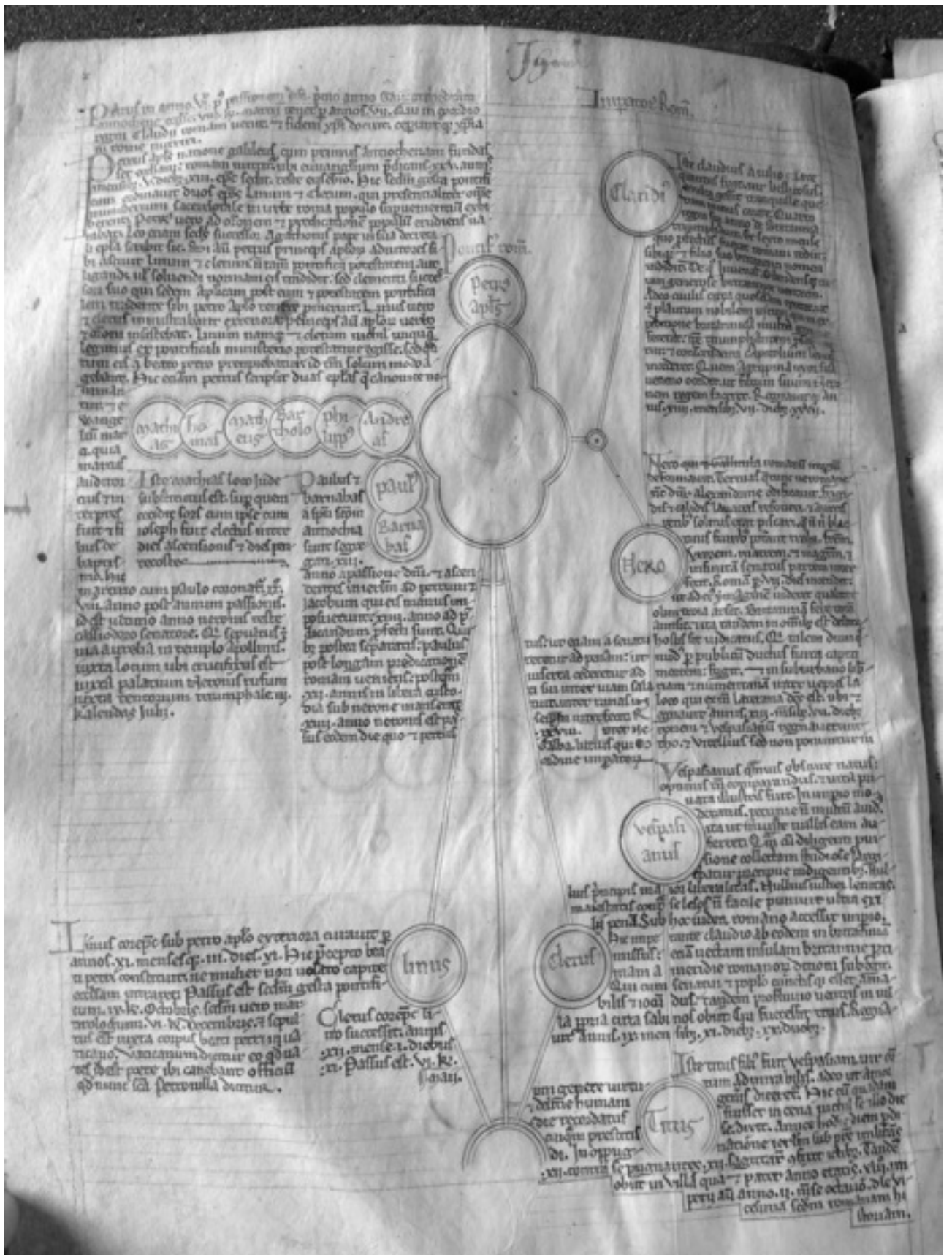


Illustration.16 London, CA, MS Arundel 10, fol. 13v: A leaf of the diagrammatic tabular chronicle

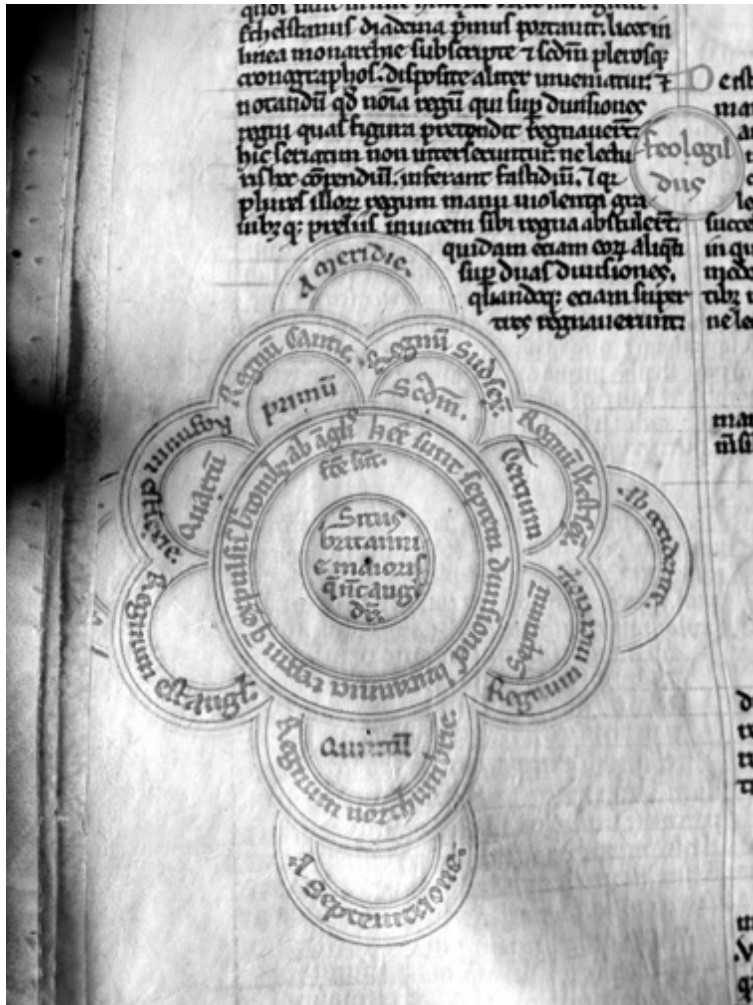


Illustration.17 London, CA, MS Arundel 10, fol. 28v: Diagram showing the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms commonly known as the Heptarchy.

The tabular chronicle displays a wide range of visual elements. Colourful diagrams and roundels structure the narrative of ducal, royal, imperial, ecclesiastical and papal lines. Though tabulated, the narratives are allowed to fuse when the historical interpretation permits it. Such is the case, for instance, when William of Normandy becomes king of England and two roundels, those reserved for the duke of Normandy and for the king of England, are allowed to subtly merge into one,

reflecting the author's awareness of the turning point in the history of the two political bodies.¹⁸⁶

The commentary is usually detailed but most of the accounts appear to have been derived from various sources. It does not seem to have a strong textual relationship with the other components of the volume, either the lists in item (1) above or the universal chronicle (3), discussed below.

3. fos. 39r – 105v contain a universal chronicle from Incarnation to 1225 in annalistic form. This is the most substantial part of the manuscript, written throughout in one hand datable to the early thirteenth century. This section of the manuscript does not appear to have been a working copy. Contemporary annotation is limited to some corrections and some marginalia which only serves to highlight various key points in the narrative. The text is well laid out in an elegant, steady hand, which betrays the presence of an exemplar from which the text is drawn, with minimum personal interference. The script tends to become angular and more condensed in the course of writing. Written in double columns, the annals are introduced by rubricated year headings displaying the same VA/AD dating convention familiar to the pre-1155 section in manuscript L, discussed above. Only this time, the whole text down to 1220 is consistently structured this way. Kay observed a deterioration in the style but confined it to the treatment of the capital letters after the 1224-annal.¹⁸⁷ Down to

¹⁸⁶ The two roundels, drawn in contrasting colours, are tangential to each other. They preserve their colours but are circumscribed by a larger roundel symbolising the new Anglo-Norman leadership, London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 10, fol. 33v.

¹⁸⁷ Fol. 92v; Kay linked the putative change in style to a new stage in the composition of the archetype. Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 166. However, his demonstration is flawed because he failed to notice a progressive deterioration ever since the 1221-annal, not only in the style of capitals, but, more importantly, in the rubricated annal headings: the 1221-rubric loses the Arabic numerals of the

1220, A used Arabic numerals to display the Dionysian year (AD), marking a significant break from the rest of the other manuscripts described above, which only contained Latin numerals.¹⁸⁸ Nor was the use of Arabic numerals in A the result of the rubricator's whim. The sequence of annals is preceded by a 700-word standalone composition, absent in all the other manuscripts, and which may be regarded as a preface or a prologue.¹⁸⁹ It has never before been examined and any previous discussion of the manuscript failed to take account of it.¹⁹⁰ It is written in the same hand as the rest of the chronicle text and does not appear in other earlier or later works. The author notes the difficulties arising from trying to reconcile dating conventions and the use of multiple sources of sacred history. He then goes on to explain what the subsequent chronicle should be and goes into details of chronology and editorial practice. On the one hand, this preface differs from the vast majority of chronicle prologues and prefaces in that it does not mention a patron or a reason for writing it, or which sources were used for the early material, to name but a few.¹⁹¹ On

Dionysian *verior assertio* year but gains the Dative superscript 'o' over each Latin numeral of the *anno domini*, which is done by a different hand; then a further alternation is made in the 1223-rubric whereby the superscript disappears, only to make a fresh reappearance with the 1225-rubric, the hand being the same. Since in all these annal headings, Dominical Letters did not undergo the slightest alteration, it may all have been the result of an inferior rubricator taking over. There is, consequently, little evidence for a discernable pattern of deterioration. As it is, Kay's attempt at identifying a critical stage in the evolution of the text on the basis of style must be dismissed.

¹⁸⁸ For an introduction to Arabic numerals in medieval manuscripts, Hill, G.F., *The development of Arabic numerals in Europe* (Oxford, 1915).

¹⁸⁹ Text is in *Crowland*, 0.1–0.10

¹⁹⁰ Stubbs did not mention it at all and neither did Kay. Had he looked more closely, he would have recognised his misjudgment, 'Walter of Coventry', 144.

¹⁹¹ For a discussion of medieval prologues, Gransden, A., 'Prologues in the historiography of twelfth-century England', *England in the Twelfth Century. Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), 55–81 and repr. In Gransden, A., *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London, 1992); Guenée, *Histoire et Culture*, 200–7; Christiane Marchello-Nizia,

the other hand, it should not be dismissed as a valueless prefatory exposition for it contains a discussion that is likely to enhance our understanding of the chronicle text which it precedes. Although this will receive fuller treatment elsewhere in this study and only after its place in the original redaction has been established, it is important to note two of these elements and the impact they have on the way the rest of the chronicle is constructed. One of them reflects the desire to set out different points of style and structure to be observed throughout the chronicle. Among these, the use of Arabic numerals is very significant. The preface states that *principium veri numeri arabicis litteris notati secundum evangelicam veritatem* ('Here begin the true year numbers (VA) written with Arabic numerals according to the evangelical truth, a distant echo of Marianus Scottus, but with the additional emphasis on the use of Arabic numerals.¹⁹² What is truly remarkable is that the Arabic numerals, reserved for the truer 'evangelical verity', seem to be held in higher esteem than the Latin numerals, which give, in second position, the uncorrected Dionysian year. In the margin of the annal for year 23 (VA), the rubricator has added *principium numeri latinis litteris notati* to mark the beginning of the anno domini sequence. The 1(AD)-annal continues:

Incarnatio iuxta Dionisium contraria evangelice veritati. Verum quorum usus optinuit ut anni domini iuxta Dionisium nostris temporibus et regionibus numerentur et nos

'L'historien et son prologue: formes littéraires et stratégies discursives', *La Chronique et l'histoire au Moyen Age, Colloque des 24 et 25 mai 1982*, ed. D. Poirier (Paris, 1984), 13–25.

¹⁹² A, fol. 39v.

*numerum alterum ab hoc anno incipimus, ut habeas duos numeros, scilicet et falsum; verum arabicis litteris, falsum latinis notatum*¹⁹³

Be that as it may, it clearly shows that the decision to use double dates and Arabic numerals was first expressed in the preface and was regarded as binding for the whole chronicle, at least before 1220. The choice to use double incarnational dates is also expressed later in the narrative:

*Iesus Christus circumciditur. A magis stella duce adoratur. In templo presentatur a Simeone suscipitur. Angelo monente in Egyptum transfertur. Hic interferredum puto quod annos Domini domini duppliciter sumimur.*¹⁹⁴

Another point of style announced in the preface is the use of computistical signs. The preface guides the reader ('o, lector'), articulating an implicit relationship based on the use of the first-person plural and second-person singular forms of the verb, through the conventions of ecclesiastical *calculus*.¹⁹⁵ By telling the reader how to identify important days of the liturgical year, the preface draws out structuring lines, which are, like the Arabic numerals of the VA/AD arrangement, closely observed throughout the chronicle (translations is mine):

¹⁹³ A, fol. 40r.

¹⁹⁴ A, fol. 39v.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. the language of the *Chronicon* of Sigebert de Gembloux, Bethmann, D.L.C. (ed.), *Chronica Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi: Auctarium Mortui Maris*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, 6 (Hanover, 1844), 272.

[...] Hoc ordine illud agere censuimus singulos annos suis litteris dominicalibus notantes, litteram quamlibet pro anno suo ponemus super eandem, si qua suo anno memorabilia aut scitu digna contigerunt breviter annotantes [...]

*Ut evidentes probare possis de anno quolibet ubi vel Iudeorum vel nostram Pascham fuerit. Iudei quippe in ipso termino; nos autem in dominica proxima post terminum Pascha celebramus. Tu autem ex cyclo terminum et ex littera dominicam facile reperies, concurrentes etiam per litteram eandem quia semper cum F. i cum E. ii. D iii. C. iiiii. B. v. A vi, G vii.*¹⁹⁶

I have decided that the matter should be treated in this order: indicating each year with its own Dominical Letter, I shall place the relevant letter for each year over that same year, briefly writing down anything worth knowing or remembering that occurred in that year.

[...] so that you may be able to make plain when either the Christian or the Jewish Easter occurred in any given year. For in fact, the Jews have it on the last day of Passover week, while we celebrate it on the Sunday after Passover. You, on the other hand, shall easily identify the last day of Passover from the cycle and the Sunday from the Dominical Letters, and even the Concurrents through the same Dominical Letters, for F always goes with i, E with ii, D with iii, C with iiiii, B with v, A with vi, G with vii.

¹⁹⁶ A, fol. 39v. These instructions are closely observed throughout the entire chronicle.

It is also in the preface that the rule for the beginning of the year is set out for the first time, another norm dutifully observed across the chronicle.

*Licet autem in vere creatum mundum acceperimus nos tamen Romanorum auctoritatem sequentes a kalendis Ianuarii annum inchoamus.*¹⁹⁷

Yet although we have accepted that the world was created in spring, we have nevertheless decided to begin the year on the kalends of January, following the authority of the Romans.

The annals run in perfect sequence in the same hand from Incarnation to 1225. They are then continued, in a much less orderly manner and in at least three other later hands, down to 1307.¹⁹⁸ Stubbs observed a change in script after the end of the 1225-annal, precisely at the point where the text ceased to survive in CMV.¹⁹⁹ He consequently regarded the rest of the annals of little value, mainly derivative.²⁰⁰ Kay, on the other hand, rejected this assessment, insisting that there was no change in scribal hand, and that the rest of the annals down to 1307 should be regarded as

¹⁹⁷ A, fol. 22v; this is reiterated later in the text: *Hic interferredum puto quod annos Domini domini dupliciter sumimur. Uno modo secundum annos Romanorum qui in kalendis Ianuarii annum incipiunt alio modo secundum unum anno integri revolutionem scilicet a Nativitate ad Nativitatem. Iuxta igitur primum modum primum annum Domini dicimus*, A, fols. 39v-40r.

¹⁹⁸ Like Stubbs before me, I have decided not to include these annals in the edition. They clearly have nothing in common with the mind that produced the annals down to 1225. However, it would be mistaken to dismiss them as parasitic, for even though they do not further our understanding of the 1–1225 annals contained in the manuscript, it can still offer some insights into the later history of the volume.

¹⁹⁹ A, fol. 112r.

²⁰⁰ WC, i, xlii.

part of the same narrative.²⁰¹ However, I would argue that the narrative in A ends at the same point where CMV (at this point L is illegible) also conclude. In A, the whole chronicle text was written below the ruled top-line.²⁰² It is on this leaf, which begins the post-1225 continuation, that the text is entered below the top-line.²⁰³ This disruption reflects a change in editorial practice, matched also in alterations to the general layout of the text and the change in hands after 1225.²⁰⁴ We are thus dealing with a chronicle that has a learned preface, begins with the Incarnation, and continues down to 1225.

The text of the Chronicle in A puzzled Stubbs, who concluded that the earlier part of it, namely the annals from Incarnation to 1201, was an epitome or abridgement of the *Intermediate Compilation*.²⁰⁵ Kay followed this but adjusted it by suggesting that A was an epitome of a copy of L.²⁰⁶ The text of A displays the same arrangement of narratives that appear in L but it is impossible, as I demonstrate below, for A to descend from L.

²⁰¹ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 143, n.4. Two things should be noted here: first, that Kay, as he himself admits, spent very little time with the manuscript ('during my brief examination of the Arms codex', Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 166). Second, that his aim was to back up his own view of how the text evolved. If he had conceded to Stubbs, then that would have created serious problems for the A's place in his *stemma codicum*.

²⁰² N.R. Ker showed this to be a point of great importance in the history of scribal practice and we can follow it to mark a transition not only in hands but also in age at the end of the 1225 annal, Ker, R., 'From 'above top line' to 'below top line': A Change in Scribal Practice', *Celtica* 5 (1960), 13-16.

²⁰³ A, fol. 106r.

²⁰⁴ After fol. 106v, rubricated headings disappear, while text begins to 'grow' under several hands.

²⁰⁵ WC, i, xxxviii and xli: '[the writer's] extracts from Benedict and Hoveden are very brief indeed, in many cases scarcely exceeding the dimensions of a rubric. [...] It is, as has been said, a very abstract of Marianus, Florence, Benedict, and Hoveden, with the intermediate spaces filled up from other sources, partly of a local character'.

²⁰⁶ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 150.

The text represented by A was produced by either summarising or omitting text from his source, thus creating an abbreviated account of a larger exemplar. However, A's earlier annals (1–1201) are not a simple abridgement for significant passages were added to them, which went unnoticed by Kay, because he did not examine the manuscript closely enough. Indeed, it will be shown below that these passages were added into the abridgement at a stage earlier than that which saw the production of A (let alone L). The epitome in A, far from being a simple abridgement of the longer narrative witnessed in L, actually provides the key for unlocking the various stages of composition which ended in the recensions of two separate – although similar to some extent – compilations, one of which covered the period from 1 to 1225 AD, which was more sophisticated (and is best attested in A), and used more sources. The other covers Creation to 1225 and, although longer, it was a less ambitious composition as it merely juxtaposed known texts (and is attested in L). The former is what I have called the *Crowland Chronicle*. All these statements will be demonstrated below.

III. From the 'Intermediate Compilation' to the *Crowland Chronicle*

6. British Library Cotton Claudius A.v (S)

English, saec. xiv²

200 fos.; two columns, (44 lines to a page)

240 × 170 mm (210 × 150 mm)

A number of unrelated texts were bound together in this manuscript and it would be confusing to list them here in their entirety.²⁰⁷ Instead, only the material germane to the present discussion will be examined, that on fos. 2r-45v, which is a chronicle covering the years 654 to 1368. No part of the text was written before the chronicle's *terminus*. The text has been known as the 'Chronicle of John of Peterborough', from a sixteenth-century *ex-libris* inscription. It was first printed by Joseph Sparke in 1723 and then again by J.A. Giles in 1845.²⁰⁸ The title is a misnomer, as Liebermann argued long ago that the chronicle was probably composed at the Abbey of Spalding in Lincolnshire, 10 miles north of Crowland Abbey and 20 miles from Peterborough.²⁰⁹ As Kay observed, there are far more references to Spalding than to Peterborough, especially after 1229.²¹⁰ The manuscript has been given the siglum S. It has been previously noted that the manuscript may be related to both A and L in different ways. I shall discuss the 654–1226 in what follows, by first breaking them down into distinct annal sections in order to trace the various textual correlations.

(a) 654–868 – written in a late-fourteenth century hand on vellum. The annal for 868 stops halfway through the folio and the rest is left blank. There is some decoration on this otherwise austere text: monochrome diamonds are painted in the top margin.

²⁰⁷ A list of items may be found in Planta, J. (ed.), *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, deposited in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1802), 189.

²⁰⁸ Sparke, J. (ed.), *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores varii, e codicibus manuscriptis, nunc primum editi*, Caxton Society, 2vols. (London 1723), ii, 1-114; Giles, J. A. (ed.), *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense* (London, 1845)

[hereafter *CAP*]; E.D. Kennedy, 'Chronicon Angliae Petroburgense' in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 291.

²⁰⁹ Liebermann, 'Über ostenglische', 235-6.

²¹⁰ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 162.

(b) 869–89 – written in a sixteenth-century hand on paper.²¹¹ Twelve leaves of paper are added to a folio left partially blank. The text bears no mark of corrections or annotations. The annals go on in perfect sequence. The annal for 870 is exceptionally long, running to nearly seven pages in Giles' edition, while the rest of the annals never exceed a page in length.²¹²

(c) 890–1226 – written in the same hand as the text in (a) on vellum. The annal for 890 begins halfway through the folio. The same diamond decoration style resumes.

This mysterious arrangement cannot be easily explained. The editors did not comment on the presence of the early modern inset.²¹³ At first sight, the 'continuation' in item (b) might appear as an interpolation, especially that the texts of items (a) and (c) show continuity in script and decoration, although leaving half of their respective folios blank.²¹⁴ It is however, possible, though by no means certain, that the text of the 869-89 annals was originally entered on a new quire, but someone in the sixteenth century had the quire replaced, perhaps damaged by then, with a transcript of its text written on paper and inserted it. The annal for 870, the most substantial of the section, is identical with the corresponding text found in 'Ingulf's Chronicle of the abbey of Crowland', known as *Historia Croylandensis*,

²¹¹ S, fols. 5v-9r.

²¹² CAP, 15-22.

²¹³ The more recent British Library online catalogue entry (accessed 15 September 2013) takes note of 'an early modern continuation, AD 869–889', but does not make any comments.

²¹⁴ This is the intriguing bit: The annal for 868 ends on fol. 5v while the rest of the leaf is filled in the sixteenth-century hand which continues down to the 889-annal on fol. 9r, at which point the rest of the leaf and the verso as well are left blank. The narrative continues with the 890-annal on fol. 10r in exactly the same style as the section before the early modern inset.

written by at least three anonymous authors in the mid-fifteenth century, of which only a copy survives.²¹⁵

A close examination of S shows that it is closely related to A. Stubbs hinted at some affiliation between texts contained in the two manuscripts but did not develop his suggestion.²¹⁶ Kay pointed out that A and S share some material but he thought A was a copy of L and S a copy of L's archetype. Accordingly, he concluded that A and S were not closely related.²¹⁷

The relationship between manuscripts A and S, so important to this study, will be explored in four steps. It will become evident that:

1. A and S contain an epitomised version of the pre-1202 text of the compilation preserved in L (A starting at Incarnation, S in 654); that A and S often share the exact epitomised text, suggesting that they shared a common archetype.
2. A and S share material entirely absent from L, demonstrating that their archetype was not only L, or L's exemplar.

²¹⁵ London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B.xiii. For this controversial text, see *Fulman, W. (ed.), Rerum Anglicarum scriptorum veterum tom. I. Quorum Ingulfus nunc primum integer, cæteri nunc primum prodeunt* (Oxford, 1684), i, 1-132, 449-593 [hereafter Hist. Croy.]; translation in Riley, H.T. (trans.), *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the Continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers* (London, 1854); Searle, W.G., *Ingulf and the Historia Croylandensis: an Investigation Attempted* (Cambridge, 1894); Roffe, D., 'The Historia Croylandensis: a Plea for Reassessment', in *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 93-108. The chronicle will receive a detailed discussion in chapter 3 for its relevance to the history of A and in relation to its authorship.

²¹⁶ 'The foreign entries are from Marianus; the English ones are not from the text of Florence [JW], but from an abridgment. It is in these abridged notices that the similarity between John of Peterborough and the Barnwell MS. is traces', *WC*, i, xlii n.2.

²¹⁷ see Kay's stemma above.

3. A and S are independent of each other because each manuscript's abridgment contains details from L that the other lacks, demonstrating that A and S drew material from their common archetype independently.

4. All this therefore shows that A and S descend independently from a common ancestor which shared material with L but was not L or L's exemplar.

1. A and S contain an abbreviated version of the pre-1202 text of the compilation preserved in L

Prior to 1202, A and S share significant passages in almost every annal. The overwhelming majority of these are an abridged version of longer material in the pre-1202 section of L. To illustrate this, four passages stretching from the seventh to the eleventh centuries are examined below.

A, fol. 53v; CAP (S), 1, s.a. 655

Oswius rex, devicto rege Merciorum Penda, Mercios ad Christum converti fecit, et episcopum de Scotorum gente illis constituit.

L, fol. 96r, s.a. 655 (JW, ii, 105-106)

Perfidus rex Merciorum Penda... Osuualdi regum Nordanhymbrorum occisor... in loco qui dicitur Winuuidfeldam occurrit. Inito certamine, fugati sunt et cesi pagani, duces regum xxx qui ad auxilium venerant pene omnes interfecti... Hoc bellum rex Osuuiu in regione Loidis xiii regni sui anno xvii die kalendarum Decembrium confecit, gentemque Merciorum ad fidem Christi convertit, sub quo primus in provincia Merciorum et Lindisfarorum ac Mediterraneorum Anglorum factus est episcopus Diuna Scottus cuius supra meminimus, secundus Ceollah de genere Scottorum.

A, fol. 55r; CAP (S), 4, s.a. 705

Herebertus rex Longobardorum multa patrimonia a predecesoribus suis ablata, sedi apostolice restituit et donationem istam aureis litteris notavit. Alfridus Northanimbrorum rex obit. Ordinatio beati Guthlaci. Iustinianus auxilio regis Wulgarorum regnum recepit regnavitque annis sex. Leonem et Tiberium occidit, aliosque expulsionis sue cooperatores. Gallicano etiam patriarcha ex oculato loco eius substituit Cyrum.

L, fol. 101r, s.a. 705 (JW, ii, 162-164)

Hereberhtus rex Longobardorum multas curtes et patrimonia Alpium Cottiarum que et quondam ad ius pertinebant apostolice sedis, sed, a Longobardis multo tempore fuerant ablata, restituit iuri eiusdem sedis et hanc donationem aureis scriptam litteris Romam direxit. Alhfrid rex Northanhymbrorum in Diffelda xix kalend Ianuarii defunctus est [...] Romanorum septuagesimus secundus regnavit Iustinianus secundus cum Tiberio filio suo annis sex usque in annum septingentesimum post passionem. Hic auxilio Interpelli regis Wlgarorum regnum recipiens occidit eos, qui se expulerunt patricos et Leonem, qui locum eius usurpaverat, necnon et successorem eius Tiberium. Gallanicum autem patriarcham, erutis oculis, misit Romam et dedit episcopatum Ciro...

A, fol. 65v; CAP (S), 45, s.a. 1036

Filii regis Alfredus et Edwardus filii Egelredi, cum multo Normannorum comitatu ad matrem veniunt, ubi, Alfredo dolo Godwini perfidi excecato, Edwardus a matre Normanniam remittitur.

L, fol. 133r, s.a. 1036 (JW, ii, 522–524)

Innocentes clitones Alfredus et Aeduardus Athelredi quondam regis Anglorum filii de Normannia, ubi cum Ricardo avunculo suo manserant tempore longo, multis Normannicis militibus secum assumptis, in Angliam paucis transvecti navibus ad sue graviterque ferebant potentes nonnulli quia, licet iniustum esset, Haroldo multo devotiores extitere quam illis, maxime ut fertur comes Goduinus.

Hic quidem Alfredum, cum versus Ludoniam ad regis Haroldi colloquium ut mandaratur properaret, retinuit, et artam in custodiam posuit. Sociorum vero illius quosdam disturbavit, quosdam catenavit, et postea cecavit. [...] Quo audito, regina Alfgiva filium suum Eaduardum qui secum ramansit maxima cum festinatione Normanniam remisit.

A, fol. 68r; CAP (S), 61, s.a. 1086

Tota Anglia iussu regis describitur; hic dicitur Rotula Wincestrie²¹⁸, quantum terre quantumque pecunie quivis haberet. Eodem anno fidelitatem regi omnem iurabant Saresbyrie contra omnes homines. Aeris intemperies et animalium pestis

L, fol. 133r, s.a. 1086 (JW, ii, 42–44)

Willelmus rex fecit describi omnem Angliam, quantum terre quisque baronum suorum possidebat, quot feudatos milites, quot carrucas, quot villanos, quot animalia, immo quantum vive pecunie quisque possidebat in omni regno suo, a maximo usque ad minimum, et quantum redditus queque possessio reddere poterat: et vexata est terra multis cladibus inde procedentibus. [...] Nec multo post mandavit ut archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, comites, barones, vicecomites, cum suis militibus, die kalendarum Augustarum sibi occurrerent Saresbirie, quo cum venissent, milites illorum sibi fidelitatem contra omnes homines iurare coegit. [...] Eodem anno animalium pestis, et magna extitit aeris intemperies.

In these four instances, A and S agree perfectly with each other, suggesting a common ancestor. Moreover, the text of A and S is clearly an abridgement, not a

²¹⁸ The name of the Domesday Book as the 'Winchester Rolls' was not taken from JW, but constitutes one of the many interpolations of the A-text.

copy of the text represented by L, which itself is conveying the text of *JW*, through the lens of the *Cronica Mariani*. A and S continue to condense the text as witnessed by L down to 1201. After that, A and L share the same text while S alone abridges the text of A and L down to 1225, only occasionally containing whole passages identical to those in A and L.

2. A and S share material entirely absent from L.

A and S can be shown to share significant text absent from L. Two examples will illustrate this. The first comes from the annal for 1041 (s.a. 1042 in S):

A, s.a. 1041 (fol. 66r)

Hiis temporibus corpus Pallantis filii Evandri Rome repertum est incorruptum et ad caput eius lucerna arte ardens mechanica. Corpus ad menia applicatum ea altitudine vicit. Vulnus quod ei in pectore fecisse dicitur. Turnus quatuor pedum erat latitudinis.

S, s.a. 1042 (Giles, CAP, 46)

Corpus Pallantis filii Evandri circa haec tempora repertum est illibatam: hiatus vulneris, quod in pectore eius lancea Turni fecerat, quatuor pedum et dimidii erat. Ardens lucerna ad caput eius arte mecanica inextinguibilis inventa est, et corpus levatum et ad muros applicatum urbis Romanae, eos altitudine vicit; taleque erat eius epitaphium:

Filium Evandri Pallas, quem lancea Turni

Militis occidit, morte sua iacet hic.

L does not contain any trace of this account. The 1041 and 1042 annals continue to reproduce the text of *JW*.²¹⁹ This text is derived from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta*

²¹⁹ L, fols. 124r, 133v; *JW*, ii, 532-534.

Regum Anglorum.²²⁰ But A and S do not contain identical accounts: S is unmistakably closer to the *Gesta Regum* than A:

Tunc corpus Pallantis filii Evandri, de quo Virgilius narrat, Romae repertum est illibatum, ingenti stupore omnium quod tot secula incorruptione sui superavit: quod ea sit natura conditorum corporum, ut, carne tabescente, cutis exterior nervos, nervi ossa contineant. Hiatus vulneris quod in medio pectore Turnus fecerat, quatuor pedibus et semis mensuratum est. Epitaphium hujusmodi repertum:

*Filius Evandri Pallas, quem lancea Turni
Militis occidit more suo, jacet hic.*²²¹

But, on other occasions, A preserves more of the original source than S. Another example comes from 891:

A, s.a. 891 (fol. 66r)

Iohannes Scottus monachus Malmisbirie obit. Hic ob bellorum tumultum diu apud Karolum Caluum conversatus est ubi et Ierarchiam Dyonisii eiusdem rogatu in Latinam linguam transtulit aliaque opuscula composuit qui Alfredi illectus beneficentia magistrum puerorum apud Malmesbiriā fratres grafiis ut dicitur discipulorum confossus est.

S, s.a. 891 (Giles, CAP, 26)

Johannes Scottus monachus Malmesberii obiit, confossus, ut dicitur, graphiis puerorum, quorum magister erat.

This time, the texts of A and S draw on William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*.²²²

This passage, like many others, was not among those John of Worcester borrowed

²²⁰ Mynors, R.A.B., Thomson, R.M., Winterbottom, M. (eds.), *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Regum Anglorum*, Oxford Medieval Texts, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998-2002) [hereafter *GRA*].

²²¹ *GRA*, i, 206.

²²² Winterbottom, M., Thomson, R.M. (eds.), *William of Malmesbury: Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2007) [hereafter *GP*].

from William that were ultimately transmitted into L.²²³ A supplies more detail than S and is closer to the *Gesta Pontificum*.²²⁴ Between the annals for 891 and 1097, A and S contain more text from William of Malmesbury's works than has been shown here. These instances will be highlighted in my edition. In each instance, A and S share text with those passages from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* or *Gesta Pontificum* absent from L.

An exceptional departure from the text of L in both A and S occurs under 1139, the year when, as Henry of Huntingdon noted, 'there was no peace in the realm, but through murder, burning, and pillage everything was being destroyed, everywhere the sound of war, with lamentation and terror'.²²⁵ It was the beginning of the civil war between King Stephen and Empress Matilda. L preserves the words quoted above, which belong to book X of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*. They are succeeded by eighteen elegiac verses, which embody Huntingdon's lamentation at the state of the realm.²²⁶ When the texts of A and S reached that point in their narratives, however, they gave Huntingdon a Virgilian touch:

A, s.a. 1139 (fol. 72r)

Imperatrix Matildis filia Henrici in Angliam venit. Huic terra iurata erat. Ubique per Angliam cedes, ubique incendia nusquam quies.

S, s.a. 1139 (CAP, 90)

Matildis imperatrix, filia regis Henrici, cui Angli fidelitatem juraverant, per Robertum comitem Gloverniae, fratrem suum, accersita, venit in Angliam. Ubique ergo in terra caedes et incendia, et plurima mortis imago, nusquam tuta quies.

²²³ JW, ii, lxxi.

²²⁴ GP, i, 240.5.

²²⁵ 'pax in regno nulla, cedibus, incendiis, rapinis, omnia exterminabantur, clamor et luctus et horror ubique' HH, cap. x, 724-725.

²²⁶ Quis mihi det fontem.... consimilisque lues, HH, 724.

The expression *plurima mortis imago* ('many an image of death') belongs to book II of the *Aeneid*, where Virgil describes the sack of Troy.²²⁷ *Nusquam tuta quies* ('nowhere is peace protected') is perhaps an allusion to the words *nusquam tuta fides* ('nowhere is trust safe'), which belong to book IV of the *Aeneid*; unless perhaps they are an allusion to John of Fruttuaria's *Tractatus de ordine vitae et morum institutione* (11th c.), formerly attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux.²²⁸

To the examples given above, others may be adduced, such as exotic Eastern accounts drawn from William of Tyre's *Historia* present under the years 910–11 in A and S. I shall discuss all these interpolations more fully in the comments to the edition.

The use of all these sources in similar ways by A and S suggests that not only did they use sources other than L or L's exemplar but that these sources were actually present in their common archetype, rather than each drawing on them in a similar way.

3. A and S are independent of each other

²²⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2.368-369.

²²⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.373, 'nusquam tuta pax, proh dolor! nusquam tuta quies; ubique bella, undique hostes' *PL* 189, 578; see also Wilmart, A., *Auteurs spirituels et Textes Dévots du Moyen Âge Latin. Études d'Histoire Littéraire* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1932), 94-8.

It has so far been shown that A and S abridged the text preserved in L and that they contain material absent from L. But some of the examples given above show that A and S sometimes contain different readings. It is now the moment to examine whether A and S worked independently or one is a copy of another. A was produced more than a century prior to the writing of S, so it cannot be a copy of the latter, though it could still be a copy of a manuscript that S copied. The converse is equally impossible, for S preserves, on occasion, significant text absent from A, which cannot have been interpolated at a later date. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this.

One example comes from the 1135 annal of the L-text, which conveys the text of book vii of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*.²²⁹ It contains the account of King Henry's last days and Huntingdon's elegiac verses, with which the seventh book ends. A records Henry's death in a brief sentence and does not reproduce the verses.²³⁰ The S-text, on the other hand, contains both the obituary and a perfect copy of the verses.²³¹

The other example comes from 1193 and is concerned with the arrangements for King Richard's ransom. Below are the only entries under 1193 in A and S which refer to Richard's ransom.

A, s.a. 1193 (fol. 75v)

S, s.a. 1193 (CAP, 108-9)

²²⁹ *HH*, 492-3.

²³⁰ A, fol. 71v.

²³¹ *CAP*, 88.

Dux Austrie vendidit Ricardum regem Angliae imperatori Henrico pro c milia marcas. [...]

[...] imprudentiam capitur; et duci Limpoldo, deinde imperatori Henrico oblatus, primo Treveris, deinde Warmaciae, strictius observatur, usquequo centum et quinquaginta millia marcarum imperatori et duci persolveret [...]

The *centum quinquaginta millia marcarum* mentioned in S is taken from the *Howden* element of the large compilation:

*‘Dominus rex dabit imperatori centum millia marcarum puri argenti ad pondus Colonie, et alia quinquaginta millia marcarum argenti pro auxilio, quod deberet conferre imperatori ad Apuliam acquirendam’.*²³²

A and S continue to agree to some extent in the 1202–25 section of their respective texts as well. For example, A and S agree perfectly on the list of rebels under 1215, although this time, S is epitomising the text shared by A and L:

A, s.a. 1215 (fol. 86r), L, s.a. 1215 (fol. 299r):

In parte adversa erant Gaufridus de Maundevilla comes Essexie, quem rex cingulo militari doneverat, quique regi in xix millibus marcarum obligatus erat pro comitissa Gloucestrie quondam uxore sua, quam iste nuper acceperat; Saer comes Wintonie, quem rex pro hereditate uxoris comitem creaverat; Rogerus comes Clarensis; Henricus comes Herefordie; Rogerus Bigot comes Nortfolkie; et David comes, et comes Robertus de Ver; ex episcopis autem Egidius Herefordensis, qui regi in ix. millibus marcarum tenebatur pro hereditate paterna, quam rex confiscaverat primo et postmodum illi reddiderat. Ex proceribus autem Robertus filius Walteri, Eustacius de Vesci, cum aquilonaribus supradictis et pluribus aliis quos longum esset enumerare.

S (CAP, 119-20):

²³² L, fol. 251r (printed in *WC*, ii, 35).

*Contra regem stabant viriliter Galfridus de Mandavilla comes
Essexie, Saerus Quincy comes Wintonie, Rogerus comes Clarensis,
Henricus comes Herefordensis, Rogerus Bigot comes Norfolcie,
David comes Huntingtonie, et Robertus comes de Ver, et Egidius
episcopus Herefordensis, ex proceribus; Robertus filius Walteri,
Eustachius de Vesci et multi alii'*

There is evidence that A and S share some important text down to 1225, the point where our chronicle ends, before being continued in different ways in the various manuscripts.

A large section of the 1225-annal contains Falkes de Breauté's *Querimonia*, the defence laid before the pope after Falkes downfall in England.²³³ The *Querimonia* is also the longest document in the chronicle. The S-text contains an imperfect last part of the *Querimonia*, indicating that the A and S textual partnership remains valid throughout the chronicle.²³⁴ For all this shared material, A and S are not a copy of each other, but independent witnesses to the same exemplar.

4. A and S descend from a common ancestor

Because A and S are mutually independent while they both preserve readings from the text represented by L, they both derive their text from a recension which included a fuller version of an abridgement of the compilation witnessed by L, now lost, which may be reconstructed using the text of A and S. This also takes into account the impossibility of A and S being independent abridgments of the text represented by L, since there are too many significant shared readings between the two versions.²³⁵

²³³ WC, ii, 259-72.

²³⁴ 'Hoc tempore Falchasius curiam Romanam adiens, gravem querelam de justitiariis regis Angliae, et totius terrae episcopis, in audientia domini papse proposuit, dicens: "Piissime pater...'", CAP, 128-9, s.a. 1226 (the texts of A and L preserve the *Querimonia Falcasii* under 1225).

²³⁵ The consistency of the shared readings between A and S will be evidenced in my edition.

Indeed, they help identify a lost archetype, which I have chosen to designate θ . The relationship between A and S can be illustrated this way:

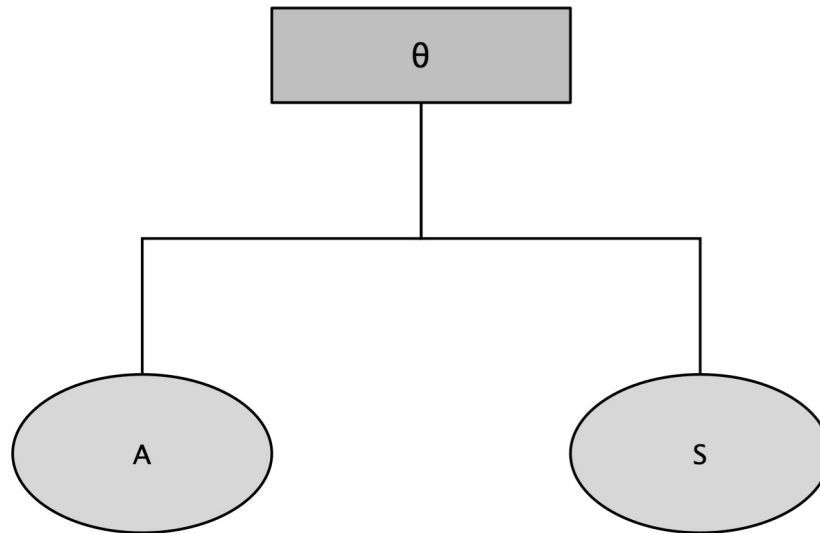


Illustration.18 Diagram showing the relationship of MS Arundel 10 (A) and MS Cotton Claudius A.v and their common parent θ , now lost.

Now that A and S have been shown to descend from θ , we turn our attention to the relationship that these two manuscripts and θ have with L. For this, we must examine the 1155-69 and 1177-80 annals in L. They contain the transitional annal sets entered to fill the gap left by the end of the Creation–1154 and 1170–7 sections of L, which correspond to the *John of Worcester-Henry of Huntingdon (JW+HH)* section and the *Gesta Regis section*, respectively. Both sets of transitional or ‘interstitial’ annals are present in A and S, with some significant variation. Stubbs noticed the presence of these annals in ACMV but thought they originated in ‘the Barnwell chronicle or its prototype’ and did not examine them further.²³⁶ Kay did not

²³⁶ WC, i, xxxviii.

investigate them either but stated that the annals were transmitted from his archetype α into A through L.²³⁷

Stubbs' view, despite its lack of elaboration, still has some merit, because A is a copy of θ . Kay's view, on the other hand, relies on A's dependence on L and on the assumption that A, though adding material from narratives outside L, is a copy of the latter. In what follows, I will show this to be untenable and provide my own reading of the evidence.

I shall begin by introducing the two annal-sets. The first thing that may be noted is the disruption they cause in the overall aspect of the narrative in L. Indeed, the two annal sets mark two interregna in the L-compilation. They are much shorter than the rest of the component-texts and comparatively much terser. The text of the Creation–1154 annals ends in L on fol. 164v with the Marianist *explicit*. The first set of transitional annals covering the period between 1155 and 1169 (hereafter referred to as *1155–69 annals*) were entered at the top of the next leaf (fol. 165r), not, as one would expect, in the 17-line blank space left under the *explicit*, where there was just enough space for the annals of 1155, 1156 and 1157.²³⁸

²³⁷ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 153.

²³⁸ The number of lines left blank under the *explicit* corresponds exactly to the number of lines (17) that the scribe required to enlist the first three annals on the next leaf.

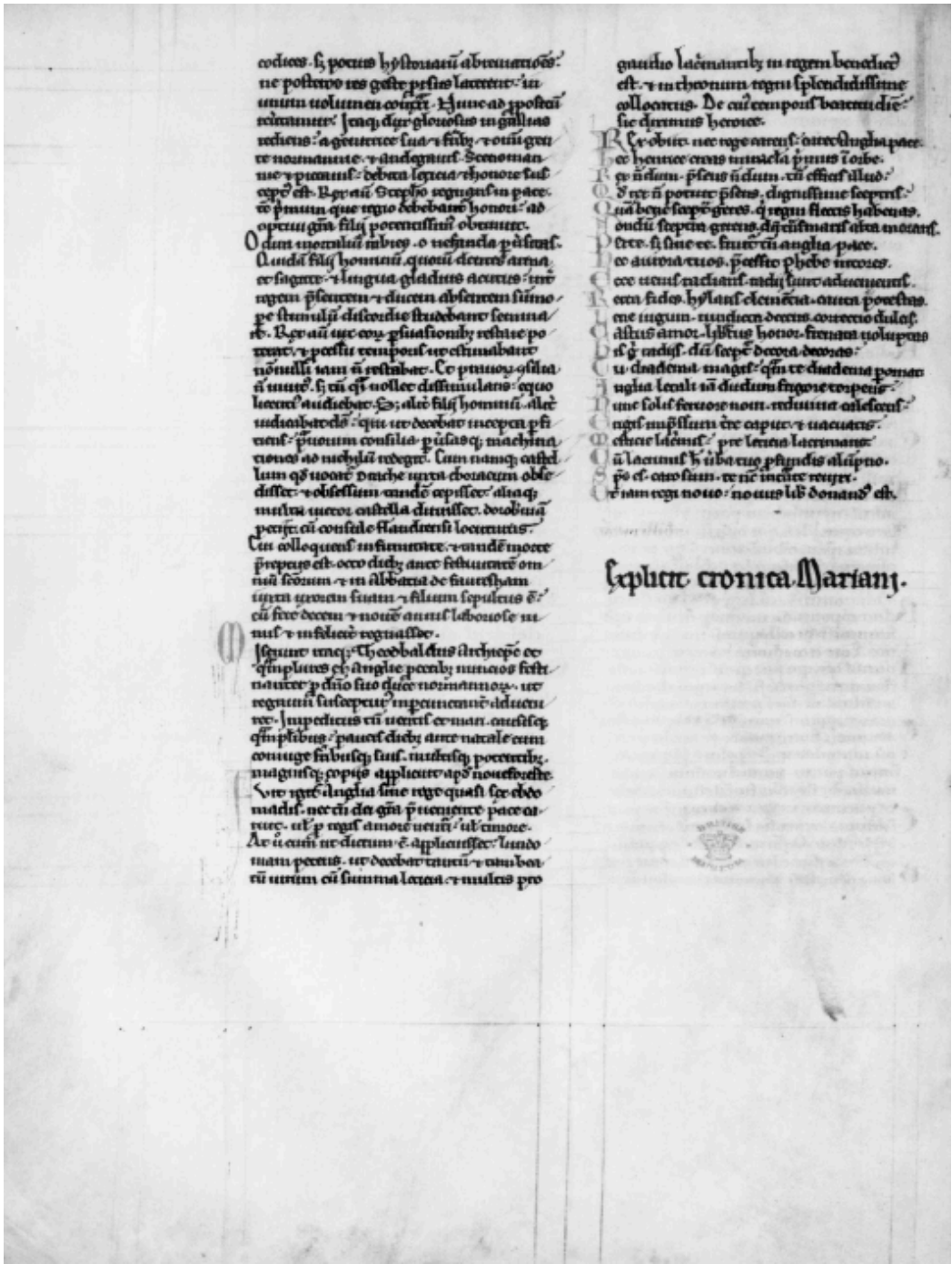


Illustration.19 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 164v showing the space left blank before the 1155-69 annals.

On the next leaf, the text of the 1155-annal is introduced by a beautiful decorated capital '*H*' followed by '*enricus secundus...*' (illustration.20).²³⁹

²³⁹ L, fol. 165r.

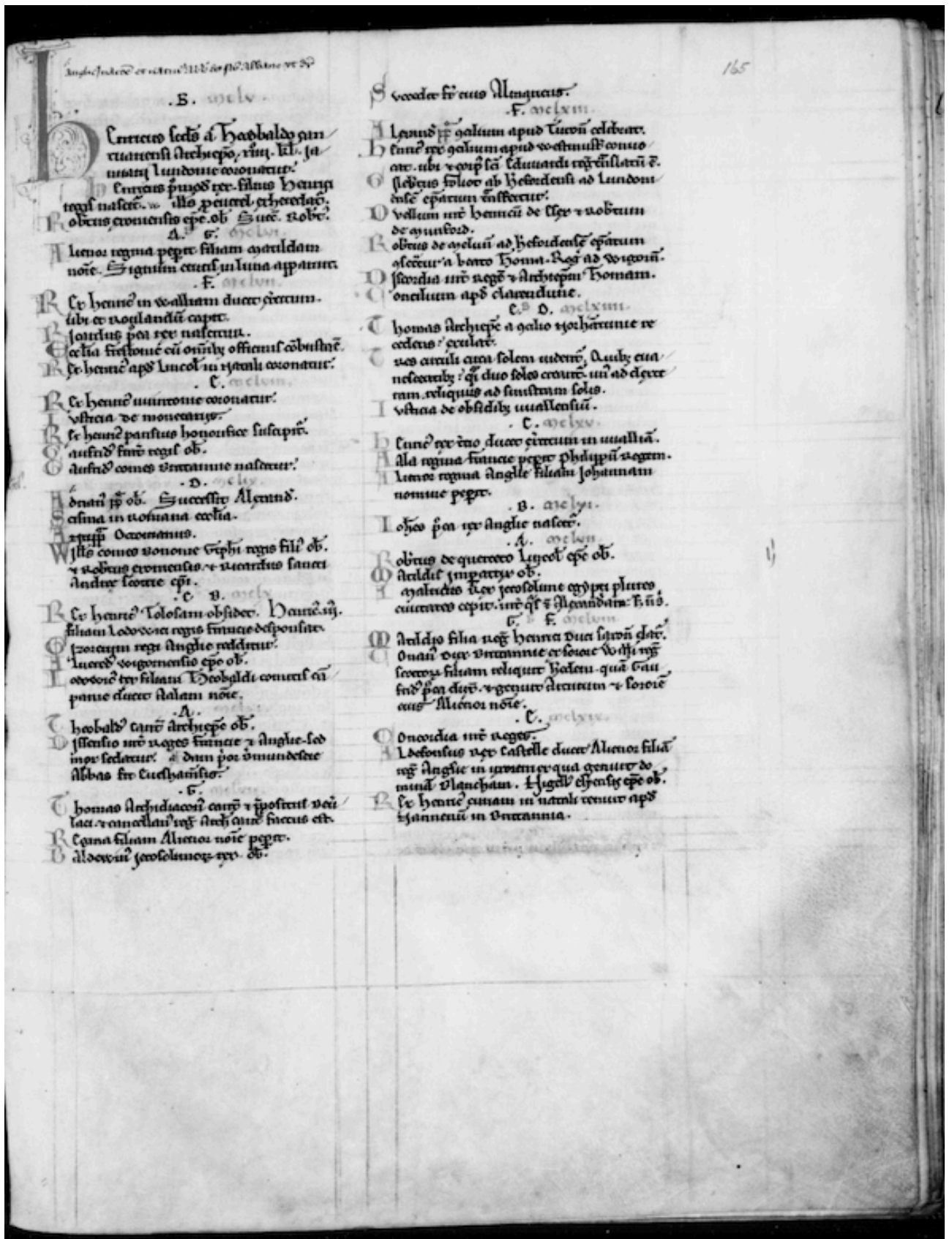


Illustration.20 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 165r showing the new sheet on which the interstitial annals 1155-69 were entered.

The end of the 1169 annal occurs on the second column at the bottom, above the last ruled line, so the 1155-69 annals take up almost one whole leaf in L. The 1155-69 annals contain brief notices whose source is not always certain.²⁴⁰ They share some material with the *Chronicle of Melrose*, a source used, in some form, by Howden in his *Chronica* for the annals from 1150 to 1168.²⁴¹ To take but one example, the annal for 1159 in L contains the following:

*Adrianus papa obit. Successit Alexander. Scisma in Romana ecclesia. Antipapa Octavianus. Willelmus comes Bononie Stefani regis filius obit et Robertus Exoniensis et Ricardus Sancti Andree Scotie episcopi.*²⁴²

The *Chronicle of Melrose* and Howden's *Chronica* contain the obit for pope Adrian IV, name the successor, mention the schism, the antipope and William's death.²⁴³

The obit of bishop Robert of Exeter is absent and when it comes to the bishop of Saint Andrew's, the annal of 1159 makes a mistake by calling him Richard when his name was in fact Robert.²⁴⁴ All these notices are also in A but only some are in S.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ L, fol. 165r; A, fol. 72v–73r (they are printed in *WC*, i, 184–6 but Stubbs only printed the readings of C (CCCC MS 175). In the texts of A and S, they are longer.

²⁴¹ Broun, D., Harrison, J. (eds.), *The Chronicle of Melrose abbey: a Stratigraphic Edition* (Woodbridge, 2007), i, CD-ROM; Duncan, A. A. M., 'Sources and Uses of the Chronicle of Melrose', *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland 500–1297*, ed. S. Taylor (Dublin, 2000), 146–185, 146–185.

²⁴² L, fol. 165r.

²⁴³ BL, Cotton MS Faustina B.ix, fol. 19r-v; *RH*, i, 216–7.

²⁴⁴ Robert of Scone, bishop from 1123.

²⁴⁵ 'Adrianus papa obiit: successit Alexander III. Hie vicit quatuor schismaticos: Octavianum, Guidonem, Johannem Strumensem, et Laudonem. Primus se fecit vocari Victorem, secundus Paschalem, tertius Kalixtum, quartus Innocentium, quorum tres fuerunt presbyteri cardinales, qui per papam excommunicato mala morte perierunt: Fredericum Romanorum, et Emanuel Graecorum imperatores, Willelmum Siculum, et Lombardos, ad unitatem ecclesiae revocavit. Willelmus comes Bolonise, Stephani regis filius, obiit.', *CAP*, 97.

Since a detailed discussion of these annals would serve but little the aim of my argument, I leave them for now and examine them more closely in the commentary to the edition.

The 1177–80 set of annals (hereafter *1177-80 annals*), however, requires closer attention. L follows the *Gesta Regis* down to the word ‘*preditus*’ under 1177, as has been pointed out above. The 1177-annal in L does not end there, but carries the narrative forward with a sequence of four items, which are also present, with some variation, in A and S.²⁴⁶

(a) Rex Iohannem filium suum dominum Hibernie constituit distribuita Hibernia hominibus suis qui inde homagium et fidelitatem eidem Iohanni fecerunt.

(b) Benedictus a prioratu Cantuarie promotus est in abbatem sancti Petri Burgi

(c) Salomon a prioratu Helyensi promotus est in abbatem Thorneie

(d) Hoilandia submersa est vii idus Ianuarii (7 January 1177). Inundatione maris solitum cursum diffusius excedente unde infinita hominum et animalium multitudo aquis intercepta perit

None of these items is original; items (a)(b)(c) epitomise the *Gesta Regis*;²⁴⁷ (d) is from Roger of Howden’s *Chronica*, yet from a section of it that L does not cover.²⁴⁸

This is an important matter that will be discussed presently in greater detail.

²⁴⁶ L, fol. 198r; A, fol. 74r-74v; CAP, 103-4.

²⁴⁷ **(a)** corresponds to GRHS, i, 165; **(b)** to GRHS, i, 166; **(c)** to GRHS, i, 173.

²⁴⁸ RH, ii, 148; cf. WC, i, xxxvii.

Items (a) (b) (c) in fact feature in L *earlier*, under the same annal of 1177 in the section taken from the *Gesta Regis*. That they are repeated in an epitomised form by the same compiler under the same annal seems strange, for it is indeed unlikely that L epitomised and repeated its own text under the same annal. The same treatment may be observed in relation to the 1155-69 *annals* in L where the last item under the annal for 1169 abridges the opening text of the next year:

s.a. 1169. *Rex Henricus curiam in Natali tenuit apud Nannenum in Britannia.*²⁴⁹

The next annal is from the *Gesta Regis* and begins with this text:

s.a.1170 *Anno ab Incarnatione Domini mclxx Henricus rex Anglie filius Matildis Imperatricis tenuit curiam suam apud Namnetim in Britannia die Natalis Domini [...]*²⁵⁰

It becomes even more apparent that the interstitial annals were not originally the work of L because L's scribe gives two different forms, '*Nannenum*' and '*Namnetim*', for the city of Nantes. Though differences in spelling were not that unusual in the medieval period, the readings follow each other very closely in L and may tell us something valuable. They attest, perhaps better than anything else in L, to the collision of two compositions. The two spellings may have been written by the same scribe in L, but they belong to two different works. *Nannenum* reveals, as we shall see, the existence of an epitome made of an earlier version of the text to which L witnesses, which the scribe of L then used to fill the years covered by the 1155–69 annals.

²⁴⁹ L, fol. 165r.

²⁵⁰ L, fol. 165v; *GRHS*, i, 3.

Most importantly, this replication of material in L can be explained through the dating practice in A, demonstrating that the 1155–69 annals and the 1177–80 annals in L were copied from a source that used the same dating criteria as that found in the preface to A. The author of the preface in A stated that the year would begin on 1 January and that may be observed throughout the work.²⁵¹ In copying *RH*, L does not depart from Howden's practice, both in the *Gesta Regis* and in *RH*, of starting the year at Christmas with a notice of where the king held court.²⁵² The incongruity arising from the position of the Nantes Christmas court in the two narratives (under 1169 in A and under both 1169 *and* 1170 in L) may be accounted by the fact that the epitome represented by A required that the matter taken from other sources should be rearranged to conform to the dating convention stated at the beginning of the narrative, especially in the presence of conflicting rules about the start of the year. By placing the Christmas court under the 1169-annal, the text of A reveals a more sophisticated compilatory effort that goes beyond a mere juxtaposition of narratives. L, however, because the scribe was merely copying his sources, rather than actively compiling them (as in A), included the notice of the Nantes Christmas court under both 1169 *and* 1170, because both his sources recorded the event under different annals.

²⁵¹ A, fol. 22v, 'Licet autem in vere creatum mundum acceperimus nos tamen Romanorum auctoritatem sequentes a kalendis Ianuarii annum inchoamus'. Reginald Poole once suggested that 'towards the middle of the thirteenth century, however, there are definite symptoms of returning to the ancient pagan system [of reckoning from 1 January]', Poole, *Studies in chronology*, 26.

²⁵² Gillingham, 'Writing the Biography of Roger of Howden', 212; *RH*, iv, xxx.

The implication is that it becomes even more unlikely, if not impossible, for A to have been copied from L or from one of its derivatives. Rather, it may be the other way around, with L making the mistake of adding a line of text from A or A's source θ , without the account being repeated in the subsequent annal of the *Gesta Regis*. To this may even be added the fact that a two-line erasure stands under the last line of text in the 1169-annal. While it may not be possible to recover the text, it is plausible that as the L-scribe went on transcribing the next annal (1170) from the text of the retrieved θ , he realised that the annal was already present in the next section of the compilation (1170–7) and dutifully erased it. (illustration.22) The two erased lines invite such a hypothesis.

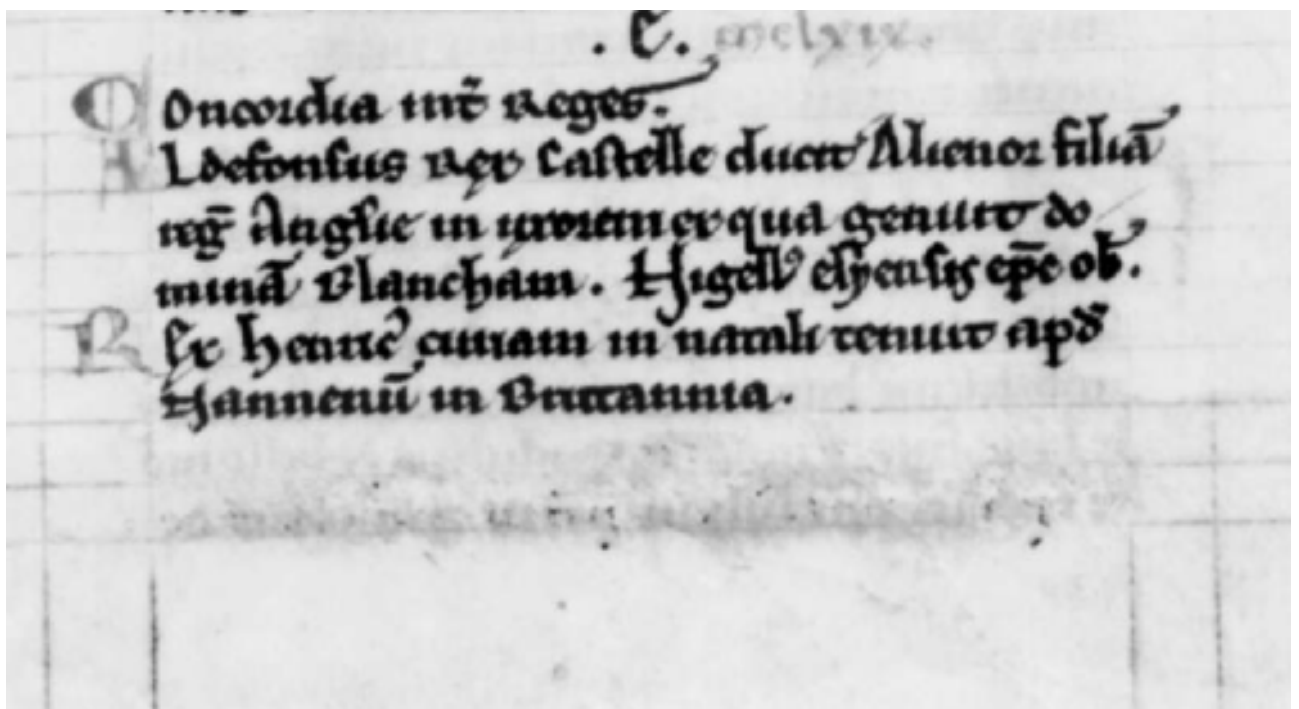


Illustration.21 BL MS Additional 35168 (L), fol. 165r showing the erasure s.a. 1169.

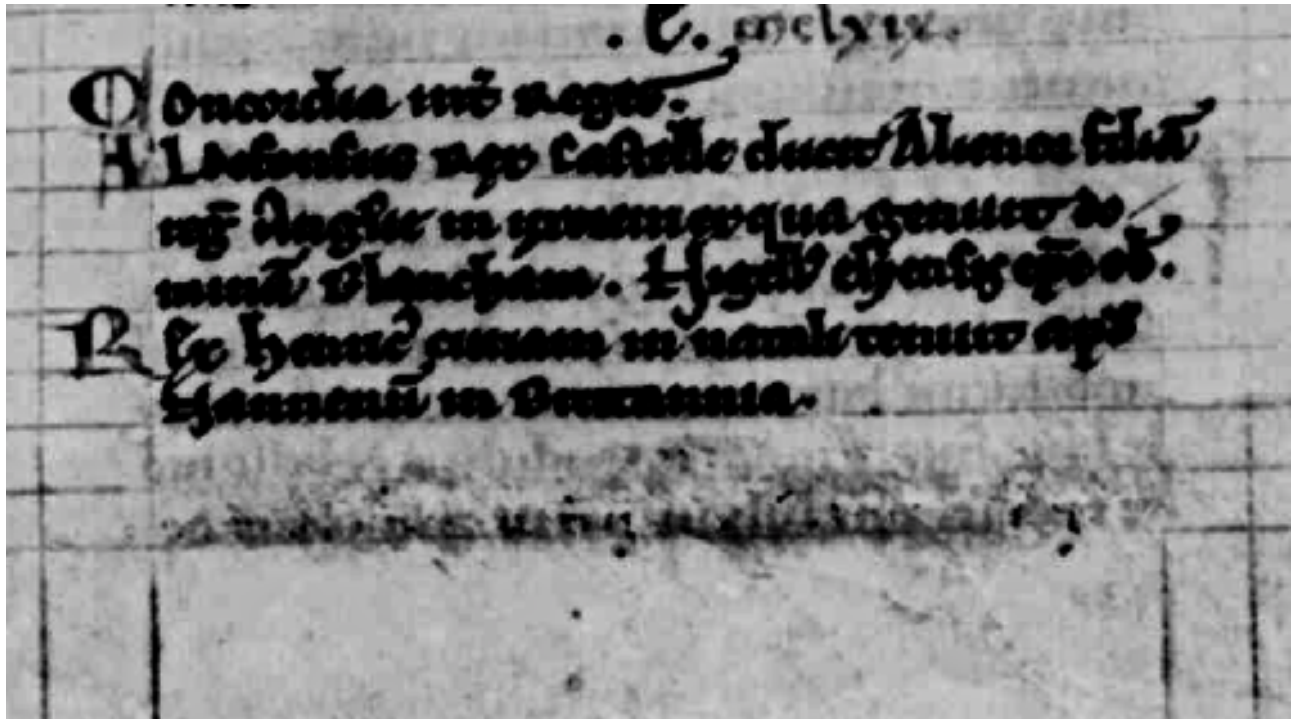


Illustration.22 The same passage but with different levels of contrast for emphasis.

The first line of the erasure seems to have been half the size of the other. The erasure on the first line appears to be confined to the centre and aligned with the rubric for 1169, where perhaps the 1170 annal heading once stood. The second line runs to the width of the ruled inside area, perhaps reflecting the first sentence in the 1170-annal of A.²⁵³

There is always the possibility that a careless scribe might have garbled the text in this way.

More plausible, however, is the view that L copied the texts of the 1155–69 annals from another manuscript. This is confirmed by the analysis of the 1177–80 annals,

²⁵³ A, fol. 73r, 'Coronatio iii Henrici regis filii'. If my hypothesis is correct, then the only two minims that go under the baseline on the second line correspond to the third minim of 'iii' and to the last minim of 'filii'. I have run the erasure under ultraviolet light but no further features became recognizable.

most of which can be traced back to Howden's *Gesta* and *Chronica*. The following table analyses the distribution of the 1177–80 annals in the manuscript record (illustration.23):

Annal entries in MS Arundel 10 (fol. 74r-v)	Manuscript attestation	Entries occurring in Roger of Howden's <i>Gesta Regis (GRHS)</i> and/or <i>Chronica</i>	Comments
s.a. 1177 - Rex Iohannem filium dominum Hibernie constituit distribuita Hibernia hominibus suis qui inde homagium et fidelitatem eidem Iohanni fecerunt.	ALS	GRHS, i, 165; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 135	
Benedictus abbas Burgi et Salomon Torneie.	ALS	GRHS, i, 166, 173; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 135	The election of Salomon is not mentioned in the <i>Chronica</i>
Pax inter reges Anglie et Francie seniores facta est, ea condicione, ut se uterque crucisignaret iter Ierosolimitanum aggressurus et Ricardus comes Aquitannie filiam Ludowici in uxorem acciperet.	A	GRHS, i, 191–4; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 143-6	
Inventio Sancti Amphibali.	A	GRHS, i, 175; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 136	
Introducti sunt canonici regulares in ecclesiam de Waltham rege Henrico id procurante.	AS	GRHS, i, 174; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 118	
Hoilandia submersa est vii Ides Ianuarii.	ALS	<i>Chronica</i> , ii, 148	Not mentioned in <i>GRHS</i>
s.a. 1178 - Eclipsis solis in festo Exaltationis Sancte Crucis.	ALS	-	Howden has a similar note before Christmas
Eboracus combusta est.	ALS	-	not attested elsewhere. S adds 'per incuriam cocorum'
Ricardus de Luci fundavit abbatiam apud Lednes.	ALS	GRHS, i, 238; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 190	The foundation is mentioned in the context of

			Richard's death
Rex Gaufridum filium suum cingulo militari donat.	AL	<i>GRHS</i> , i, 207; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 166	
Ricardus episcopus Sancti Andree obiit. Successit Iohannes.	AL	<i>GRHS</i> i, 250; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 208	
s.a. 1179 - Peregrinatio regis Lodowici et Willelmi archiepiscopi Remensis et Philippi comitis Flandrie ad Sanctum Thomam.	ALS	<i>GRHS</i> i, 241; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 167, 193	
Generale concilium Rome sub Alexandro papam.	AL	<i>GHRS</i> , i, 221-2; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 171	
Rogerus episcopus Wigornensis obit et Adehelmus decanus Lincolniensis et Ricardus de Luci.	AL	<i>GRHS</i> , i, xxx; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 194	
s.a. 1180 - Lodowicus rex Francie obiit. Successit Philippus filius eius.	AL	<i>GRHS</i> , i, 250; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 197	
Mutatio monete in Anglia.	AL	<i>GRHS</i> i, 263; <i>Chronica</i> , ii, 208	
Baldewinus abbas de Forda suscepit episcopatum Wigornie.	AL	-	
Translatio sancte Fritheswithe.	ALS	-	

Illustration.23 Table showing the origin and distribution of the annal entries s.a. 1177–80.

The flooding in the Holland area (s.a. 1177/8) and Louis of France at Becket's shrine (s.a. 1179)

The account of the flooding of the Holland area in Lincolnshire (d) occurs in A, L and in Howden's *Chronica* at the end of the 1177-annal. This deserves some clarification. It has been noted that Howden started the year at Christmas. The fact that (d) is entered towards the end of the annal may seem strange (given that the events took place in January 1177), but it seems that Howden, writing in the north of England, learned about the floods in the Fens years after they had occurred, because (d) is not present in the *Gesta*, which runs to 1192. David Corner has argued that Howden began writing his *Chronica* no sooner than 1192.²⁵⁴ Therefore, item (d) may have been added into the *Chronica* after 1192, fifteen years after the event, which is indeed surprising.

S gives the text under 1178, perhaps a mistake as in many parts of the chronicle, where entries are mindlessly displaced, sometimes by as many as two years.²⁵⁵ It is unlikely that, rather than a plain mistake, S reflected the ambiguity caused by Howden's entering an event that occurred in January of that year at the end of the annal which is supposed to start the year at Christmas.

²⁵⁴ Corner, 'Earliest manuscripts', 303.

²⁵⁵ The S-text makes a large number of errors of chronology, which are going to be noted in the comments to the edition.

RH, ii, 148 (s.a. 1177)	<i>Eodem anno factum est diluuium magnum in Holland, ruptis fossatis marinis, et diluit fere omnem substantiam illius provinciae, et homines multos submersit, vii idus Ianuarii (7 January).</i>
A, s.a. 1177, (fol. 74v)	<i>Hoilandia submersa est vii ides Ianuarii.</i>
L, s.a. 1177, (fol. 198r)	<i>Hoilandia submersa est vii idus Ianuarii. Inundatione maris solitum cursum diffusius excedente unde infinita hominum et animalium multitudo aquis intercepta periiit.</i>
S, s.a. 1178 (CAP, 103)	<i>Submersio Hollandiae, inundatione maris solitum cursum diffusius excedente; unde infinita hominum et animalium multitudo aquis intercepta est.</i>

The table makes it clear that L agrees with S against Howden's text. Because A often agrees with S against L, it is possible for L to have used the source of A and S, namely θ . More importantly, however, θ had access, for this annal at least, to a different copy of Howden's *Chronica* containing the text before 1180, which L, starting to copy Howden only from 1181, did not.

The way the 1177-80 annals are laid out in L is more peculiar and requires some comment. The 1177-80 annals contain, as we have seen, a short number of brief annalistic entries. These are not arranged, as one would expect, one below the other, as was the case for 1155–69. Instead, the 1177 and 1178 annals are entered on the recto of fol. 198 while the 1179 and 1180 take up the first eight lines of the verso (illustration.24).²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ mclxxix Peregrinatio regis Lodowici et Willelmi archiepiscopi Remensis et Philippi comitis Flandrie ad Sanctum Thomam. Generale concilium Rome sub Alexandro papam. Rogerus episcopus Wigornensis obit et

G. mclxxxv.

Pergrinatio regis francie Lodovici. et filii
mentis archiepi et philippi comi flandrie et alioy
magnati ad sancti thome cant. archiepi et
marchie.

Generale concilium fuit in papaglocondro.

Egit episcopus wigornie in reditu obit apud lironi

decanus decanum lironi obit.

Ricardus de luci iusticiarius Anglie obit.

F. c. mclxxxv.

Lodovicus rex francie obit.

Successit philippus filius eius

Unicuique monete in Anglia.

Baldewinus abbas de forda suscepit episcopatum wigornie.

Translatio sancte fritheswithe apud ocom.



Adehelmus decanus Lincolniensis et Ricardus de Luci. mclxxx Lodowicus rex Francie obiit successit
Philippus filius eius. Mutatio monete in Anglia. Baldewinus abbas de Forda suscepit episcopatum Wigornie.
Translatio sancte Fritheswithe.', A, fol. 198v.

Illustration.24 London, BL, Additional 35168 (L), fol. 198v showing a whole folio left blank at the end of the annal for 1180.

It might be thought that the 1177–80 annals were written with an expectation of annalistic growth. Indeed, the 1179 and 1180 annals are not arranged one below the other, like the 1155–69 annals, but side by side, each taking one column, so as to allow for more information to be added at a later time. The rest of the verso is left blank and the 1181 annal begins with a decorated capital on the next leaf, which also corresponds to a new gathering.²⁵⁷ The view that the scribe of L expected to enter more information under the 1179 and 1180 headings receives some evidence from the fact that the decorated capital 'A' opening the 1181-annal on fol. 199r has not been positioned under the 1179 and 1180 annals on fol. 198v, but at the top of a new leaf. To judge by the way the decorated initials have been entered throughout the codex, it appears that the blank space left on fol. 198v is indeed the result of a hiatus in the process of constructing the text of L. Decorated initials occur in various positions on the folio across the manuscript, suggesting that there was no particular scribal policy of only entering them in the upper part of the leaf.²⁵⁸ As such, the space under the 1179 and 1180 annals was left blank in the expectation that more annalistic entries would be added to the five brief notices. This further illustrates the extraneous character of the 1177–80 annals.

Another piece of this puzzle is to be found under 1179, when king Louis of France is recorded to have undertaken a pilgrimage to Becket's shrine at Canterbury:

²⁵⁷ fol. 199r bears the mark of a quire signature.

²⁵⁸ Examples of decorated initials entered in mid and low position are on fols. 22v, 28r, 39r, 60r.

<p>RH, ii, 167, 192-3 (also in GRHS, i, 207, 241)</p>	<p><i>Eodem anno Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus venit in Angliam ad Beatum Thomam Cantuariensem martyrem causa peregrinationis</i> [...] <i>Rex igitur Francorum fiduciam habens in Domino, contra multorum consilium, iter arripuit versus Angliam. Et assumens secum Phillipum comitem Flandrie ... et in crastino duxit eum Cantuariam usque ad tumbam Sancti Thome Martiris...quo cum venissent, Lodovicus rex Francorum obtulit super tumbam beati Thome martiris unam cupam de auro valde magnam et pretiosam, et ad usum monachorum ibidem Deo servientium centum modios vini in perpetuum, singulis annis recipiendos...</i></p>
<p>A, s.a. 1179, (fol. 74v)</p>	<p><i>Peregrinatio regis Lodowici et Willelmi archiepiscopi Remensis et Philippi comitis Flandrie ad Sanctum Thomam.</i></p>
<p>L, s.a. 1179, (fol.198r)</p>	<p><i>Peregrinatio regis Francorum Lodovici et Willelmi Remensis archiepiscopi et Philippi comitis Flandrie et aliorum magnatum ad Sanctum Thomam Cantuariensis archiepiscopum et martirem.</i></p>
<p>S, s.a. 1179, CAP, 103</p>	<p><i>Peregrinatio Ludovici regis Francie, et aliorum magnatum eiusdem regni, ad sanctum Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et martyrem, qui obtulit aureum calicem appendentem ____ libras, et centum modios vini, perpetuo, ad natalitium diem celebrandum in letitia, singulis annis.</i></p>

This table shows that L agrees with A more than it does with S, but on occasion has readings in common with S that are not in A. S, moreover, has details in common with the *Chronica* that are omitted in A and L. The three abridged versions present in ALS confirm that there was, in this case, a common epitome from which they all copied and which S seems to have abridged the least. The way the epitomised narrative is constructed is very revealing. The *peregrinatio* is said to have been undertaken by the king of France, the archbishop of Reims, the count of Flanders and other nobles. Archbishop William is omitted from S and so is Philip of Flanders, who are instead covered by the words '*aliorum magnatum*'. In A and L, however, they are all present, but the brief narrative gives the

impression that they all took the pilgrimage together and that the archbishop of Reims and Philip of Flanders joined Louis to Canterbury. This is not supported by the Howden text, for his narrative contains two distinct pilgrimages, one undertaken by Louis and Philip in August 1179, the other by the archbishop of Reims earlier that year.²⁵⁹ The epitomised narrative is thus constructed using two elements from the same work, but at points far apart from each other.²⁶⁰ One may infer from this that the epitomised form of the narrative represents a serious effort to create an abridgment not just by choosing which accounts should be included, but also by intelligently contracting sparse narratives into coherent units.²⁶¹ We are dealing with an author who does more than reduce the size of his source. It has been pointed out that the texts of A and S contain significant interpolations from William of Malmesbury and William of Tyre, an initiative that sits well with the way the author of the *peregrinatio* account treats his source.

This makes it almost impossible for the 1177–80 annals to have been exported from L into A or S, given the contrast between the complex construction of the annals of the 1177–80 annals and the pedestrian character of L's transcription of the *Gesta Regis* and *RH*. Consequently, I conclude that θ was consistently drawing on the earlier part of Howden's *Chronica* omitted in L, supplying readings to L into the abridged accounts such as Louis' visit to England.²⁶² As such, the other annals of the 1177–80 section, being in no way

²⁵⁹ One is may be found in *RH*, ii, 167; the other in *RH*, ii, 192-3.

²⁶⁰ Twenty-five pages in the printed edition separate the two accounts.

²⁶¹ This becomes clear in the commentary to the edition.

²⁶² Nearly all of the annals of the 1177-80 section are taken from Howden's *Chronica*. There are two exceptions, a brief note about a fire at York (s.a. 1178) and the translation of St. Fritheswithe's shrine at Oxford (s.a. 1180). These will be discussed more fully in the comments to the edition. It is worth pointing out that the possibility of L supplying the text of the account to θ must be spurned, for the style of (d) and the

different from the *peregrinatio* notice, were inserted into L from θ . One may remember that the earlier 1155–69 annals contained a strange repetition in the 1169-annal that prompted the assumption that the 1155–69 annals might have made its way into L from the source of A and S, which corresponds to the recovered recension θ . I think it may be safe to conclude that both the 1155–69 and the 1177–80 annals were not originally in L, but were added to it in order to redress the void left by the long, faithfully-transcribed narratives. Not only had the 1155–69 and 1177–80 annals been absent from L's source, but it has been suggested that they were taken from the common source of A and S, namely θ . As for L, there is no earlier extant version of the compilation from Creation to 1201, with or without the two sets of transitional annals. The earliest witness to the compilation of the Creation–1154 annals– and the only one until the next stage of growth represented by L– was, as already noted, Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 92, in which the text down to 1154 was written no later than the end of the twelfth century. After that, there is no witness reflecting a stage in the construction of the compilation represented by L which contained the *Gesta Regis* and *RH* narratives. The *RH*-text in L cannot have been written before 1202 when Howden finished his *Chronica*. It is possible that the *Gesta Regis* component was added on to an early stage of the pre-1154 section of L after 1192 when the *Gesta* stopped, but no later than at least 1203, when a copy of Howden's *Chronica* starting at 1181 became available. *Gesta Regis* and *RH* may have come into the compiler's possession at the same moment, though no manuscript has yet surfaced containing Howden's *Gesta* and *Chronica* in the same volume. Alternatively, the compiler may have acquired the *Gesta Regis* and *RH* from different sources, though this is impossible to know. One must admit defeat in the face of so little evidence. Yet, regardless of when and

pilgrimage notice clearly belong, as epitomised material, to the style of A and S, not of L, which fails, on the other hand, to reconcile their style to the rest of the narrative.

how the components of the text represented by L joined the compilation, the 1155–69 and 1177–80 interstitial annals indicate a stage in the construction of L's exemplar when the two sets of transitional annals were summoned from an abridged version of the Creation–1201 compilation, which, although abridged, was also enriched with other material, including accounts from a copy of Howden's *Chronica* which the fuller text represented by L had not originally used, and material from William of Tyre and William of Malmesbury.²⁶³ This was the work of θ , which A and S drew on independently.

Given the state of the evidence, the safest explanation of L's use of the 1155–69 and 1177–80 annals may be the following: the compilation represented by L grew to an extent that it included all the annals down to 1201, with the exception of the 1155–69 and 1177–80 annals. It was then a compilation from Creation to 1201, containing *JW*, *HH* (as the *Cronica Mariani*), *Gesta Regis* and *RH*, but lacking the two articulations which would turn the discontinued narrative into a seamless compilation running to 1201. Then θ , an up-to-date universal chronicle, and one firmly based on a knowledge of *computus*, was devised, one which would not only have coherent and correct dating throughout but also included an epitomised version of the Creation–1201 compilation as that found in L as well as various original and derivative materials. Since there were chronological discontinuities (the two sets of interstitial annals) in the original compilation, the writer of θ filled the gaps with material in the same abridging style as the rest of the narrative, where the 1155–69 and 1177–80 gaps were no longer discernible. The θ -narrative was then brought down to 1225 by continuing the text of the Creation–1201 compilation, at first in the same laconic

²⁶³ It is worth noting that if the writer of L had had access himself to the part of Howden's *Chronica* (1177-80) from which the 1177-80 annals are drawn, then it is reasonable to assume that he would have transcribed, not abridged it. Besides, the whole volume attests to L's unintelligent juxtaposition of narratives.

style as before 1201. Then, as the annals were approaching the time of writing, the matter became increasingly substantial, growing from 75 words for the 1202-annal to 3450-words for the 1215-annal, not counting the gigantic 1225-annal which incorporates a full-blown document extending to 7500 words.

Manuscript A was then copied from θ , preserving the sequence of annals of θ , but with some further retrenchments and abridgements, which are discussed below. The result was, in the words of the A-preface, an *annorum series inconcussa*, that is an 'uninterrupted annalistic chronicle.'²⁶⁴

The θ -text became a *compendium quoddam cronicorum*, a compilation of different chronicles extending *usque ad tempora nostra*, down to our present times.²⁶⁵ Thereafter, L was produced, incorporating the missing 1155–69 and 1177–80 *annals* from θ into the narrative as well as including the 1202–25 annals.

²⁶⁴ A, fol. 22r, *Inter tot igitur et tantas varietates hoc utamur temperamento ut de Hebreorum cronicis Hebreorum credemus hystoriis qui ab initio divinis instructi oraculis annumque a Deo terminare docti et incipere annorum seriem inconcussam servabant.* ('between so many and so great divergences, let us use this arrangement: for Hebrew chronicles we shall believe the histories of the Hebrews, who, instructed from the beginning by divine prophecy, and taught by God to begin and end the year, conserved an unbroken series of years'); *series inconcussa* had been used by St. Augustine in *Contra Cresconium*, iii, 18 (PL 43, col. 506) with the meaning of an 'uninterrupted link' connecting the apostles to present-time bishops, not too different from how years were regarded within sacred history. It is striking how fitting this may be to the present discussion. *Series inconcussa* may be key here, a subtle reference to the effort undertaken by the author of the epitome to build an uninterrupted sequence of years, which had not been the case in the text witnessed by L, but which the epitome set out to correct. History writing becomes credible once there is rigour in its chronological arrangement, the preface seems to imply.

²⁶⁵ A, fol. 22r: 'Hos ergo a supradicti imperatoris anno quintodecimo quo scilicet iuxta evangelicam veritatem natus est Salvator inchoantes et compendium quoddam cronicorum usque ad tempora nostra digerentes'.

L may have extracted more material from θ than just the notices under 1155–69 and 1177–80. Under 1201, L preserved the final element of Howden's *Chronica*, that is the justiciar's letter for the collection of the fortieth for the relief of the Holy Land. Nothing has been omitted from Howden's text in L.²⁶⁶ Before the beginning of the 1202-annal, however, manuscripts A and L preserve a number of notices. It is important to list them in full below:

(a) *Mirabilia plura per Angliam evenerunt; sanguine vel ex vestibus vel ex aliis rebus per se stilante.*

(b) *Aeris etiam intemperies, fulgura, et pluviarum inundationes.*

(c) *Caruagium per Angliam exactum est ut regi Francie denarii pro pace firmata procurarentur.*²⁶⁷

It should also be pointed out that under the same year, S also preserves parts of these entries, and, while omitting (c), it gives slightly more detail for (b). Thus, S reads:

Mirabilia magna per Angliam acciderunt: sanguine vel de vestibus, vel ex aliis rebus, stillante.

*Aeris intemperies maxima, fulgura invisa, tonitrua crebra, et inundationes excessive.*²⁶⁸

S also contains a number of entries absent from A and L, designated (d) and (e), respectively:

(d) *Pontificante ergo Innocentio papa in urbe Romana, regnantibusque in Francia Philippo, et in Anglia Johanne, regibus; apud Alemannos Othone, et apud Graecos Baldwino, imperantibus; in civitate vero sancta Jerusalem dominante Safadino; in urbibus Christianorum Almarico de Lizinant, rege Cypri; Leone in Armenia, Cnuto in Dacia, Suero in Norweia, Willelmo in Scotia, Guthredo in Man, Johanne Curcy in Ulneustria.*

²⁶⁶ L, fol. 292.

²⁶⁷ L, fol. 292v; A, fol. 76r.

²⁶⁸ CAP, 112.

These annals have never been closely examined. Stubbs observed that a seventeenth-century hand added items (a)(b)(c) into the text of two of Howden's manuscripts²⁷⁰ perhaps, he thought, from the Walter of Coventry manuscript (C).²⁷¹ Closer examination makes the origin of these items clear.

Item (a) reports the six miracles mentioned in Howden's *Chronica* under the same year. These miracles are, in fact, present in full in L in addition to this short notice. In the fuller versions, L differs from Howden.²⁷² While the Howden manuscripts display a series of six rubricated headings containing the word *miraculum* which introduce each miracle, L perfectly reproduces the miraculous accounts but omits the rubrics. Item (a) summarises these accounts, insisting on the miracle of the self-bleeding matter.²⁷³ In reporting these miracles, which had already occurred in the narrative, L is again repeating itself, as has been observed above in the case of the 1169-annal. I shall return to this presently.

Item (b) is the only one of (a)–(c) which does not appear in Howden's *Chronica* but it may not be original either. It also occurs in a slightly modified form in the chronicle of Ralph of Coggeshall.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ CAP 112-3. Giles was mistaken, the reference being to chapter 20 of Revelation, not 22.

²⁷⁰ BL. MS Arundel 150, BL Cotton MS Claudius B.vii.

²⁷¹ *RH*, iv, 189, n. 4; *WC*, ii, 195, n.2; He also noted that (a)(b)(c) occur in CMV, which is wrong, because it leaves out A, where they also occur, *WC*, ii, 195, n.2.

²⁷² Howden, *Chronica*, iv, 170–1.

²⁷³ Howden, *Chronica*, iv, 170, 171.

²⁷⁴ 'In crastino post Nativitatem Sancti Iohannis suborta est saeva tempestas tonitruorum, fulminum, et grandinum, cum pluvia vehementi', Stevenson, J. (ed.), *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*,

Item (c), also summarised an account that L already possessed, taken again from Howden's work. This time, there has been an error. King John's exacting of the carucage did not occur in 1201, but in February 1200, as Howden himself wrote and L repeated.²⁷⁵

That item (c) is under 1201 may only reflect an accident. Perhaps more important is the fact that L reproduces both the account and the misplacement. It seems that there are too many instances of L behaving strangely in the 1201-annal to resist the suggestion that L might have indeed copied the short 1201-items from a manuscript where they occur without repeating some earlier text. A contains all of these items without carrying any trace of earlier coverage. As I have argued that A is a copy of θ , and that L copied this sort of short annal from θ elsewhere, it is likely that L copied the short 1201-items from θ .

If we turn to S for a moment, items (d) and (e) also bear the mark of Howden's 1201-annal. The following table makes the connection clear:

(London: Longmans: 1875), 129. Nevertheless, a thunderstorm is likely to be reported in relatively similar words by most observers. Item (d) and Coggeshall's report, though similar in wording, may still reflect two independent observations.

²⁷⁵ 'Interim Johannes rex Anglie transfretavit de Normannia in Angliam et cepit de unaquaque caruca totius Angliae iii solidos de auxilio.', L, fol. 23r (*RH*, iv, 107).

S (CAP, 112-3)

(d) *Pontificante ergo Innocentio papa in urbe Romana, regnantibusque in Francia Philippo, et in Anglia Johanne, regibus; apud Alemannos Othone, et apud Graecos Baldwino, imperantibus; in civitate vero sancta Jerusalem dominante Safadino; in urbibus Christianorum Almarico de Lizinant, rege Cypri; Leone in Armenia, Cnuto in Dacia, Suero in Norweia, Willelmo in Scotia, Guthredo in Man, Johanne Curcy in Ulneustria.*

(e) *Doctores nostri predicaverunt diabolum esse solutum, iuxta Apocalypsin Iohannis, capitulo ____.*

L (fol. 289r) and RH²⁷⁶

Eodem anno, regnantibus Innocentio papa tertio in urbe Romana, et Saffadino fratre Saladini in sancta civitate Jerushalem, et Alexandro fratricida in civitate Constantinopolitana, et Leone in Ermenia; et Aymerico de Lezinnan in civitatibus Tyri et Sidonis, et Acccaron, et in insula de Cypro; et Raimundi principante in civitate Antiochena; et Othone, fratre Henrici ducis Saxoniae in Alemannia, electo in Romanorum imperatorem; et Philippo in Francia, et Johanne in Anglia, et Swero Birkebain in Nortweia, et Cnut in Dacia, et Willelmo in Scotia, et Guthred in insula de Man, et Johanne de Curci in Ulvestre;

Doctores nostri praedicaverunt solutum esse draconem illum antiquum, qui est diabolus et Sathanas...

The presence of (d) and (e) in S suggests that the two items were originally part of θ , but were omitted from A.²⁷⁷ L also omits them from his series of short notices under the 1201 annal that he copied *after* his source – Howden’s *Chronica* – finished. Longer versions of items (d) and (e) are preserved earlier in L’s narrative through his use of Howden. From this we can conclude two things: that the short annals from (a)–(c) present in L after the Howden material ended were taken from θ . One of θ ’s sources was, however, Howden’s *Chronica*, which explains why material in L is repeated in different ways: the L-scribe was

²⁷⁶ RH, iv, 161-2.

²⁷⁷ In his edition of CAP, Giles emended the blank in item (e) with a reference to chapter xii, which was perhaps based in his own reading of Scripture. Had he noticed that the passage was an abridgment of Howden, he would have contextualised it and seen that Howden follows the announcement of the Devil’s release with a quote from Rev. 20:1–3. The blank in (e) may be regarded as part of the same effort to provide an intelligent abridgment, as I noted above in relation to the pilgrimage of 1179. The author may have recognised Howden’s scriptural reference but failed to identify the chapter.

duplicating Howden's account; first from his fair copy down to 1201, and second, in an abridged state, via θ .

A contains one more short item that is not in L. This is item (f), only present as such in A:

*Iohannes rex Anglie Parisius honorifice susceptus est.*²⁷⁸

The full account of John's visit to Paris in L is drawn from Howden's *Chronica*.²⁷⁹

While θ contained items (a)(b)(c)(d)(e)(f), five of which were originally drawn from Howden's *Chronica*, they were transmitted differently into A and S. All items except (f) went into S, while A copied (a)(b)(c)(f). L further reduced the corpus to (a)(b)(c). Thus, it appears that when L's source finished in 1201, he looked to θ to supply material for the end of his annal. His devotion to his work was such, however, that he did not realise θ contained abridgements of the very same material that he had already copied out before. The repetition of this material is completely absent from θ and its best witness, A.

The short 1201-items in L attest to the pattern identified in the interstitial annals. L has repeatedly incorporated material which had already been covered in a fuller form. It has been shown that the 1155–69, 1177–80 and now the final 1201 items appear in L as abridgments of accounts already present in the narrative. The three sets of annals belong to the same epigrammatic style and appear rather germane to the overall style of the pre-1201 texts of A and S. Moreover, it is only in these passages that the pattern is discernible, strongly suggesting that the three sets of annals were not originally part of the L, but were copied from θ into L. The repetition of this text, similar to the treatment of the

²⁷⁸ A, fol. 76r.

²⁷⁹ L, fol. 289v, s.a. 1201; *RH*, iv, 164.

1155–69 and 1177–80 before, reflects a stage in the production of L when the scribe used θ in addition to its primary source. In what follows, I will argue that the 1202–25 annals were also copied from θ into L.

The history and growth of the chronicle texts thus far described may be illustrated diagrammatically in the following way, although it is acknowledged that the place of the 1202–1225 annals in this picture has not yet been demonstrated:

The construction of the Crowland Chronicle

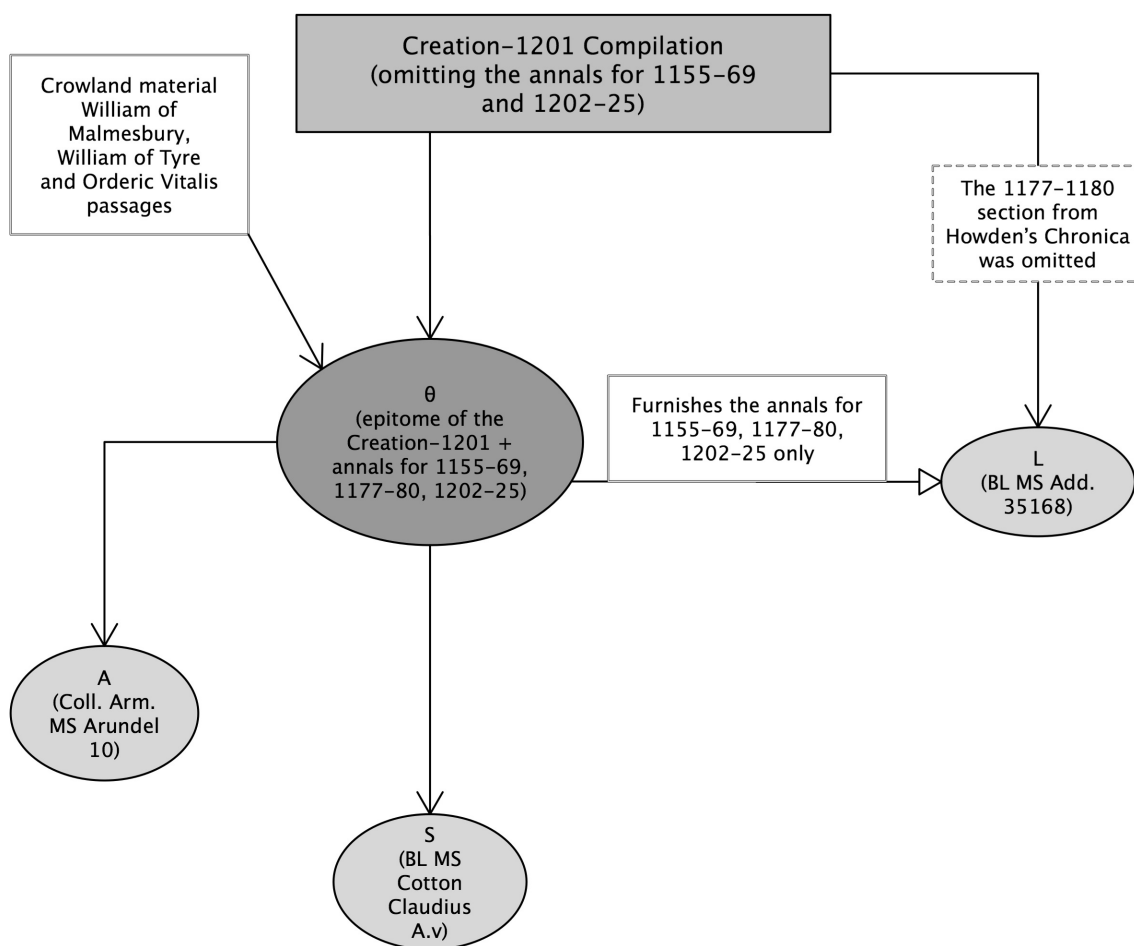


Illustration.25 Diagram showing the growth of the *Crowland Chronicle*.

The 1202–1225 annals

The 1202–25 annals as they have come down to us in Stubbs' edition have had an illustrious career among scholars. Yet with fame came also neglect, for historians, as already noted, have been so focused on the historical value of the annals that they often forgot the vehicle in which the annals came down to them. To the only two scholars who have ever given serious thought to the history of this narrative, the annals appeared as an anonymous continuation to an otherwise unattractive text, which until now has been neglected.

In the following discussion, I will make the case for two hypotheses: first, that the 1–1201 annals were the work of θ , whence they were copied into A and L; second, that the 1202–25 annals were also the work of θ , whose author may be identified as a monk of the abbey of Crowland. It will then become clear that A, while providing the best but, unfortunately, abridged witness for the pre-1201 annals in θ , preserves the best witness to the 1202–25 matter, also the work of θ . I will conclude by providing the justification for basing the edition of θ – the *Crowland Chronicle* – on the text of A, while also acknowledging the limitations of this choice, and how these may be addressed in the edition.

A disjunction along the 1201–2 annals in all the manuscripts (ACLMV) has been acknowledged ever since Stubbs produced his edition of the *Memoriale*. Scholars have been in the habit of referring to the pre-1202 annals in CLMV as the work of 'Walter of Coventry', whereas the 1202–25 annals have hitherto been known as the 'Barnwell annals.' This latter section has been regarded as anonymous, which accommodated the

belief that the entire section was external to everything that preceded it. Stubbs argued that the compilation surviving in CMV (and later L witnessing to the same text) acquired the 1202–25 annals from A, but that the 1–1201 annals in that manuscript were an abridgment of the compilation preserved in CMV(L). Kay rejected this view by elevating L above the other manuscripts in the *stemma codicum*, while the relationship of the 1202–25 annals to the rest of the compilation dropped from view altogether.

I would like to suggest that the dividing line between 1201 and 1202 is an unwarranted artificiality. To do this, I will look at three pieces of evidence which point to a strong affinity between the two sides of the textual division. The first and the second are structural, while the third is thematic.

The 1202–25 annals seem to belong to the text witnessed by A in the way dating conventions were applied. A's strict norm regarding the beginning of the annalistic year has already been noted. The preface in A clearly states that the *compendium* is to begin the year on the kalends of January. Of all the compositions examined so far, A is the only one to contain a strict dating practice, noticeable most clearly in the interest the preface exhibits to matters of calculus and dating, the consistent use of the inherited double Incarnational era (VA and AD) and the obedience shown to the beginning of the year across the whole chronicle from Incarnation to 1225. Whereas S does not observe these requirements, L reproduces the practice of the various texts of the compilation, ranging from the liberalism of Marianus Scottus and John of Worcester to Roger of Howden's reckoning of the year from Christmas in the *Gesta Regis* and *Chronica*.²⁸⁰ The 1202–25

²⁸⁰ Marianus Scottus and John of Worcester did not submit their annals to a strict pattern in regards to the beginning of the year. The annal for 1001 begins with the obituary of the bishop of Mainz who died 23

annals, however, demonstrate remarkable consistency in the way the beginning of the year was understood. The annal for 1210 begins *'in ipso anni exordio, kalendis scilicet Ianuarii'*, echoing the statement in the preface in A, which announces that *'a kalendis Ianuarii annum inchoamus'*.²⁸¹ The beginning of the year was not a meaningless detail in medieval history writing. According to Gervase of Canterbury writing towards 1200, the reckoning of the year from one day or another was by no means an established custom among English historians: 'some begin to count from the Annunciation (25 March), others from Christmas (25 December), others from the Circumcision (1 January), others yet from Easter (moveable feast)'.²⁸² This variance, Gervase noted, was one of the causes of disagreement in the Church.²⁸³ The chronicler's choice to begin the year on the feast of the Circumcision was not grounded in theology alone, but was informed by a desire for, and an interest in, accurate chronology, one that may be seen across the entire chronicle (only in manuscript A) in the way the annals are rigorously (from years 1–1220 at least) drawn out under the double incarnational date and the dominical letter.²⁸⁴ Since the entire 1202–25 set of annals was the work of the same author, we may accept this definition of

February. *JW*, ii, 466; The 1072 annal begins after the Assumption (15 August). *JW*, iii, 20. Howden's practice of starting the year at Christmas has already been discussed.

²⁸¹ *WC*, ii, 201; 'Licet autem in vere creatum mundum acceperimus nos tamen Romanorum auctoritatem sequentes a kalendis Ianuarii annum inchoamus- ubi tam littera dominicalis quam cyclus mutatur unde contingit, ut alio Anno Dominum dicamur circumcisum quam natum.' A, fol. 22v.

²⁸² '[...] annos Domini incipiunt computare ab Annuntiatione, alii a Nativitate, quidam a Circumcisione, quidam vero a Passione', *Gervase*, i, 88; For a discussion of the different styles of reckoning the beginning of the year, the most authoritative study is still, a century later, Giry, A., *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), 103-130, esp. 124-5; For a more English perspective, see Poole, *Studies in Chronology*, 1-27.

²⁸³ 'Uterque etiam annis Domini unum eundemque titulum apponit, cum dicit: "Anno ab incarnatione tot vel toto", facta sunt illa et illa. His aliisque similibus ex causis in ecclesia Dei orta est non modica dissensio', *Gervase*, i, 88.

²⁸⁴ The *style* of the Circumcision was the one that met the needs of the astronomical year, thus the likeliest *style* to be used by a chronology-minded writer, Giry, *Manuel*, 105.

the '*anni exordio*' embracing the entire division. This may be verified by looking at the first entries of individual annals to see if they can be dated on or after 1 January. On close examination, my hypothesis proves justified, for the 1202–25 annals reflect a concern for beginning the year on 1 January. A pattern was certainly in place. This verification relies on the assumption that the author of these annals had relative control over the sequence of his narrative and did not generally enter the first notices – often extremely compendious – as soon as the information became available. I will give more scope to the question of contemporaneous chronicling in chapter 2 of this thesis. The usability of the evidence also assumes that the rule over the reckoning from 1 January would not be broken unless notices were specifically dated before that date. As nearly all of the first annual notices in the 1203–25 annals may be dated from other sources, it may be worth listing these in a table, as follows (illustration.26).

Annal	Dated item	First Item in the annal
1203	6 July	Willelmus episcopus Lincolniensis consecratur.
1204	31 March	Alienor, quondam regina Francie, postea autem regina Anglie, mater Ricardi et Iohannis regum Anglie, obiit.
1205	13 July	Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obiit.
1206	3 February	Iocelinus episcopus Batoniensis.
1207	11 July	Simon Cicestrensis episcopus obiit.
1208	3 February	Eclipsis lune.
1210	1 January	In ipso anni exordio, kalendis scilicet ianuarii, factum est accerrimum [gelu] cum nive maxima, usque ad festum Sancti Valentini continuum.
1212	16 July	Conatus Amiramummoli, qui in superbia multa et multitudine gravi, quasi omnem sibi subiecturus Christianitatem, in Hispanias ascenderat, nutu Divino adnihilatus est.
1215	6 January	Circa Epiphaniam consecrati sunt apud Redingiam Ricardus [decanus] Saresbirie in episcopum Cicestrensem, et Willelmus archidiaconus Huntingdonie in Cestrensem, a Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.
1216	14 January	Rex ultra progrediens usque ad castrum de Berewik pervenit.
1218	19 May	Stephanus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis in Angliam est reversus, qui post generale concilium usque nunc temporis in partibus Romanis est moratus.
1220	17 February	Sanctus Hugo de Avaluns, natione Burgundus, sextus a Remigio episcopo qui sedem episcopalem de Dorcestrie transtulit Lincolniam, a domino papa Honorio tertio canonizatus est.
1222	13 January	Post octavas Epiphanie Stephanus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis adunavit episcopos et proceres Anglie apud Londonias propter quasdam simultates et dissensiones- ortas inter Randulphum comitem Cestrie et Willelmum- Saresbiriensem regis patruum et Hubertum de Burch iustitiarium Anglie.
1223	14 July	Ranulphus episcopus Cicestrensis obiit; cui successit Radulphis de Nevile.
1225	2 February	In Purificatione beate Marie convocantur apud Londonias proceres Anglie.

Illustration.26 Table illustrating the first annalistic item under each year from 1203 to 1225.

The last report under 1212 may be dated to 12 December; the last under 1213 is 14 October; the last under 1223 is 19-20 August.²⁸⁵ This commitment is most visible in the 1222–3 annals, where A and L mark an important departure from each other's texts. The text of the 1222-annal in L ends with the obituary for William abbot of Westminster and the succession of prior Richard.²⁸⁶ The following annal (1223) begins with the obituary of bishop Ranulph of Chichester and the succession of Ralph Neville, whereupon king Philip of France's death is recorded. A, on the other hand, preserves the obituary of the bishop of Chichester and the succession of Ralph Neville as the last two notices under 1222 and gives the report of Philip's death as the first notice under 1223.²⁸⁷ Stubbs recorded these textual variants in the notes to his edition but without giving any comment. When we look more closely, the meaning of this deviation becomes clear: Bishop Ranulph of Chichester died 14–15 September 1222. Ralph Neville was elected in November of that year.²⁸⁸ King Philip died 14 July 1223. It may be suggested, therefore, that the error occurred in L, where the chronological sequence is out of place. Bearing in mind the assumption that the author invested the annalistic sequence with chronological order, it may be said that the events follow each other perfectly in A. This way, the first entry for the annal for 1223 is dated, not in September 1222, but in July 1223, justifying its place under the annal for 1223, as A alone preserves it.

In the author's practice of reckoning the year from 1 January, I have noted that a pattern is observable in the 1202–25 annals. However, there would seem to be two departures from this pattern that I will now discuss very briefly. One occurs under 1217, where the annal

²⁸⁵ Poole, *Studies in Chronology*, 1-27.

²⁸⁶ L, fol. 306 (*WC*, ii, 252).

²⁸⁷ A, fol. 95r.

²⁸⁸ Fryde, E. B. (ed.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), 239.

begins with *'post Natale Domini'*.²⁸⁹ This temporal marker, as it stands, may be seen to trouble the general idea that the author would not profess to begin the year on 1 January only to give the impression later on that Christmas was in fact the *exordium* of the new year. This is easily explainable on narratological grounds. Towards the end of the annal for 1216, we learn that a general truce was decided between the supporters of Louis of France and those of young king Henry, because *'Natale Domini instabat'*, 'Christmas was near'.²⁹⁰ The truce was to last until 13 January.²⁹¹ The following annal begins with a reminder of that truce, drawing attention to the fact that after Christmas, the truce was still in effect, *'durantibus adhuc treugis'*, before going on to say that Louis' supporters met at Cambridge.²⁹² It is my view that the narrative constraints forced the author to arrange the beginning of the annal around a Christmas pivot, since this was a significant element in the story. Consequently, this is not a deviation from the author's chronological practice discussed above.

The other apparent deviation occurs under 1221. The annal opens with the same *'post Natale Domini'* but this time there is no earlier reference to the narrative significance of Christmas 1220. The notice refers to William of Aumale's resumption of violence and describes, rather harshly, how his acts threatened to upset the new political arrangements.²⁹³ William's defiance of the king is exposed in the previous annal.²⁹⁴ Although here the Christmas marker is not serving any obvious narrative purpose as under

²⁸⁹ WC, ii, 235.

²⁹⁰ WC, ii, 234.

²⁹¹ *Sed quoniam Natale Domini instabat, firmate sunt treuge generales inter partes usque ad octavas Epiphanie, reddito quod obsidebatur castello pro treugarum impetratione*, A, fol. 88v.

²⁹² WC, ii, 235.

²⁹³ WC, ii, 247.

²⁹⁴ WC, ii, 245.

1217, we may regard the beginning of the 1221-annal as part of the same sub-plot begun in the annal for 1220, thus subordinating the chronological requirement to a higher narratological consideration. This apparent deviation does not find sufficient evidence to be accepted as a definite suspension of the author's commitment to begin the year on 1 January.

The 1202–25 annals may consequently be regarded as a narrative division in which the beginning of the year, structuring the yearly account, had an important role to play. By assigning the beginning of the year to 1 January, the author of the 1202–25 annals reflects the same chronographical preoccupation as that exhibited in the preface preserved in manuscript A. Simultaneously, the 1222–23 variation in the text of A and L shows how A preserves a better reading of the necrological notices.

The artificiality of the division along the 1201-annal may also be justified through the style in which the pre- and post-1201 annals are drawn out. The Stubbsian *Barnwell annals* only become substantial with the annal for 1212, reaching true narratological employment. In other words, after the annal for 1212, we are faced with text that is substantial enough to read like proper narratives. The emerging discontent of the barons and the subsequent breaking of the civil war provides a framework which enables the author to explore the political process at length. Before that point, however, the style of the annals preserved in A is so lapidary that drawing a line in 1202 seems ill-advised. The annals for 1202–12 are, therefore, as fragmented and 'annalistic' as those before 1202 in A, where only occasionally stories are told in more than 20 words. From a strictly stylistic point of view, therefore, there can be no interruption along the annal for 1201. This may be illustrated in the diagram below, in which the size of the individual annals in the 1189–1225 range

reflect stylistic continuity. There is no particular significance in my choice for starting the diagram with 1189, except a desire to highlight the stylistic continuity in manuscript A. A does not preserve any annals before 1212 that run over 1000 words (illustration.27).

Distribution of words per annal in the 1189-1225 annalistic range in MS Arundel 10 (A)

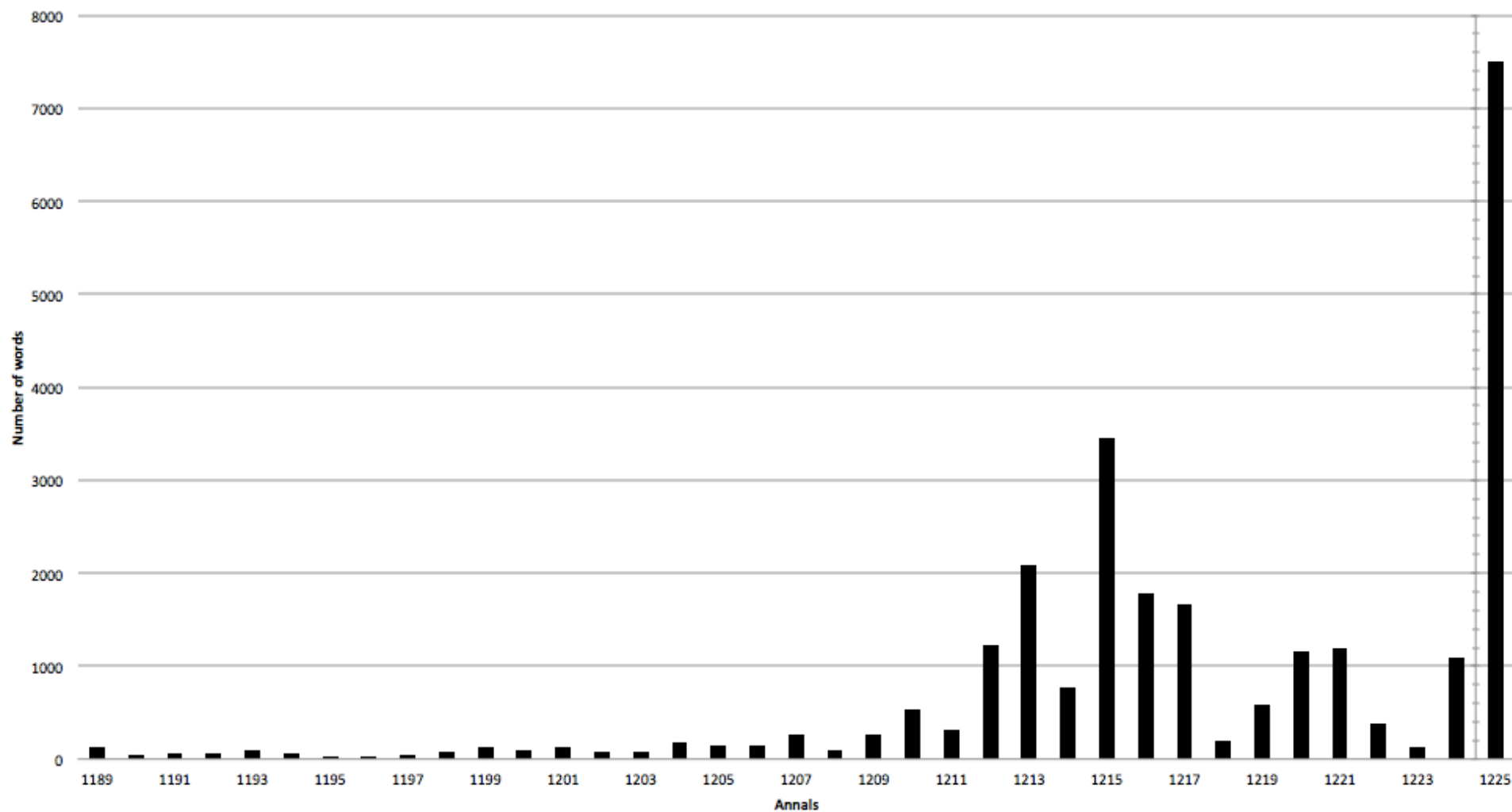


Illustration.27 Diagram showing the variation in textual size of each annal from 1189 to 1225.

The diagram clearly shows that down to 1212, the annals keep below the 500 word mark, suggesting that there was stylistic continuity after the 1201 annal. The corresponding 1189–1225 annals in L, on the other hand, do not read like a narrative unit, but rather as a juxtaposition of two very different narrative blocs divided by a line running through the annal for 1201. This is because the pre-1202 annals in L are much fuller than those preserved in A, as noted above. The contrast between A and L in this respect suggests that L's 1202–25 annals, though the same as A has them, do not belong to the same composition to which L attests before 1202. Admittedly, this has never been the opinion of previous scholars, who have unanimously regarded the 1202–25 as a continuation of Roger of Howden's *Chronica*. My intention here, however, is not to stress that, but to show that the annals may have been part of a larger chronicle compiled and composed elsewhere.

We have seen that stylistically, A fares better than L in reflecting continuity before and after the annal for 1201, which has been the traditional seam in the history of *Walter of Coventry* and the *Barnwell Annals*. Further evidence against the Stubbsian view and towards a better understanding of how the 1202–25 annals may fit into a larger composition is provided by a short account of an assault on the abbey of Crowland given under 1216 in manuscripts A and L. Under that year, A and L preserve the account of a foray led by Savary of Mauléon to the abbey, as a sub-plot to the civil war. Initially intended to track down enemies of the king, the knights ended up plundering the abbey and carrying away its possessions:

Savaricus autem de Malo Leone et alii plures armati a rege Johanne missi, ut milites et servientes regis adversarios in locis abditis et remotioribus latebras foventes inquirerent et comprehenderent, in crastino Sancti Michaeli improvisi Croilandiam venerunt et non

*inventis ibi ipsis quos querebant monasterium invaserunt et per ecclesiam et claustrum et officinas monasterii equites et armati discurrentes, coram altari inter sacra missarum sollempnia homines ceperunt et ab ecclesia abstraxerunt et quoque sibi placita quocumque reperta diripuerunt. In recessu vero suo predam infinitam tam in armentis quam pecoribus secum abduxerunt.*²⁹⁵

But Savary of Mauléon and many armed men, who had been sent by king John to look for and seize some knights and servants, enemies of the king, who had been hiding in remote places, arrived expectedly at Crowland on the morrow of Michelmas (30 September). Not finding those whom they were looking for, they broke into the monastery, riding armed through the church, the cloister and the chambers and, in the middle of the celebration of Holy Mass, dragged the people from the church and also from the altar, plundering whatever they found to their liking. On their departure, they carried away an enormous booty of both cattle and sheep.²⁹⁶

The texts of A and L share this passage but each position it differently in the narrative. Fortunately, the author dated the account, which helps determine its right position in the narrative sequence.²⁹⁷ The two sequences, of A and L, respectively, may be represented thus:

The narrative sequence preserved in L:

<i>[...]Dehinc cum insulam que vocatur Axiholm ferro ... Lincolniam usque devenit [...]</i>	The king ravages Axholm and comes to Lincoln. ²⁹⁸	28 September 1216
<i>Et cum venisset ad castellum cui nomen Lafford [...]</i>	He is taken ill at Sleaford and goes to Newark to die.	14-15 October 1216

²⁹⁵ A, fols. 87v-88r; L, fols. 300v-301r.

²⁹⁶ Translation belongs to me.

²⁹⁷ The raid is not mentioned in other sources, except in *Hist. Croy.*, i, 474.

²⁹⁸ *RLP*, 197.

<i>Ibi igitur morbo invallescente, diem clausit extremum [...]</i>	The king dies and is buried.	19 October 1216
<i>Savaricus de Malo Leonum... secum abduxerunt</i>	The raid on Crowland²⁹⁹	30 September 1216
<i>Hiis diebus antequam de obitu regis mentio fieret, impetraverunt qui apud Dovram obsessi erant...et soluta est obsidio.³⁰⁰</i>	The siege of Dover is raised.	unspecified, but after 19 October 1216

The sequence reflected by A:

<i>[...]Dehinc cum insulam que vocatur Axiholm ferro ... Lincolniam usque devenit [...]</i>	The king ravages Axhold and comes to Lincoln.	28 September 1216
<i>Savaricus de Malo Leonum... secum abduxerunt</i>	The raid on Crowland	30 September 1216
<i>Et cum venisset ad castellum cui nomen Lafford [..]</i>	He is taken ill at Sleaford and goes to Newark to die	14-15 October 1216
<i>Ibi igitur morbo invallescente, diem clausit extremum [...]</i>	The king dies and is buried	19 October 1216

²⁹⁹ *ibid*, 199.

³⁰⁰ L, fols. 300v-301r.

<i>Hiis diebus antequam de obitu regis mentio fieret, impetraverunt qui apud Dovram obsessi erant...et soluta est obsidio.</i> ³⁰¹	The siege of Dover is raised	unspecified, but after 19 October 1216
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Judging from a strict chronological perspective, the narrative sequence of L is disturbed by the presence of the raid before the king's obituary. Kay noticed this incongruity between the two manuscripts but made a curious observation:

'The chronicler tells us that King John, during his last campaign, marched his army from Norfolk into Lincolnshire, ravaging the countryside 'ita ut non meminerit etas nostra tantillo tempore talem combustionem nostris in partibus factam fuisse.' In A, the story of a raid on Crowland was placed directly after this statement, thereby upsetting the strictly chronological sequence of events observed in C[L]MV, where the same account of the raid is given several paragraphs later.'³⁰²

This suggestion is factually incorrect, for the 'strictly chronological sequence of events' is preserved only in the text of A, as outlined above. Kay argued from a false premise, therefore his conclusion was equally false. He wrote:

Some monk of Crowland or a nearby house evidently displaced the passage because to him the incident, which in fact was only a search to round up fugitives, typified the atrocities in *nostris partibus*. If I am correct in believing that the original order of the 1216 annal is preserved in CMV, then the text of A must have been altered somewhere in the vicinity of Crowland.³⁰³

³⁰¹ A, fols. 87v-88r.

³⁰² Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 145-6.

³⁰³ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 146.

But the original order is preserved in A, whose narrative sequence correctly reflects the unfolding of the events of 1216. There should be no hesitation in accepting the assumption that the correct narrative sequence is the one informed by chronology, since the author was careful to date both the raid and the king's death. The only incorrect arrangement of the elements of this narrative is one which would disturb the chronology of the dated events. Seen from this point of view, it becomes obvious that L is guilty of this crime. This could easily have been a scribal error. This would be the second transcription error I note in this study, the other being under 1222–3.³⁰⁴ There is a third error worth mentioning.

The text of A and S agree that when King John arrived in Lincoln at the end of September 1216 he found 'the king of Scots and many of the barons' already there.³⁰⁵ Then the texts disagree over the Crowland raid, as already noted. The textual disagreement between manuscripts deepens when King John is said to have set off to Sleaford castle. At this point, both A and L mention that the king left when his enemies, having gathered against him, fled 'from his face'. L gives the following account:

*Sed cum a facie eius fugissent qui apud Linniam congregati erant, reversus est cum festinatione, eo quod morbo ut fertur dissinterie graviter fatigaretur. Et cum venisset ad castellum cui nomen Lafford.*³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ Crowland, 1222.5

³⁰⁵ ' Ipse autem cum suis Lincolniam recessit. Dehinc cum insulam que vocatur Axiholm ferro flammaque vastasset, movit castra per Lindesiam, transiensque Hoilandiam, Lincolniam usque devenit, ubi non paucis diebus rex Scottorum et ex magnatibus multi stationem habuerant.' A, fol. 88r; L, fol. 300v.

³⁰⁶ L, fol. 300v.

But when those who had come together at Lynn fled from his face, he hastily returned because he was deeply afflicted, it is said, with dysentery. And when he arrived at the castle called Sleaford.³⁰⁷

L mentions Lynn (King's Lynn), which is strange, because it is neither where his enemies had assembled nor where they fled *a facie eius*. A, on the other hand, gives '*Lincolniam*'. Though abbreviated, the word *Lincolniam* in A is an unmistakable *Linc*, which can only expand as '*Lincolniam*', whereas L abbreviated '*Linniam*' as *Linnia*.³⁰⁸ Lincoln is clearly the correct reading in this passage and confirms the view that A preserves a better recension than that of L. It may be suggested that not only were the short transitional annals in 1155–69 and 1177–80 the work of θ , copied and abridged in A, but so too were the 1202–25 annals, which A preserved in full.

Gransden suggested that A lacks 'local attachment', that is though it appears to be the work of a monk, it must be a strange monastic composition.³⁰⁹ This is only partly true. The origin of the text of A is established by the many references to Crowland Abbey in the text of the universal chronicle. Stubbs noted four direct references in the annals from 1190 to 1228 alone.³¹⁰ Yet examination of the entire text shows that there is a larger number of direct and indirect notes referring to the abbey across the whole chronicle text. Moreover, none of these references is taken from the longer text as witnessed by L, which proves that there was a serious effort to give the

³⁰⁷ The translation belongs to me.

³⁰⁸ There can be no question about this transcription because the CMV texts contain the same word. Furthermore, Stubbs noted that Gale had corrected Lynn to Lincoln, though A was at the time not known to the erudite antiquarian.

³⁰⁹ Gransden, *HWE*, 340.

³¹⁰ *WC*, i, xli, n. 2.

chronicle as represented by A a local character.³¹¹ The notes were entered by someone familiar with the abbey of Crowland, who, for instance, knew exactly what was lost in the fire which destroyed the priory church in 1146:

Ecclesia Croilandie combusta est cum officinis et ornamentis et libris in Nativitate Beate Marie'.³¹²

References to Crowland in A are found under the following years. An asterisk indicates those references mentioned by Stubbs:

705	Death of St. Guthlac
949	The story of Turketyl's appointment as abbot.
1048	The refounding and reconstruction of Crowland
1075	Abbot Ingulph succeeds
1085	Abbot Ulfcytel is deposed
1091	Crowland fire
1109	Abbot Geoffrey succeeds
1114	Building of a new church
1143	Abbot Geoffrey dies. Edward succeeds.
1146	Crowland fire
1173	Death of abbot Edward
1174	The church tower collapses

³¹¹ Gransden did not notice these references and concluded that the 'lack of local attachment is remarkable', Gransden, *HWE*, 340.

³¹² A, fol. 72r. Stubbs and Kay suspected that A had been written at Crowland, but their arguments are in themselves insufficient to demonstrate provenance.

1175	Election of prior Robert
1190	*Henry de Longchamp becomes abbot
1194	*Abbot Henry seeks the king
1214	Stephen of Longchamp, abbot Henry's brother, dies at battle of Bouvines.
1216	Crowland is raided by mercenaries (<i>this is the only item present also in L</i>)

As St Guthlac, the patron saint of Crowland, settled in the Fens in 699, no other references to the abbey are to be expected in the annals before the 8th century.

Once this is taken into account, only the ninth century does not contain references to Crowland, a gap that cannot be associated with any breaks in source material in the text itself. It follows that whoever wrote these insertions made the effort of giving the entire text a Crowland sheen and this is likely to have been done by someone associated with Crowland Abbey, presumably a member of the monastic community.

However, this only proves firmly that the chronicle preserved in A was at some point at Crowland. It does not prove *ipso facto* that any of the text down to 1225 or indeed the 1–1201 abridged section was originally composed at Crowland abbey. In order to prove that the text which survives in A, including both the 1–1201 abridgment and the 1202–25 continuation, was originally the work of a Crowland monk, it must first be established that the 1202–25 text and the abridged annals are the work of the same author.

The chronicle preserved in A contains the *fasti* of nearly all the abbots of Crowland. It also records significant events at the abbey such as the raid I have already discussed, devastating fires, the collapse of the church tower and even gives a brief

notice of the abbot's involvement in a legal dispute.³¹³ It may be argued, on this basis, that A reflects a Crowland origin. The Crowland references occur throughout the A-chronicle, from the abbey's foundation by Saint Guthlac to the raid of 1216. Certainly, all these notices could still be the work of a monk working anywhere in the region where news about abbots, fires and raids would travel fast, for example at the abbey of Spalding or at Peterborough. However, this view becomes doubtful once A is closely scrutinised. Under the year 949, the manuscript preserves a description of the early history of Crowland Abbey from the moment when Thorketill, a wealthy London clerk, asked King Edred to give him the abbey so that he could endow it with his possessions for God's service:

Thurketellus clericus Landoniensis in maneriis et prediis predives ab Edredo rege Croilandiam impetravit. Eidemque loco vi maneria conferens monasticam ibidem vitam suscepit. Ubi et postmodum ad abbatem promotus donationes suas quas Croilandie fecerat privilegiis cegiis et archiepiscoporum Dunstani et Oswaldi eorumque suffraganeorum subscriptionibus corroborari fecit. Succedit ei nepos eius Egelricus et ei alter de eadem stirpe Egelricus.

Erat autem tunc temporis apud Pegelandiam monasterium proprium habens abbatem. Egelrico succesit Oscitellus. Huius soror Levina femina nobilis corporis sancti Neoti quod in una villarum suarum Enolvesbirium nomine non ut decebat sepultum erat. Croilandie transferri fecit Oschetello. Succesit Godricus. Godrico Briccinerus. Briccinerus Wlgatus. Hic primo abbas Pegelandie deinde ad Croilandiam translatus duo monasteria in unum coniunxit.³¹⁴

This passage has never been examined before. A longer version of the same account occurs in Orderic Vitalis' *Historia Ecclesiastica*.³¹⁵ If nothing else were known about Crowland and Orderic, one might think that the short account

³¹³ s.aa. 1091, 1146, 1174, 1194.

³¹⁴ A, fol. 62r-62v. The report is absent from L.

³¹⁵ Chibnall, M, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Oxford Medieval Texts, 6vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1969-80), ii. 282-5 [hereafter *Orderic*].

preserved in A is another intrusion of the sort we have seen in the case of the interpolations from William of Malmesbury's works discussed earlier in this study. But this account in A is not an abridgement of material taken from Orderic. When Orderic decided to discuss the life of Saint Guthlac, Crowland's hermit founder and patron saint, he pointed out that he gathered his material during his five-week stay at Crowland on the invitation of abbot Geoffrey, demonstrating that this sort of material on Guthlac was present in Crowland in the first half of the twelfth century.³¹⁶ Given the prevalence of Crowland references that survive in A, it makes perfect sense that A's source – θ – used the same material as Orderic had done. This suggestion receives further evidence from manuscript S, which contains a shorter but similar version of the Guthlac story:

*Edredus rex, Turketuro clerico Londoniensi instigante, restauravit monasterium Croylandie, qui monachum se faciens, ibidem per regem in abbatem est promotus.*³¹⁷

The use of words indicates that S preserved a fractured abridgment of the same account, a fuller version of which survives in A. All this interest in the history of Crowland Abbey would have been uncommon to a non-resident. Perhaps no less uncommon would have been the mention of the abbot of Crowland's brother in the account of the battle of Bouvines.³¹⁸ Under 1216, the account of the battle ends with the obit of Stephen of Longchamp.

³¹⁶ *Orderic*, ii, 336. Orderic also noted that he was instructed in the affairs of Crowland by subprior Ansgot and some of the old monks, *Orderic*, ii, 340.

³¹⁷ *CAP*, 29.

³¹⁸ A, fol. 82v.

*et ex parte regis Francorum cecidit Steffanus de Longocampo vir in armis strenuus qui se in primo conflictu obiciens cum quodam alio pro rege domino et coram rege viriliter decertans succubuit.*³¹⁹

This has been omitted in L, perhaps because it referenced an enemy of the king, perhaps as another transcription error. Yet, the author of A had good reason to mention Stephen, for the latter was the brother of Henry de Longchamp, abbot of Crowland (1191–1236), whose election to the abbacy is only mentioned, unsurprisingly, in A, under the year 1190.³²⁰ There can be no doubt, therefore, that θ is a Crowland composition.

It is strange that Stubbs conjectured the Barnwell provenance on the basis of the marginal notes alone. Kay was convinced that the 1202–25 annals had nothing to do with Barnwell, for he noted that:

'Liebermann remarked that a Barnwell writer would hardly have neglected to tell how a thunderbolt intimidated an intrusive bishop there in 1223. Much less would the compiler have omitted to record the succession in his own house, but although he carefully notes the fasti of most English dioceses and many abbeys, Barnwell is never mentioned.'³²¹

Kay was not altogether right. The priory of St Giles, later known as Barnwell, was founded by Picot, sheriff of Cambridgeshire, around 1092 and established near the castle at Cambridge, but soon fell into disrepair. It was only later, in 1112, that the

³¹⁹ A, fol. 82v.

³²⁰ A, fol. 75r.

³²¹ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 145.

canons moved to the place which would subsequently be known as Barnwell. The account of Picot's foundation is contained in London, BL, Harley 3601, in the *Liber memorandorum prioratus de Barnwell*, a volume produced at or for the priory of Barnwell around 1296.³²² An epitome of this account is also present in A under 1092, which begs the question of how it came to be included in the chronicle.

Sometime in the thirteenth century, A was acquired by Barnwell, where passages from it were copied into the Harleian manuscript and perhaps vice versa.³²³ For instance, the text of the marginal note in the Arundel manuscript recording the death of prior William of Devon and the succession of William de Bedford – on which Stubbs based his conclusions about the provenance of the 1202–25 annals in A – occurs verbatim in the main text of the much later *Liber*.³²⁴ The hands of the Arundel marginal note and the Harleian main text are very similar. Whether or not they were written by the same man, the *Liber* undoubtedly used the Arundel manuscript as a source of information. Yet, it is clear that the *Liber* did not copy the foundation account from A, as its version is much more detailed. At the same time, the account in A was not drawn from the Harleian version, which postdates it by many decades. Also, A does not follow up on the foundational account with anything related to Barnwell. In fact, it does not even mention the name Barnwell. It may be inferred, therefore, that the author of the chronicle contained in A used the same source

³²² Clark, J. (ed.), *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle* (Cambridge, 1907)

³²³ King Richard's anonymous epitaph *Viscera Carceolum*, entered in the margin of A, was most likely copied from the Harleian MS. London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius c.xiii (the so-called 'chronicle of John of Brompton') also includes the verses but makes a mistake (*Daroelum*, fol. 255r) not present in A and in the Harleian MS, indicating that the latter two are not descended from the former.

³²⁴ A, fol. 81r; Clark, *Liber Memorandorum*, 67–8.

which was later used for the compilation of the Barnwell *Liber*. The reason why he included it in the chronicle is not clear. Possibly, he may have realised that the church of St Giles was one of the earliest Augustinian foundations in England.³²⁵ He did not make any such claims in the text, but he did mention that six regular canons were established there. There is only one other reference to regular canons in the whole of the chronicle text, but that comes from 1177 and was copied from the *Gesta Regis*.

By the time the version of the Crowland Chronicle in the Arundel manuscript reached Barnwell, it must have been bound together with the tabular chronicle referred to above (fols. 1-38v), for the *Liber* also contains text from that earlier section of the volume. For example, the account of King Richard's reign in the tabular chronicle (fols. 36v-37r) is reproduced in the *Liber*.³²⁶ The text in the Arundel manuscript represents the earliest attestation of one of King Richard's epitaphs³²⁷, that was later incorporated into Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*³²⁸, into 'Brompton's chronicle'³²⁹ and Henry Knighton's *Chronicle*.³³⁰ A marginal note in the Arundel manuscript

³²⁵ Knowles, D., *The Monastic Order in England; a History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1963), 141.

³²⁶ Clark, *Liber Memorandorum*, 57-8.

³²⁷ *Viscera Carceolum, corpus fons servat Ebraudi / Et cor Rothomagum magne Ricarde tuum / In tria dividitur unus quia plus fuit uno / Nec super est uni gloria tanta viro*, A, fol. 76r.

³²⁸ Babington, C., Lumby, J. R. (eds.), *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, Rolls Series 41, 9vols. (London: Longman: 1865-86), viii, 168.

³²⁹ Twysden, R. (ed.), *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X* (London, 1652), cols. 721–1284, at col. 1280 [henceforth *Brompton*].

³³⁰ Lumby, J. R. (ed.), *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vel Cnitthon, monachi Leycestrensis*, Rolls Series 92, 2vols. (London, 1889-95), i, 176.

containing the four-verse epitaph was entered by means of a *renvoi de page* towards the end of the account of King Richard's death in the Crowland Chronicle.³³¹

Having established that θ is a Crowland composition and that it supplied significant material to L, we may now permanently christen this text the 'Crowland Chronicle'. This is not to be confused with the pseudo-Ingulfian *Historia Croylandensis*, which is sometimes referenced as the 'Crowland Chronicle'. Our chronicle was a very sophisticated work, which started with a lengthy and informed preface, setting out a dating convention that was observed throughout the entire text. It abridged a significant amount of material from known sources, which included, rather than used exclusively, the compilation of material found in L. The author, whoever he may have been, stated in the preface that he would continue the compilation up to his own times, and so he did, extending his material to 1225. He became increasingly analytical and discursive as he covered the decade and a half prior to his supposed time of writing.

³³¹ A, fol. 76r.

The construction and transmission of the Crowland Chronicle

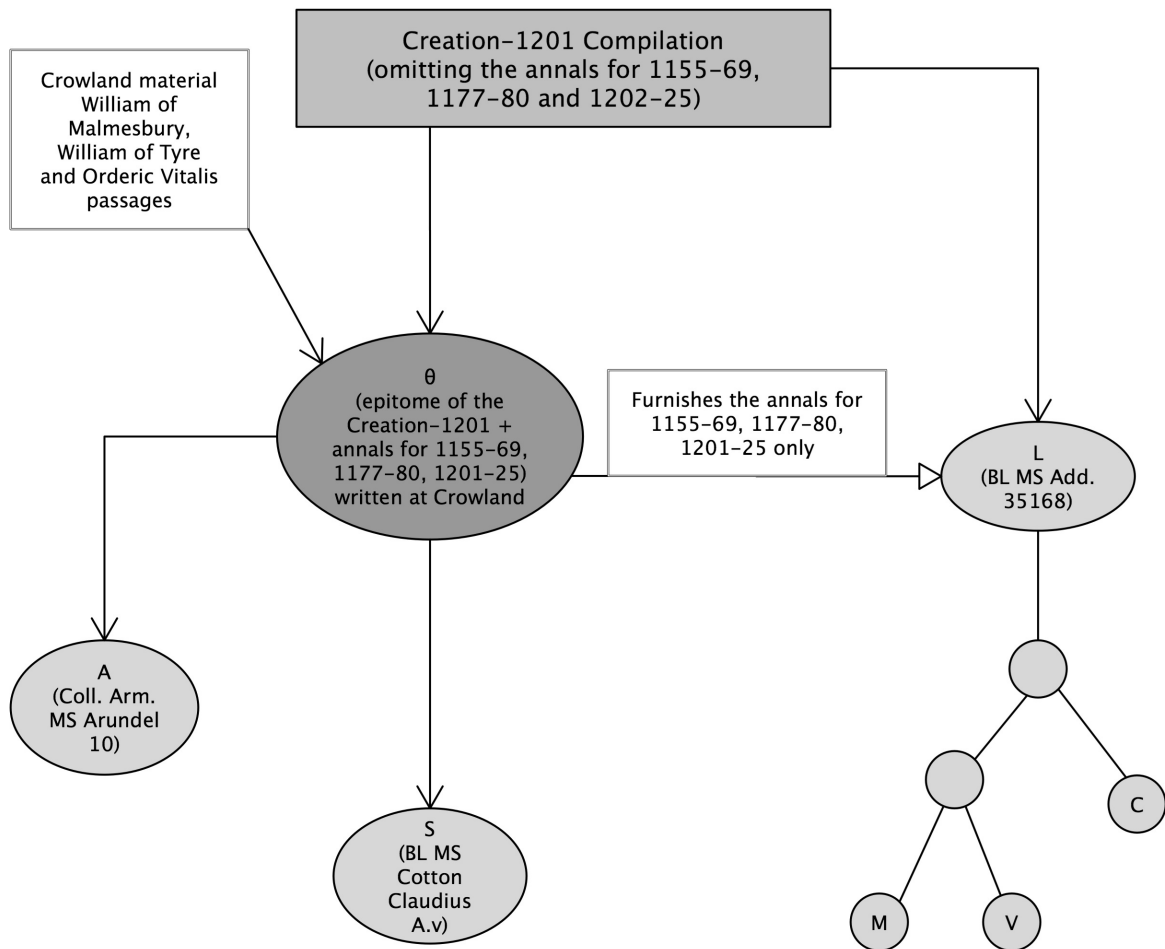


Illustration.28 Diagram showing the construction and transmission of the Crowland chronicle and its affiliated manuscripts.

There is, however, a serious problem in recovering this text. No perfect copy of it survives. A, the best witness, abridges some of the text in θ down to 1201. Indeed, it is ironic that these abridgements simultaneously prove the existence of the Crowland Chronicle while also being the reason for its irrecoverability. We can get a sense, however, of reconstructing the Crowland Chronicle from the differing readings of A and S, which both used it in different ways. As A preserves the earliest and

best witness of the *Crowland Chronicle* (including the preface), it will be the basis of the edition. Material from S in the pre-1201 section will be added in italics when it is demonstrable that it preserves a fuller version of the *Crowland Chronicle* than A. However, these sections will be clearly marked in the edition, and the readings from A will also be provided. When L furnishes a better reading – owing to its dependence on θ and independence from A –, it is recorded in the apparatus, but this is only possible for the 1202–25 section. Indeed, the earlier 1154–69, 1177–80 and 1201 annals present no textual variation that may justify collating L with A.

CHAPTER 2 BETWEEN UNIVERSAL CHRONICLING AND MONASTIC FOCALIZATION

The objective of the previous chapter of this study was to reveal a work of history-writing hitherto unrecognized, written at the abbey of Crowland in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Although only sections and versions of this work now survive in a number of manuscripts, it was nevertheless possible to point to the existence of a single work, whose autograph is now lost. The work has been called the *Crowland Chronicle* on the basis of the location of its compilation at the abbey of Crowland by a resident monk.³³² It has also been argued that the best version of the *Crowland Chronicle* is the one preserved in London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 10, designated 'A' in the previous chapter.³³³ The text of the edition accompanying this study has been based on A.

The present chapter looks at a different set of questions. It seeks to examine the genre and type of the *Crowland Chronicle*, how it was put together; what sources were used to recover and represent the distant, recorded past; what strategies its author adopted to fill in the gap between universality and locality, and ultimately, what function(s) the *Chronicle* was, by its nature, intended to perform.

A question of genres: The *Crowland Chronicle* as a universal chronicle

³³² The italicised words *Crowland Chronicle* and *Crowland* will henceforth be used interchangeably to refer to this work. References to its text will follow the pagination of the edition.

³³³ This chapter will continue to refer to the various manuscripts of the tradition using the letter system introduced in chapter 1.

A quick perusal of the *Chronicle* is enough for the reader to see that most of the text is made up of brief annals starting from the year of the Incarnation. Around 1212, however, the reader may observe that the succinct catalogue of annalistic entries suddenly stops to give way to more sizeable, more descriptive and more narrative annals. The text stops with the annal for 1225, at which point the chronicler has resigned himself to a minimum narrative effort and a willingness to transcribe various documents.

It has been amply pointed out that the short annals preceding 1212 represent an abridged or epitomised version of larger narratives which the author used to fill in the years from the foundational date of the Incarnation down to his own time. The annalist's concern in this section of the text was clearly tending towards universalism. He was writing in the tradition of universal history of Christian time inaugurated by Eusebius and Orosius³³⁴. In the prologue, it is made clear that a major concern for the annalist was sacred chronology, in particular the accuracy of the Incarnational era and of the Augustinian six ages of the world.³³⁵ He raises the question of the multiplicity of Incarnational reckonings (*de anno Incarnationis eiusdem tam multiplex opinio*) by quoting Augustine who had in turn quoted Varro saying 'that even historians themselves disagree on points of quality and attributed works' (*quod Varro de hystoriographis ait eos scilicet inter se quasi de industria et*

³³⁴ C.F. Briggs, 'History, Story, and Community: Representing the Past in Latin Christendom, 1050–1400', *The Oxford History of Historical Writing. Vol. 2, 400-1400*, eds. S. Foot, C. F. Robinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 391-414, at 395.

³³⁵ *Crowland*, 0.5, 0.8; on the Augustinian concept and its relevance to Western historiography, see M.I. Allen, 'Universal history 300-1000: origins and Western developments', *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. M. Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 17-42.

quasi data opera dissentire).³³⁶ The annalist was using Augustine out of context, because the latter had called upon Varro in order to refute the claim that pagan marvels were authentic, while the annalist used the same passage to explain that dissimilar computations emerged from dissenting historical evidence.

The compilation as composition

The annalist's universalistic commitment is explained by the sources he used for the first thousand years or so since the birth of Christ. The chief source from which the 1–1132 annals were compiled was John of Worcester's *Chronica Chronicarum*, which drew on Marianus Scottus, author of one of the most successful universal chronicles of the eleventh century. Equally universalistic was the Crowland annalist's interest in the non-English, non-Western content he found in his sources. His enthusiasm for the Eastern past is clear in the selection he made from works by William of Malmesbury and William of Tyre, of which more will be said below. A providential conception of history guided the author, who worked his way through Gospel and apostolic history, through Roman, pagan and Christian *regna* down the centuries. According to Hans-Werner Goetz, a work inspired by a sense of divine providence, arranged around a linear conception of time and characterised by a willingness to broaden the spatial range of the narrative may be regarded as a work of universal history.³³⁷ Considering the epitomised format of *Crowland's* universalistic annals, the work may be described as a *breviate universal chronicle*.

³³⁶ *Crowland*, 0.4. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 21.6

³³⁷ H.-W. Goetz, 'On the universality of universal history' in *L'Historiographie Médiévale en Europe*, ed. J.-P. Genet (Paris, 1991), 247-61, at 247-8.

This genre has been discussed in great detail by P.A. Hayward in 2010 in his study of the Winchcombe and Coventry chronicles, two works which have many features in common with the *Crowland Chronicle*.³³⁸ He underlined the works' chronological spine, a marked computistical interest shooting through both works, the compilatory nature of their annals and the use of a 'common root' based, as with *Crowland*, on John of Worcester's work. According to A.-D. von den Brinken's typology, *Crowland* may be described as a *series temporum*, a compilation of earlier sources selected, modified and arranged according to a very strict chronological sequence.³³⁹ Dauvit Broun has pointed out that the 'original base' of medieval chronicles was usually a copy of an earlier text, often not without additions and alterations that constituted 'a deliberate attempt to expand or change the past had been written.'³⁴⁰ *Crowland Chronicle* amply testifies to this typological characteristic.

³³⁸ Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry*, i, 11-27; Hayward does not explain the origin of his use of 'breviate', but it should be noted that there are a number of medieval chronicles known to contemporaries as *chronicon breve*, of which *Chronicon breve monasterio Canigonensis* (s. xii), *Chronicon breve Northmannicum* (s. xii).

³³⁹ A.-D. Von Den Brinken is responsible for dividing the universal chronicle into *series temporum*, *mare historiarum* and *imago mundi*, Von Den Brincken, 'Die lateinische Weltchronistik', *Mensch und Weltgeschichte. Zur Geschichte der Universalgeschichtsschreibung*, ed. A. Randa (Salzburg, 1969), 43-58. For a discussion of medieval historiographical genres, see D. Dumville, 'What is a chronicle?', 1-27.

³⁴⁰ D. Broun, 'Creating and maintaining a Year-by-Year Chronicle', *The Medieval Chronicle VI*, ed. E. Kooper (Rodopi, 2009), 141-52, at 143.

Crowland's computistical interest sets the chronicle within two complementary frameworks, those of sacred time and sacred history, to the effect that its scope is universal and its fabric decidedly Christian.³⁴¹

These features are in the service of a work that, though reading most of the time like an epitome of other works, is all-embracing, exhibiting an interest in all things of historical significance, justified by the belief that all Christian history, either local, national or transnational, secular or clerical is God's history and has a claim to be dutifully recorded within the framework of sacred chronology. From this perspective, there is hardly any type of historical record that is rejected *a priori* from this historiographical outlook. Yet, it is well known that universal histories usually develop narrowing horizons as they approach contemporary times, at which point they may even cease to exhibit the features of universal chronicles and become more local and more focused.³⁴²

The *Crowland* annalist outlined these features in the prologue to his chronicle. The 700-word text of the prologue is analysed here for the first time.

The prologue is a piece of original and critical text, reflecting the *Crowland* annalist's understanding of computus and history writing. It shows that the annalist read Marianus closely, for it was based on his work, digesting his intricate reasoning and

³⁴¹ A.-D. Von Den Brincken, *Studien Zur Lateinischen Weltchronistik Bis in Das Zeitalter Ottos von Freising* (Tritsch, 1957); M. Allen, 'Universal History 300-1000', 17-42; Denys Hay has argued that 'a summary of world history drawn from the Bible' was one of the key ingredients of the generic medieval chronicle, D. Hay, *Annalists and Historians*, (London, 1977), 63.

³⁴² Briggs, 'History, Story and Community', 259-60.

expounding his conclusions. In many ways, Crowland echoes Gervase of Canterbury's own understanding of computus given in the prologue to his *Chronica*.³⁴³

Crowland's main concern in the prologue are, to simplify, sacred history and sacred time.³⁴⁴ Reflections about the age of the world, the reliability of pagan and Biblical history, and the division of the time of Creation find expression in the words of the prologue. These questions led the annalist to define his approach to the writing of history and reveals his understanding of the work he was writing.³⁴⁵ He alludes to Josephus's *Antiquitates (Hebreorum hystoriis)* and to the Bible (*divinis oraculis*), describing them as an uninterrupted sequence of years (*annorum series inconcussa*), which he seeks to imitate.³⁴⁶ He also points out that he bases the text on a *compendium quoddam cronicorum*, a compilation of certain chronicles, which reflects his use of the archetype which also produced L. Furthermore, he promises that these sources will be dealt with *breviter*, which reflects the breviate aspect of the work. He asserts that he will start with the birth of Christ, passing quickly over the years before the Incarnation³⁴⁷; and that he will bring the annals *usque ad tempora*

³⁴³ Gervase, i, 87-91.

³⁴⁴ The first part of the prologue, as discussed in more detail below, is a learned summary of book 1 of Marianus' *Chronica*, which focuses on computistical theory and accuracy. See C.P.E. Nothaft, 'An Eleventh-Century Chronologer at Work: Marianus Scottus and the Quest for the Missing Twenty-Two Years', *Speculum*, 88 (2013), 457-482; P. Verbist, *Duelling with the Past : Medieval Authors and the Problem of the Christian Era, c. 990 - 1135* (Turnhout, 2010).

³⁴⁵ Goetz, 'On the Universality of Universal History', 247-8.

³⁴⁶ Crowland, 0.4.

³⁴⁷ *altius ergo ordientes pauca de annis ante Incarnationem dicamus*, Crowland, 0.7.

nostra, up to the present time of writing.³⁴⁸ This was not a work concerned only with the distant past, but one which would embrace the universality of time, from the beginning up to the present.

The annalist also says something about what constitutes historical value in the context of universal historical writing. In the prologue, he recognises that only those things *memorabilia aut scitu digna*, memorable or worthy of knowing, would be recorded. This is a significant statement, for it seems to conflate two categories which, for other chroniclers at least, were regarded as contradictory. While focusing on many of Crowland's computistical considerations in the preface to his *Chronica*, Gervase of Canterbury declared that he did not 'wish to note all those things which are memorable, but only those things which should be remembered, namely those things which seem to be worthy of remembrance (*non tamen omnia memorabilia notare cupio, sed memoranda tantum, ea scilicet quae digna memoriae esse videntur.*)³⁴⁹ *Digna memoriae* or *digna scitu* seem therefore to contrast with *memorabilia*. These categories had by no means become stable in the thirteenth century, but *Crowland's* indiscriminate use of the two would nevertheless suggest

³⁴⁸ *Nostris hec sunt orta temporibus. Nostra dico tempora modernitatem hanc, horum scilicet centum annorum curriculum, cuius adhuc nunc ultime partes extant, cuius tocus in his que notabilia sunt satis est recens et manifesta memoria, cum adhuc aliqui supersint centennes, et infiniti filii qui ex patrum et suorum relacionibus certissime teneant que non uiderunt. Centum annos qui effluxerunt dico nostram modernitatem, et non qui ueniunt*, M.R. James, C.N.L. Brooke, R.A.B. Mynors, (eds.), *Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1983), 122-124; Otto of Freising also wished that his series of annals cover the time from Creation *usque ad tempus nostrum*, A. Hofmeister, (ed.), *Ottonis Episcopi Frisingensis Chronica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum* (Hanover, 1912), 36; see also N. Lettinck, 'Comment les historiens de la première moitié du XIIe siècle jugeaient-ils leur temps?' *Journal des savants* 1-2 (1984), 51-77, at 69-71.

³⁴⁹ Gervase, i, 89.

that *memorabilia* was a desirable historiographical objective.³⁵⁰ The chronicle's commitment to universalism may therefore be seen in this epistemic position. It is not only through a linear understanding of time and a broad spatial coverage that one brings history captive to a providential understanding of it, but also through an epistemic widening to everything worth knowing and remembering, without national, institutional or personal bias or limitation. A good universal chronicle, in other words, reveals divine action in Creation in both time and space through the many events of which only very few would be excluded, because everything falls under God's providence.

The chronological aspect of the chronicle's universalistic aims determined its shape and the arrangement of its contents.

The chronicle is annalistic in format, which means that the text is closely listed under annal headings, each indicating the *anno Domini* year, in both its Marianic and Dionysian version, and the dominical letter.³⁵¹ The construction of this computistical apparatus follows the specifications drawn out in the prologue:

*Ponemus notam etiam bissexti cum contigerit eidem adiungentes. Numerum anni eiusdem ab Incarnatione Domini iuxta evangelicam veritatem alterum etiam numerum iuxta Dionisium subiungemus a septimo anno Tyberii in quo iuxta Dionisium natus est Christus; illum incipientes cyclum etiam decennovenalem et indictiones in margine signabimus ut scias de anno quolibet que littera dominicalis quoties ab Incarnatione Domini quota in cyclo decennovenali quota etiam indictionem.*³⁵²

³⁵⁰ Cf. C.S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2010), 15.

³⁵¹ The details of the dual Incarnation reckoning apparatus were discussed in the first chapter.

³⁵² *Crowland*, 0.5.

I shall also note the leap year when it is appropriate by adding it to the rest. I shall pair up the year from the Incarnation of the Lord according to gospel truth and the year according to Dionysius from the seventh year of the reign of Tiberius in which Christ was born according to Dionysius. I shall even note in the margin the beginning of the nineteen-year cycle and of the indiction so that you would know the dominical letter of any given year, which one it is from the Incarnation of the Lord, which one it falls in the nineteen-year cycle and even to which indiction it belongs.³⁵³

The text before around the annal for 1212 is abrupt, laconic and paratactic, using coordinating conjunctions or juxtaposition to create the illusion of an account;³⁵⁴ events are, as the prologue noted, recorded *breviter*. The text may sometimes have momentary bursts of narrativity, but it remains largely compendious for most of the period it covers. Third, the content of the text is predominantly derivative: it reads like a collection of earlier known sources, though a very complex one. This is one of the reasons why this text has not received the attention it deserves. That is because it has been assumed that second-hand material cannot add anything new worthy of knowing. However, more recent research has shown how compilations and recycled narratives have their important role to play in the construction of the past and in the development of medieval historiography.³⁵⁵

A close examination of the *Crowland* annals reveals the different building blocks of the chronicle text. From the beginning and down to 1202, the annalist based the text on a work which was nothing more than a juxtaposition of known texts covering the

³⁵³ The translation is mine.

³⁵⁴ For an introduction to parataxis in the context of medieval historiography, see N. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: the Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago-London, 1977), 198-202.

³⁵⁵ M. Chazan, 'L'usage de la compilation dans les Chroniques de Robert d'Auxerre, Aubri de Trois-Fontaines et Jean de Saint-Victor', *Journal des savants* (1999), 261-294; B. Guenée, 'L'historien et la compilation au XIIIe siècle', *Journal des savants* (1985), 119-35; B. Weiler, 'Matthew Paris on the writing of history', *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009), 254-78.

period 1–1201. This work which he abbreviated has been preserved in L and has been described in the first chapter as the *backbone narrative*. As it stands, it provides the central component for the earlier section of the A-text. It was the annalist's main source, the text he consulted most frequently, providing the bulk of the content that went into the 1–1201 annals.

The Crowland annalist plundered the works of John of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon and Roger of Howden at second hand as he found them in the text represented by L, epitomizing and compiling most of the accounts covered in the compilation. In addition to these works to which he had access in one volume, he also used a number of other works at first hand, of which William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regis Anglorum* (GRA) and *Gesta Pontificum* (GP) as well as William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* proved especially attractive. These works are not used in L.

For the earlier 1–1202 annals, therefore, the compiler used a large number of sources preserved in, one may imagine, as many volumes. His work must have been arduous and progress slow. It did not compare, however, with the effort expended in the later section of the chronicle (1212–25), for which the annalist had to mobilise other resources as well, commenting on and assessing the recent, witnessed past. He was even then consulting texts, but his knowledge, perception as well as a lively network of informants led him to produce a narrative of a different kind and of a different size. The 1202–25 section is just as large as that covering 1–1201. The last chapter is reserved to a detailed discussion of this later section of the chronicle.

The Crowland annalist used the *backbone narrative* in a fairly complex way, adding to, subtracting from, abbreviating and adapting it. Though the dominant mode of treatment of the source-text was that of abbreviating its substance, other no less significant modes may be discerned in the several source layers of the Crowland text. The *backbone narrative* is a slavish compilation of earlier sources put together after 1201. Its different components were squeezed together in an annalistic shell which not all of them were designed to fit into.³⁵⁶ Moreover, annal gaps had been left where the different narratives did not dovetail. As noted before, this was not a work into which much effort had been put, but a hurried attempt to bring in a single unit a number of various works. These were copied without reflection, nothing significant being either added to or omitted from it.

A transformation of this text, however, came with the work on the *Crowland Chronicle*. Working under the self-imposed constraints of brevity and compendiousness, the Crowland annalist ploughed through the text, making all necessary selections and adjustments. One important emerging pattern is that the annalist preserved, wherever possible, both the western and the eastern record of events, thus reflecting a conscious effort to give meaning to the concept of universal history asserted in the prologue and in the overall arrangement of the annals. For example, the annal for 1011 relates the capture of Canterbury by the Danes as well as the destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.³⁵⁷ The *backbone narrative* included John of Worcester's *Chronica Chronicarum* which had

³⁵⁶ As Henry of Huntingdon's work had not been designed to fit under annal headings, the compiler of the *backbone narrative* was required to apply judgment to the text.

³⁵⁷ *Crowland*, 1011.2-3.

in turn absorbed – and supplanted – Marianus Scottus' work down to 1082, preserving most of Marianus' eastern material. This material was abridged and entered into the *Crowland Chronicle*. An interest for all things oriental may also explain why the annalist made use of William of Tyre's *Historia* in some annals where the *backbone narrative* was wanting or insufficient in eastern material.³⁵⁸

Another pattern emerges in the very process of abridgment. The compiler had a strong tendency to construct a summary of an account in a way that would normally require cognitive, analytical and literary effort. The *Crowland* account of the division of Charlemagne's personal wealth under 811 illustrates well this method of careful summarization. The italics in the John of Worcester column identify the passages present in *Crowland*, which itself has been given in full in the second column. It is important to note that this passage from John of Worcester was copied in entirety into the *backbone* narrative in L.

³⁵⁸ for instance *s.aa.* 603, 611, 800, 910, 1095, 1099, 1141; R.B.C. Huygens, (ed.), *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis 38 & 38a., 2vols. (Turnholt, 1986) [henceforth *WT*].

**John of Worcester's Chronica (JW,
ii, 234)**

Karolus primogenitus imperatoris obiit. Ipse uero imperator Karolus anno quadragesimo tertio regni eius in Francia, in Italia autem trigesimo sexto, imperii undecimo, indictione quarta, thesauros et vestes caeteraque omnia divisit in tres partes. Quarum duas partes in unam et viginti partes totidem metropolitanis civitatibus quae in regno eius noscuntur partitus est, quarum nomina sunt hec: .i. Roma, .ii. Ravenna, .iii. Mediolanum, .iiii. Forum Iulii, .v. Grandus, .vi. Colonia, .vii. Mogontiacus, .viii. Iuuauum quae et Salzburg, .ix. Treueris, x. Senonis, .xi. Vesontio, .xii. Lugdunum, .xiii. Rotomagus, .xiiii. Remis, xv. Arelato, .xvi. Vienna, .xvii. Darantasia, .xviii. Ebrodunum, .xix. Burdigala, .xx. Turonis, .xxi. Bituriges. Vnusquisque autem metropolitanus episcopus unam partem ecclesie sue et duas suffraganeis suis dare debuit. Tertia uero pars uel usque ad obitum eius, uel usque dum usu cottidiano carere uellet mansit, ipsaque postremo quattuor diuisionibus secata est. Prima pars addita est ad uiginti et unam supradictas. Altera cessit filiis et filiabus suis ac nepotibus. Tertia distributa est pauperibus. Quarta seruis et ancillis palatio famulantibus. Ad tertiam uero partem addita sunt uasa atque utensilia ex ere et ferro aliisque metallis cum armis et uestibus et omnis suppellex ad uarios usus, ut sunt cortine, stragula, tapetia, filtra, coria, sagmata, ut erogatio elemosine ad plures peruenire potuisset. Capellam id est ecclesiasticum ministerium quod per hereditatem sibi uenit integrum

**The Crowland Chronicle,
(Crowland, 811.1)**

Karolus primogenitus imperatoris obit. Ipse autem imperator vestes et thesauros omnes in tres partes divisit, duas partes per xx metropolitanas imperii sui ecclesias dispertiens. Ita ut unusquisque ex metropolitanis portionem suam in tres partes dividens, unam ecclesie sue, duas autem reliquas suffraganeis daret, capellam autem que ei quasi iure hereditario obuenit, integram successori reliquit, excepta bibliotheca et siqua erant que ipse addiderat. Ea enim omnia postmodum in precium redigens, cum omnibus etiam domus sue vasis et diversi generis utensilibus, a si obitum cuncta in seruos et ancillas palatii et pauperes erogauit.

*seruari decreuit, exceptis si qua ipse
capelle idem in uasis aut libris
addidisset que qui uellet emeret.
Horum ergo pretium atque librorum
quorum magnam copiam in
bibliotheca sua habuit pauperibus
erogatur.*

Another strategy of epitomising long accounts was to produce a category under which a number of occurrences may be grouped. John of Worcester had enlarged under 1016 upon the many clashes and confrontations between Edmund Ironside and Cnut the Great. The *Crowland* compiler naturally did not wish to transcribe the whole text, so instead he noted: *Fiunt inter Edmundum et Cnutum dire et frequentes congressiones, Edmundo semper strenue se agente*. The same treatment occurs under 1011 in the context of the Viking attacks. Where John of Worcester had listed a goodly number of tortures and manners of death of the English at the hands of the Danes, the annalist withdrew in disgust, leaving the note *Dani Cantuaria capta horrenda relatu perpetrant non sexui, non etati, non ordini, non sacrosanctis locis parcentes*.³⁵⁹ This is enough to justify the suggestion that the *Crowland* annalist was closely following a text he was tailoring to his own measurements.

Similarly, there is a sustained interest in papal affairs, as expected in a work of universal history. For the section where he is using known sources, the annals carefully list all popes, preserving, when found, their number in succession as well as the span of their pontificate.³⁶⁰ In addition to papal names, the annalist preserved as much derived pope-related information as he could, such as the record of papal acts

³⁵⁹ Similarly s.a. 1069: *Willelmus eo tendens totam Northanhimbriam ferro et flamme tradit, unde et fames secuta est intollerabilis*, summarizing John of Worcester's repulsive account, *JW*, iii, 8-11.

³⁶⁰ e.g. *Celestinus papa obit. Succedit quadragensimus tertius Sixtus, annis octo*, *Crowland*, 432.1.

and details about elected popes. The same interest also appears in the annalist's account of the 1200s and 1210s, where the annalist expresses his admiration for Pope Innocent III and high regard for his policies.³⁶¹

The annalist also seemed interested in numbers. This is not surprising, given the passion for computus that shoots through the entire work. Working from his sources, he extracted most of the numerical data he found and carefully transcribed it in his epitome, such as the many tributes paid to the Danes or the measurements of discovered bodies.³⁶²

Despite a close engagement with the *backbone narrative* as well as other sources, the style of the abridgment is paratactic and does not show real narrative construction, such as, for instance, a willingness to connect multi-year processes across annals or to express causality between disparate events. The only instance of narrativity in terms of a basic plot connecting events temporally and causally occurs solely within discrete accounts inside annals, merely reproducing the corresponding narrativity of the unabridged source text.

The *Crowland Chronicle* would have very little to say about the process of its composition if all the compiler did was to abridge, however sophisticatedly, the text of a single source. It has already been pointed out that in addition, the compiler used works by William of Malmesbury and William of Tyre. In fact, he used many more sources than that. Some have been identified, some have not, but the evidence

³⁶¹ For instance, *Crowland*, 1213.14.

³⁶² e.g. *Crowland*, 1001.1, 1007.1, 1012.1, 1014.1, 1018.1, 1041.3, 1071.3, 1075.5.

points to a compiler anxious to distil as many works in his compendium. A remarkable example of this ambition comes under 1099 where the compiler interpolated an abridgement of John of Worcester's text as found the *backbone narrative* with information from William of Tyre. It is possible then that the compiler was switching from one work to another,³⁶³ because when he wanted to mark the date of the capture of the city by the crusaders (where, incidentally, he interpolated a personal deictic interjection *a nostris*), he found contradictory dates in Worcester and Tyre, respectively.³⁶⁴ That he preferred Tyre's suggests that he may have valued an Easterner's report more. In any case, it serves to show the thoroughness that the Crowland compiler could achieve.

The compiler used William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum* in a similar way. Here, he seems to have used copies of both Malmesbury's works, and not extracts from them, as his abridgement is sometimes very close to the original texts.³⁶⁵ The extracted accounts follow each other in the original sequence, suggesting that, as with William of Tyre, the compiler was poring over the two works as he compiled his other sources. The image is that of a researcher burying himself in his source material, carefully assembling the many narrative voices into one single text. The edition of the *Crowland Chronicle* allows the reader to follow the compiler's many interpolations, sometimes occurring in the same sentence, reflecting the fastidious nature of the compilatory work. The identified sources used by the

³⁶³ The rest of the Crowland annal contains material extracted from John of Worcester, *Crowland*, 1099.1.

³⁶⁴ *Crowland*, 1099.1; *JW*, iii, 90; *WT*, 410.

³⁶⁵ There is no evidence, however, that any manuscripts of William of Malmesbury works ever travelled or were preserved at Crowland.

Crowland compiler are marked in the edition, where the reader may easily trace the compiler's use of written works. However, there is one other source that deserves a closer look.

The Crowland Chronicle and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

There is some evidence that the annalist may have used a Latin translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Many brief interpolated entries in *Crowland* seem to be related to passages in the *Waverley Annals* [henceforth *Waverley*], a chronicle compiled at the Cisterican abbey of Waverley in Surrey. Begun in the late twelfth century, it runs from the Incarnation to 1291.³⁶⁶ It survives now in British Library Cotton MS Vespasian A xvi. The first thousand annals were entered in a twelfth-century hand, while the rest in various hands of the thirteenth century.³⁶⁷

Crowland starts to share text absent from the *backbone narrative* with *Waverley* from 1000 and goes on, intermittently, until 1187. Many entries are identical in *Crowland* and *Waverley*, while sometimes *Crowland* preserves a shorter version of the same entry. Take for example the report of a miraculous yet monstrous birth under 1109: *Porca enixa est porcellum habentem faciem hominis*.³⁶⁸ Both *Crowland* and *Waverley* preserve the exact same words of the notice.³⁶⁹ It is probable that the entry originated in Sigebert de Gembloux's *Chronica*, which *Waverley* was known to have

³⁶⁶ 'Annales Monasterii de Waverleia' in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard Rolls Series 36 (London, 1865), ii, 129-411 [henceforth *Waverley*].

³⁶⁷ *Waverley*, xxxi.

³⁶⁸ *Crowland*, 1109.1.

³⁶⁹ *Waverley*, 213.

used³⁷⁰ and which represents the earliest attestation of the monstrous birth.³⁷¹ Did Crowland copy it from *Waverley* or did they use a common source? To answer this, one needs to turn to another equally dry report shared by the two sets of annals. This is found under 1120 and refers to another miraculous incident, the apparition of Holy Fire at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

The Crowland Chronicle

*Bis venit lumen ad sepulchrum
Domini*³⁷²

The Waverley Annals

*Hoc anno venit ignis divinus bis ad
sepulchrum Domini, primum in vigilia
Paschae, et post in Assumptione
Sanctae Mariae, sicut credibiles
homines dixerunt, qui inde
venerunt.*³⁷³

The reports correspond perfectly to that under 1120 in version E of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, also known as the *Peterborough Chronicle* [henceforth ASC E], surviving now only in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 636³⁷⁴:

*Dises geares com þet leoht to Sepulchrum Domini innan Ierusalem
twiges, ænes to Eastron and odre siðe to Assumptio Sancte Marie,
swa swa geleaffulle sædon þe þanon coman.*³⁷⁵

³⁷⁰ H. H. Howorth, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, its Origins and History [Part III]', *Archaeological Journal*, 69 (1912), 312–70, at 319–20.

³⁷¹ Bethmann, *Chronica Sigeberti Gemblacensis*, 372.

³⁷² 'Light came twice to the Holy Sepulchre', *Crowland*, 1120.1.

³⁷³ 'That year, light came twice to the Holy Sepulchre, first during Holy Week and then on the Assumption of Saint Mary, just as trustworthy men who came thence had said', *Waverley*, 217–8.

³⁷⁴ S. Irvine, (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition vol. 7 MS. E* (Cambridge, 2004) [henceforth ASC E].

There can be no doubt that the Old English version predates all the other Latin versions of the entry, which are, in all likelihood, translations of it. It is also plain that the knowledge of the miracle was obtained from travellers who returned from pilgrimage or Crusade. It may be observed that there are some significant lexical differences between the two versions. The word *lumen*, as it is used by the Crowland annalist, comes much closer to the Old English *þæt leoht* than *Waverley's ignis divinus*, which may be seen to add a layer of interpretation, not only by translating the words of the Greek *ἅγιον Φῶς* but also by linking the Jerusalem miracle to Pentecost.³⁷⁶ It is also worth noting that *in vigilia Paschae* is not the right translation of *Eastron*, though it reflects more faithfully the long-standing custom of the miracle, which indeed occurred on the eve of Easter.³⁷⁷ Clearly the author of the Waverley version of the report knew more than his Anglo-Saxon counterpart.

It has been argued that the Waverley annalist had access to a lost version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in which the annals from 1000 to 1121 were similar to those surviving in ASC E.³⁷⁸ While Sir Henry Howorth, following Plummer, acknowledged

³⁷⁵ 'In this year came the light twice to the Sepulchre of the Lord in Jerusalem, once at Easter, and then at [the feast of] the Assumption, as trustworthy [men] said, who came from there.' (my translation); ASC E, 121.

³⁷⁶ Acts 2:2.

³⁷⁷ M. Otto, 'The Ceremony of the Holy Fire in the Middle Ages and today', *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 16 (1961-2), 242-53.

³⁷⁸ H.H. Howorth, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, its Origins and History', *Archaeological Journal* 65 (1908), 141-204 [Part I], 66 (1909), 105-44 [Part II], 69 (1912), 312-70 [Part III], 313-8; ASC E, xxxiv-xxxv; S. Irvine, 'The Production of the Peterborough Chronicle' *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History*, ed. A. Jorgensen, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 23 (Turnhout, 2010), 49-66, at 51.

that *Waverley* followed the text of the ASC very closely, neither he nor any other scholar ever discussed the peculiarities of the 1120 account of the Holy Fire.³⁷⁹

Some scholars have argued instead that the *Waverley Annals* used the annals of Southwark via another lost set of annals known as the *Wintonienses deperditi*.³⁸⁰

The annals of Southwark were begun in the early thirteenth century and cover the years from the Incarnation to 1208.³⁸¹ Equally deriving from Southwark are the annals of Bermondsey [henceforth *Bermondsey*], which run from 1042 to 1432.³⁸² It is important to observe that the 1120 notice of the Holy Fire occurs also in

Bermondsey:

*Hoc anno Hierosolymis ad sepulchrum Domini bis lumen de caelo venit, scilicet in die Paschae et in Assumptione Beatae Mariae.*³⁸³

This version of the notice can also be traced to ASC E, but it is not clear what the relationship between the two is. The words *in die Paschae* are closer to the Old English version than those in *Waverley*, suggesting that Bermondsey did not copy it from *Waverley* or any other version descended from it.

³⁷⁹ Though it should be said that Luard indicated the Anglo-Saxon provenance of the 1120 *Waverley* report in the margin, *Waverley*, 218.

³⁸⁰ N. Denholm-Young, 'The Winchester-Hyde Chronicle', *EHR* 49 (1934), 85-93, at 85; F. Liebermann, *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen* (Strassburg, 1879), 173-202.

³⁸¹ M. Brett, 'The annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton', *Church and City, 1000-1500: Essays in honour of Christopher Brooke*, ed. D. Abulafia, M. Franklin and M. Rubin (Cambridge, 1992), 279-311, at 281.

³⁸² H.R. Luard, (ed.), *Annales Monasterii de Bermundesia*, in *Annales Monastici* 3 (London, 1866), 421-87 [Bermondsey].

³⁸³ *Bermondsey*, 433.

The annals of Reading, also known to historians as the *Winchester-Waverley Chronicle*³⁸⁴, preserve the same version of the account as in *Crowland: Bis lumen venit ad sepulchrum Domini*.³⁸⁵ It is generally accepted that the *Reading annals* are also descended from the putative *Wintoniensis deperditi* from which the annals of *Waverley* are also derived.³⁸⁶ If Liebermann and Denholm-Young were right, then it would mean that the account of the Holy Fire made its way from *Southwark* into *Waverley* and *Reading*, because that alone would explain how the annals of *Bermondsey*, *Waverley* and *Reading* preserve it. The annals of *Southwark*, however, only preserve an abridged version of the complete Holy Fire account, indicating that a different work must have fed into *Bermondsey* and then into *Reading* and *Waverley* via the lost Winchester annals.³⁸⁷ Liebermann and Denholm-Young's view of the relationship between the various annals is, therefore, incorrect. Martin Brett has reached the same judgement independently, arguing that 'another, possibly earlier, version seems to lie behind them'.³⁸⁸, but he did not challenge Liebermann's established stemma.

Brett's earlier version may be the source common to *Waverley*, *Bermondsey* and, most importantly, *Crowland*. To argue in defence of such a derivation requires that neither of them be a copy of each other. Going back to the 1120 annal, it becomes clear that *Waverley* cannot be a copy of *Bermondsey*, because it preserves a fuller

³⁸⁴ London, British Library, Cotton, MS Vespasian, E.iv; incompletely transcribed by Liebermann in *Geschichtsquellen*, 182-202 (from 541 to 1280 AD).

³⁸⁵ Liebermann, *Geschichtsquellen*, 182.

³⁸⁶ *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 467.

³⁸⁷ 'Bis venit lumen ad sepulchrum Domini', Oxford, Bodleian, Rawlinson MS B 177, fol. xxr.

³⁸⁸ Brett, 'The annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton', 281.

translation of *ASC E*. Similarly, *Bermondsey* cannot be a copy of *Crowland*. It remains the question whether *Bermondsey* and *Crowland*, who preserve a less complete version of the 1120 record, copied it from *Waverley*.

ASC E records an eclipse under 1140, which is lacking in *Waverley*. Although this may rightfully seem to be a trivial entry, it is important to look at the way the observation was entered in *ASC E*, *Bermondsey* and *Crowland*:

<i>ASC E</i> (s.a. 1140)	<i>Bermondsey</i> (s.a. 1139)	<i>Crowland</i> (s.a. 1139)
<p><i>perefter in þe lengten þestrede þe sunne & te dæi abuton nontid dæies þa men eten, ðat me lihtede candles to æten bi, & þat was xiii kalendis Aprilis.</i> ³⁸⁹<i>Waeron men suythe ofwundred.</i></p>	<p><i>Et hoc anno eclipsis facta est solis xiii kalendis Aprilis, mediante hora nona, et mansit fere per spatium unius horae, et apparuerunt stellae plurimae circa solem.</i>³⁹⁰</p>	<p><i>Eclipsis solis</i></p>

A close comparison of *ASC E* and *Bermondsey* reveals much textual agreement between the Old English and the Latin versions of the report. They both date the eclipse on 20 March. They both mention that it happened around noon, while *mediante* seems to translate the Old English *abuton*. However, the two texts differ in the rest of the details. *ASC E* focuses on the magnitude of the eclipse, while

³⁸⁹ *ASC E*, 136; 'After this, during Lent, the sun and the day darkened about the noon-tide of the day, when men were eating; and they lighted candles to eat by. That was the thirteenth day before the kalends of April. Men were greatly wonderstricken', J. Ingram, (trans.), *The Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1823), 369-70.

³⁹⁰ 'And this year there was an eclipse of the sun around noon on the thirteenth day before the kalends of April, and it lasted for the space of almost one hour, and many stars appeared around the sun'.

Bermondsey on its duration and afterglow. It may be conjectured that when *Bermondsey* stated that the eclipse lasted for an hour, it was perhaps meant as a paraphrase of the Old English detail that people had to light candles for lunch.

In his *Historia Novella*, William of Malmesbury also reported the eclipse and gave the same detail about the stars around the sun as *Bermondsey* did.³⁹¹ William no doubt found the report in a version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* akin to ASC E.³⁹² He elaborated heavily on what he found written, noting that those people who, according to ASC E, had candlelit lunch, were 'sitting at table' and 'feared the primeval chaos', before 'learning what it was' by going out and seeing 'the stars around the sun'. He added this in order to turn the naturalistic observation of the eclipse in ASC E into an ominous portent, for he added that 'it was thought and said by many, nor were they wrong, that the king would not survive the year in office without loss.'³⁹³

It is unlikely that *Bermondsey* copied the text of the report from Malmesbury.³⁹⁴ Besides, *Bermondsey* has the notice under 1139, as *Crowland* does. Yet, *Crowland* agrees more with *Waverley* and ASC E (by entering the notice of the eclipse under 1139) than ASC E does with *Bermondsey*. Consequently, *Malmesbury* and *Bermondsey* derived the eclipse report independently from a version of the Anglo-

³⁹¹ E. King, (ed.), K.R. Potter, (trans.), *William of Malmesbury, Historia Novella*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1998), 74-5.

³⁹² King, *Historia Novella*, xxv; R.R. Newton, *Medieval Chronicles and the Rotation of the Earth*, (Baltimore, 1972), 99-100.

³⁹³ King, *Historia Novella*, 74-5.

³⁹⁴ The eclipse also features in the annals of Margan (s. xiii), but the report was copied from William of Malmesbury, as it was the case for much of the earlier annals, H.R. Luard, (ed.), *Annales de Margan*, in *Annales Monastici* 1, Rolls Series 36 (London, 1864), xiii.

Saxon Chronicle. It is important to note that all English records of the 1140 solar eclipse are copies of the observation found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.³⁹⁵

Another question to ask is whether there was another solar eclipse in 1139, as recorded in *Crowland* and *Bermondsey*, but the answer is clearly negative. *Crowland* and *Bermondsey* entered the report under the wrong year. While they could very well have made this error independently, the fact that *Crowland* agrees with *Bermondsey* against *Waverley* and with *Waverley* against *Bermondsey* suggests that the error of recording the eclipse under 1139 was in the source *Crowland* and *Bermondsey* both used for that year. And since *Waverley* does not report the eclipse at all, while agreeing with *Crowland* in other text plucked from a version of *ASC E* indicates, on the one hand, that *Waverley* cannot have been *Crowland's* source for the text they share with each other, and on the other, that *Crowland* and *Waverley* used a common source for the text shared between them, especially for the interstitial annals of 1155-69. In fact, the agreement between *Crowland* and *Waverley* for those annals is the strongest of the entire period covered by each.

This detailed discussion of the material ultimately derived from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* shows the amount of sharing of text and circulation of material between

³⁹⁵ Continental sources never agree with *ASC E* as to the time of day when the eclipse occurred, while most do not record the correct day, F. K. Ginzel, 'Astronomische Untersuchungen über Finsternisse: II. Abhandlung. Grundlagen aus historischen Sonnenfinsternissen zur Ableitung empirischen Correctionen der Mondbahn', *Sitzungsberichte der Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien* 88 (1883), 629-755, at 707-8. The detail of the stars around the sun must therefore be the interpolation of a writer copying from a version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle where the detail was missing, perhaps for the purpose of enhancing the report, much as William of Malmesbury did.

monasteries. Martin Brett has shown the magnitude of the circulation of annals around the London area, with the monasteries of Waverley, Southwark, Merton and Bermondsey feeding on a now lost set of London annals.³⁹⁶ A copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was obtained, translated and then disseminated into many of these works. The Crowland annalist shared in this historiographical feast, contributing to the growth of monastic annalistic writing in the thirteenth century.

The Crowland annalist also used material that is now impossible to identify. These interpolations are marked in the text of the edition. Some may have been the fruit of general knowledge, as for instance the compiler's pleasure at attaching sobriquets to notable men. The written sources he used only seldom mention nicknames of kings and emperors. The compiler, however, often supplements the onomastic information with detail that does not occur in his identified sources.³⁹⁷ Elsewhere, the compiler added detail drawn from previous annals, showing a desire for narrativity and cohesion, though that rarely hits its target.³⁹⁸ In some other places, yet rather infrequently, he explains English words through their Latin equivalent. One remarkable example of this occurs under 1212, where the annalist gives the English *uthes* for the Latin *cornus strepitus*.

³⁹⁶ Brett, 'Annals of Bermondsey, Southwark, Merton', 296.

³⁹⁷ For instance, Charles Martel was not known as such by John of Worcester, which the compiler used for 741. He supplemented the obit with further information, noting that 'hic Martellus dictus est sive Tudites', *Crowland*, 741.2. The same can be seen for other princes, such as Charles the Bold, Louis the Pious, Charles the Simple, William Rufus, Robert Curthose, etc.

³⁹⁸ see *Haraldus Godwini filius*, *Crowland*, 1064.1.

The bulk of these microinterpolations seems to be the result of living memory and general reading, rather than based on written sources used *ad hoc*. Even some of the compiler's classical knowledge was committed to the annals, but that is a discussion for the next chapter.

Scholars studying this text – the focus having usually been on the 1202–25 annals – have generally noted the 'lack of local attachment', by which they meant that the compiler did not assume the point of view of a monk attached to a certain house, writing for the benefit of his own monastery.³⁹⁹ So strong was this sense of rootlessness that Gransden even contemplated the idea that the author may have only joined the orders late in life. For this reason, scholars have failed to identify its provenance and its author.

The second part of this chapter seeks to challenge that view and to propose that the 'lack of local attachment' is only superficial. It will be argued that the compiler consciously promoted the abbey of Crowland, projecting some of his identity as a monk there into the text of the annals. Without seeking to identify the author at this point, this section proposes that the *Crowland Chronicle* has a clear narrative centre of gravity. The chronicle's universalistic texture was thus softened by a very delicate thread of localism.

A monastic focalisation

³⁹⁹ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 340; Liebermann, *Geschichtsquellen*, 234.

The term *focalization* was coined by Gérard Genette and constitutes one of the cornerstones of his narratological theory.⁴⁰⁰ It describes a selection or restriction of narrative information in relation to the experience and knowledge of the narrator. The reason for its being used in this context is that it represents a good expression of the passageway leading the reader from the text to its author. Moreover, it avoids the term *monastic focus* which misrepresents, by its assumption of monastic-centredness, the aims of the Crowland annalist.

One paradox arising from the study of the *Crowland Chronicle* is that the work was not produced to be a chronicled history of the abbey. The prologue does not mention any affiliation. The annalist never explicitly identifies himself as writing at or on behalf of a particular house. The text did not even circulate as a product of one abbey. The misnomer of Barnwell was born due to added marginal abbatial *fasti* notices, and not of any authorial intention.

Many annals created in a monastic setting were clear about their intention and provenance.⁴⁰¹ Some cartularies also evolved out of monastic in-house chronicling.⁴⁰² The text of such annals is often soaked with a sense of locality, which

⁴⁰⁰ G. Genette, *Narrative Discourse. An Essay in Method* (Oxford, 1972).

⁴⁰¹ Not counting the more famous chronicles of St. Edmunds and the Wendover-Paris St. Albans family, the annals of Margam, Burton, Tewkesbury and Dunstable provide good examples of such localised, institutionally-focused writing. R.W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European tradition of historical writing: 4. The Sense of the Past' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (1973), 243-263, at 256-8.

⁴⁰² Van Houts, 'Local and Regional Chronicles', 16, 29; H. Patze, 'Klostergründung und Klosterchronik' *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 113 (1977), 89-121; P. Genet, 'Cartulaires, registres et histoire: l'exemple anglais', *Le Métier d'Historien au Moyen Âge. Études sur l'Historiographie Médiévale*, ed. B. Guenée (Paris, 1977), 95-138.

may accompany for a restriction of vision.⁴⁰³ Focusing on the affairs of the abbey could lead the compiler away from a wider perspective on regional, national and international affairs and to a more local point of view.⁴⁰⁴ There were various strategies to accomplish this. The monk commissioned to write the annals could either draw attention in a prologue to the reason for compilation and the place of writing, which was frequently built on well-rehearsed formulas.⁴⁰⁵ The monastery could be given visibility by incorporating various yet specific information about matters that would normally interest a monastic community, such as land acquisitions, buildings, law suits, architectural misfortunes but, most of all, abbatial appointments and obituaries.⁴⁰⁶ In its most simple form, a monastic set of annals would do well to mention all abbots since the foundation, in the form of *X obit, successit Y*. A more evolved set of annals, although in nature not much different, would incorporate some details about the abbots and their ministry, which could range from very scant points about their character (good versus evil abbot) to something more elaborate, such as the abbots' role in the development of the abbey.

⁴⁰³ There is some ambiguity in the modern use of the expression 'monastic chronicle/annals' as this does not distinguish between a narrative written in the cloister and the work's narrative centre of gravity which, in order to be classified as 'monastic', needs to profess a sense of belonging to a particular monastic community. Krüger, *Universalchroniken*, 13; see also J. Nelson, (ed.), *The Annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester, 1991), 2-4.

⁴⁰⁴ Goetz, 'On the Universality', 259.

⁴⁰⁵ Gransden, 'Prologues in the Historiography', 125-6.

⁴⁰⁶ A good example of such information covered by a monastic chronicle are the annals of Dunstable, H.R. Luard, (ed.), *Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia*, in *Annales Monastici* 3, Rolls Series 36 (London, 1866), 3-408; B. Roest, 'Later Medieval Institutional History', *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Mauskopf-Deliyannis (Leiden, 2003), 277-315 at 279-80.

Moving beyond abbatial entries, such annals could also record events relative to the patron and local saints, such as micro-narratives or records and accounts of miracles which they performed over the centuries, translations of relics, construction of shrines and so on.⁴⁰⁷ In addition to these, local events around the abbey may find some narrative space as well, such as the foundation of sister abbeys, the pillaging of the surrounding area during periods of turmoil, acquisition or loss of land, the visit of bishops, sheriffs and kings, etc.⁴⁰⁸ As Roest put it, 'the monastic chronicle is the memory of the monastery's religious, judicial, and economic reality and continuity.'⁴⁰⁹

There are, however, other strategies of conveying a sense of locality than the ones outlined above, and these tend to be less assertive. For instance, the annals of Tewkesbury compiled in the thirteenth century note that when the interdict was lifted in 1214, the monks of Tewksbury resumed the celebration of Mass on 5 July.⁴¹⁰ He expressed that using a deictic interjection – a personal pronoun in the first person plural. In this case, the author identified himself as one of the Tewkesbury monks (or at the very least *with* the monks).

Such works are, so to speak, house-centred, that is they construct and represent space (and sometimes time as well) as emanating from the particular monastery's centre of gravity.⁴¹¹ By virtue of the same practice, the point of view relative to events

⁴⁰⁷ Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry*, 12.

⁴⁰⁸ Gransden, *Historical Writing; Partner, Serious Entertainments*.

⁴⁰⁹ Roest, 'Later Medieval Institutional History', 278.

⁴¹⁰ *Nos incepimus divina celebrare iii. non, Julii*, H. R. Luard, (ed.), *Annales de Theokesberia*, in *Annales Monastici 1*, Rolls Series 36 (London, 1864), i, 61.

⁴¹¹ Luard, *Annales monastici*, i, x-xiii.

of national and European relevance can also be monastery-centric as well, to the extent that political and religious events, for instance, are assessed and appraised with the monastery's (or/and the order's, as for Cistercian historiography) self-interest at heart.⁴¹² The *Crowland Chronicle*, however, provides a refreshing departure from many of these features.

With some exceptions of which St Albans was the most notable, history writing in England became increasingly localised in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴¹³ There was a proliferation of monastic, aristocratic, royal and municipal chronicles and histories, each with its own narrative centre of gravity.⁴¹⁴

A narrative centre of gravity is made up of those elements that convey the sense of locality mentioned above. They identify with but transcend the narrative point of view which, in the case of annals, may not even operate in the case of many annals, as some postmodernist critics have suggested.⁴¹⁵ Indeed, one of the leading debates in the theory of historiographical genres has focused on the narratological weight of

⁴¹² See the extreme case of the Abingdon Chronicle.

⁴¹³ One has in mind here the history written at St Albans, in particular Roger of Wendover's *Flores* and Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*. These works should not be allowed to overshadow the main argument.

⁴¹⁴ G. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: the Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1993); Van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*; H. Schmidt, *Die deutschen Städtechroniken als Spiegel des bürgerlichen Selbstverständnis im Spätmittelalter* (Göttingen, 1958); B. Guenée, 'Les Grandes Chroniques de France: Le Roman aux rois (1274-1518)', *Les Lieux de mémoire*, ed. P. Nora (Paris, 1986), 189-214.

⁴¹⁵ H. White, 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality', *Critical Inquiry* 7 (1980-1), 5-27 esp. at 6 (reprinted in H. White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, (Baltimore, 1987)); R.F. Berkhofer, *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (London, 1995), 37; J. Topolski, 'Historical Narrative: Towards a Coherent Structure', *History and Theory*, Beiheft 26 (1979), 75-86, at 80.

medieval annals, with some suggesting that monastic (or otherwise) annals should not even be regarded as narrative sources because "they do not provide a continuous or connected exposition".⁴¹⁶ One of the more famous critics of annals as narrative has pointed to the annals' open-endedness or lack of epistemic closure, an unavoidable consequence, the argument goes, of the fact that annals and chronicles do not weave satisfactory stories around the 'dry-as-dust' record of events.⁴¹⁷

Other scholars have observed, however, that such centres of gravity attract and arrange narrative matter in annals and chronicles which otherwise may seem unrelated, irrelevant, and an inventory of non-sequiturs.⁴¹⁸ Rosamund McKitterick's work on the *Royal Frankish Annals* has shown that what seemed to be 'year-by-year' jottings 'should be read as part of the annalist(s)' elaborate articulation of political convictions.⁴¹⁹ A similar case has been made for the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.⁴²⁰

Time very often works as an organizing principle, gathering up outwardly unrelated strands into a significant bundle. It provides that conceptual framework so elusive for

⁴¹⁶ S. Lamb, 'Evidence from Absence: Omission and Inclusion in Early Medieval Annals', *The Medieval Chronicle VII* (Amsterdam, 2011), 88-108, at 91.

⁴¹⁷ White 'The Value of Narrativity', 9; also J.O. Ward, "'Chronicle' and 'History': the medieval origins of postmodern historiographical practice', *Parergon* 14 (1997), 101-128; Ward, 'Some Principles of Rhetorical Historiography in the Twelfth Century', *Classical Rhetoric and Medieval Historiography*, ed. E. Breisach (Kalamazoo, 1985), 103-65, esp. 104-107; G. Scheibelreiter, 'Justinian und Belisar in fränkischer Sicht: Zur Interpretation von Fredegar, Chronicon II 62' in *BYZANTIOS: Festschrift für Herbert Hunger*, ed. W. Hörandner, J. Koder, O. Kresten and E. Trapp (Vienna, 1984), 267-80, at 269.

⁴¹⁸ Lamb, 'Evidence from Absence', 47-8.

⁴¹⁹ R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), 102

⁴²⁰ S. Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles' *Writing Medieval History*, ed. N. Partner (London, 2005), 88-108 at 99-102.

modern readers which furnishes the key to understanding why apparently unlinked elements are brought together in the same text.⁴²¹ A Christian theology of time is embedded, as has already been pointed out, in all universal chronicles. It is one of their defining features. The plot which may seem to lack in the discrete annals is provided by an understanding of salvific time collecting all peoples and events and leading them into the seventh age. With its strong chronological and computistical fabric, the *Crowland Chronicle* is a good example of how the chronological sequence acted as a significant organizing principle. A strong argument is the fact that the sequence of annals runs uninterrupted down to the last. If there was nothing to note for a given year, the annalist nonetheless drew the year and the computistical apparatus. 'Barren', yet listed years witness to the importance of the chronological sequence as an organizing principle.⁴²²

Yet, time was not the only centre of gravity in *Crowland*. The chronicle reveals a monastic narrative centre which cuts across the entire set of annals. In the first chapter, it was necessary to examine certain aspects of this in order to demonstrate that the text of A should be recognised as the work of one annalist throughout. Now this may be examined more fully.

On close examination, the chronicle reveals a significant amount of text that refers to historical, religious and financial aspects pertaining to the abbey of Crowland. This material may be divided into four thematic groups: first, there are abbatial elections,

⁴²¹ Cronon denounces the lack of a 'sense of connection' which characterises chronicles, W. Cronon, 'A place for stories: Nature, History and Narrative' *Journal of American History* 78 (1992), 1347-1376, at 1351.

⁴²² Hayward, 'Winchcombe and Coventry', i, 11-2.

deaths and successions; second, memorable events and occurrences at the abbey; third, there is what has been called the 'monastic extended family', namely references to other monasteries and individuals affiliated with Crowland, its abbot or its monks; lastly, there are references to Crowland's religious capital, in particular to its patron saints. These four categories summarise, *grosso modo*, the extent of the narrative visibility conceded to the abbey and may be said to constitute the Crowland narrative centre of gravity as it is.

Before such an examination may be undertaken, however, something should be said about references to other monasteries in the annals. The *Chronicle* contains notices about various abbeys, but it must be said from the outset that Crowland is the only one that receives consistent, if not focused, coverage.⁴²³ As a Benedictine monk, the annalist was certainly interested in other regional and national abbeys, but none took over the focus reserved to Crowland. A writer of universal history was expected, moreover, to cover the evolution of the monastic landscape as part of the divine plan of redemption into the seventh age.⁴²⁴

Antonia Gransden has observed, nevertheless, that the annalist had 'special notices about [the abbeys of] Crowland and Thorney', the latter being a Benedictine foundation closely associated with Crowland and some six miles south of it. One can be sure that Gransden was only looking at the 1202–25 annals, and not the earlier material.⁴²⁵ Her description of the Thorney material is inaccurate. When she writes

⁴²³ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, i, 340.

⁴²⁴ Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry*, 12.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

that 'the chronicler records the death of one abbot of Thorney, Ralph, 'a religious and God-fearing man', under 1216, and the deposition of another, Robert 'on account of certain excesses' under 1195', she gives the impression that she is referring to the pre-1202 annals as well as the 1202–25 ones. Yet there is nothing of the sort under 1195. She must have had the 1220 annal in mind, for there is indeed a reference to Robert *quondam abbas de Torneya, sed propter quosdam excessus depositus*, who brought papal letters to England authorizing Henry III's second coronation.⁴²⁶ The deposition is not to be found at all under 1195, the year when Abbot Robert was indeed deposed by the archbishop and carried off to Gloucester to be imprisoned.⁴²⁷ On the other hand, several Thorney abbatial successions are recorded, of which one may indeed suggest that there might have been a connection between Crowland and Thorney.⁴²⁸ A notice under 1216 records, as Gransden pointed out, the death of Abbot Ralph, whom the Crowland annalist describes as *vir religiosus et timens Deum*. There is not much information in this notice, but it does suggest that there may have been a link between Ralph and Crowland. He is the only abbot of Thorney whose election and death are recorded in the chronicle. The reason for it is almost certainly related to the fact that Ralph had been abbot of Freiston in Lincolnshire before he was elected abbot of Thorney.⁴²⁹ Freiston (or Freston) had been founded around 1114 as a cell of the abbey of Crowland and remained so until the fifteenth

⁴²⁶ *Crowland*, 1220.3; D.A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990), 187.

⁴²⁷ *Gervase*, i, 530; *PL* 214, cols. 1026-9.

⁴²⁸ The record of Abbot Ralph under 1195 and 1216 strengthens the argument made in the first chapter of this study that the annals on each side of 1202 belong to the same work.

⁴²⁹ *Crowland*, 1220.3; The *Thorney Cartulary* (*Red Book of Thorney*) surviving in Cambridge, University Library, MS Additional 3020-3021 calls him *simplex* (fol. 424r).

century.⁴³⁰ The little that is known about it comes, moreover, from Crowland sources.⁴³¹ That Ralph's succession as well as his death are recorded in *Crowland* seems to suggest that he was well known at the abbey or to the annalist. Strong connections may have existed between Crowland and Thorney because of a shared interest in computus. Thorney had been a centre of computistical thought since the early twelfth century. Scholars have recently argued that the now famous Oxford, St John's College, MS 17, containing a remarkable collection of scientific works, was produced at the abbey.⁴³² The annals of Thorney were entered in the margins of tables for calculating the date of Easter. The *Crowland Chronicle* exhibits, as already noted, a strong interest in computistical thought and it may even be argued (as it is later in this chapter) that its production was prompted by concerns for calendrical accuracy.

It seems, then, that all roads lead to Crowland. The Thorney material served as a good illustration of the ways in which the annalist could reveal some of his identity. He did, however, more than record abbeys and individuals related, in some way, to his home abbey of Crowland. The monastery's narrative visibility in the chronicle is highest in the way the annalist covered the abbatial appointments, deaths and successions.

⁴³⁰ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6vols. (London: Longman, 1817-30), iv, 124-8; *Calendar of the charter rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, 6vols. (London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1903-20), iii, 102.

⁴³¹ *Hist. Croy.*, 119.

⁴³² See *The Calendar and the Cloister: Oxford - St. John's College MS17* project at <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/> (accessed 13 Feb 2015), especially the two background essays by Faith Wallis, 'St John's 17: Location and Dating' and 'St. John's College MS 17 as a computus manuscript'.

1. The evidence of the abbots

In the previous chapter, it became necessary to include a list of Crowland-related items extracted from the chronicle in order to argue in favour of a Crowland provenance. The list highlighted, among others, notices about Crowland abbots, their election, death and succession, concluding that the annals were the work of a someone writing at Crowland. In this section, a more thorough examination of the evidence is attempted.

The abbey of Crowland is one of those medieval foundations whose history comes almost exclusively from sources produced at the abbey. This kind of self-historiography tends to create problems because some of its claims cannot be confirmed in other, more independent sources. Almost everything that is known about the monastery in the early Middle Ages – and to some extent even later on – is derived from accounts written at the abbey towards the end of the medieval period and whose veracity has been under attack for almost two centuries.⁴³³ To recount the early history of the abbey of Crowland, then, is to invite a lot of well-deserved doubt. The aim of this chapter, however, is not to establish the truth about the existence of Crowland abbots, but to illustrate how the Crowland annalist consciously gave the annals a local touch, by recording a complete roll of Crowland abbots from the foundation of the monastery down to the first half of the thirteenth century.

⁴³³ The target here is the *Historia Croylandensis* and its continuations, of which more is said below.

Crowland makes a first appearance in the *Chronicle* under the annal for 699, when St. Guthlac *Croilandiam veniens anno vite sue xxvi, vitam ibidem duxit anachoreticam.*⁴³⁴ A few annals later, under 716, the *Chronicle* records in some detail the succession of King Æthelbald who founded a monastery on the island of Crowland, which may be regarded as the first mention of Crowland as a monastic foundation in the chronicle.⁴³⁵ The short account does not appear in the chronicle of John of Worcester, the annalist's chief source for that period. Considering the concision of these annals, the 716 'foundation account' is remarkable in the way it manages to convey a sense of local space:

*Hic insulam Croilandie palis quercinis quindecim vel eo amplius
pedum in paludem defixit et terra desuper congesta exaltavit fratribus
Deo et sancto Guthlaco ibidem servitutis locum illum sicut finibus
distinguitur cum aliis donavit.*⁴³⁶

The mapping of local space had begun. Later, under the year 1048, the annalist stated that stone from the quarry at Barnack, *villa lapidiscinis copiosa*, was used for the rebuilding of the monastery.⁴³⁷

The name of Crowland is not mentioned again until the annal for 949, which gives the name of the first known abbots of Crowland: Thurketel, his nephew and two other of his kinsmen, both named Æthelric; then Osketel, Godric, Brithmer and Ulthgat.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁴ *Crowland*, 699.1; for St. Guthlac, see B. Colgrave, (ed. and trans.), *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956), esp. 1-19.

⁴³⁵ *Crowland*, 716.2.

⁴³⁶ *Crowland*, 716.2.

⁴³⁷ *Crowland*, 1048.3.

Following this brief list of abbots crammed in a single annal, there is no mention of others until 1085, when Ingulf's name is recorded as succeeding Ulketel.⁴³⁹ All other sources are also silent for this intervening period. Under 1109, the chronicle records the death of Abbot Ingulf and from that point on the annalist mentions all the known abbots of Crowland: Geoffrey (1110–24), Waltheof (1124–38), Godfrey (1138–42), Edward (1142–75), Robert (1175–90) and Henry de Longchamp (1190–1236). As the annals end in 1225, Henry's death is not recorded.

The Crowland abbatial fasti are brief and dry, but they are significant. All abbots are mentioned, at least all who are known from other Crowland sources.⁴⁴⁰ It represents a clear commemorative effort, while at the same time conferring on the chronicle a sort of authorial signature, as if it were saying, 'this might be a work of universal history, but it is a Crowland production.'⁴⁴¹ Moreover, there is an idea of institutional pride in the desire to record a five-century old monastic presence.

⁴³⁸ *Thurketellus clericus Lundoniensis in maneriis et prediis predives ab Edredo rege Croilandiam impetravit. Eidemque loco vi maneria conferens monasticam ibidem vitam suscepit. Ubi et postmodum ad abbatem promotus [...] Egelrico succesit Oscitellus. [...] Croilandie transferri fecit Oschetello. Succesit Godricus. Godrico Brictrimerus. Brictrimerus Wlgatus, Crowland, 949.2.*

⁴³⁹ *Ingulfus abbas Croilandia Ulketello deposito, Crowland, 1085.2.*

⁴⁴⁰ The most complete account of the history of Crowland remains W. Page, *The Victoria History of the County of Lincoln*, 2 vols. (London, 1906), ii, 105-18 with Marjorie Chibnall's reservations in *Orderic*, ii, xxv-xix.

⁴⁴¹ A chief feature of monastic local history writing is the fact that such works usually begin with a foundational account of the abbey or with miracles or deeds of its founding figure, and do not go back to any of the milestone dates of salvation history, Van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, 26; B. Roest, 'Later Medieval Institutional History', *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden-Boston, 2003), 277-315, at 279.

Most Crowland abbots are mentioned only by name, but there are some for whom more detail is given. When annals are as brief and dry as those for 1–1212, every small interpolation and departure from the usual concision counts as possible evidence into authorial intentionality. One way to trace it is by looking at what the annalist had to say about those abbots for whom he recorded more than their names. Besides, he did not find the information in his usual sources, but had to obtain it from either other monks or from documents in the abbey archives.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the most detailed portrayal of a Crowland abbot was that of the first, the tenth-century Thurketel. The narrative under 949 provides a refreshing break from the laconic entries of the preceding annals:

Thurketellus clericus Lundoniensis in maneriis et prediis predives ab Edredo rege Croilandiam impetravit. Eidemque loco vi maneria conferens monasticam ibidem vitam suscepit. Ubi et postmodum ad abbatem promotus donationes suas quas Croilandie fecerat privilegiis regiis et archiepiscoporum Dunstani et Oswaldi eorumque suffraganeorum subscriptionibus corroborari fecit.

A clerk called Thurketel of London, rich in manors and estates, obtained Crowland from king Eadred. After he had added six manors to the same place, he took up monastic life there. After he was made abbot of that place, he caused the donations which he had made to Crowland to be confirmed by royal privileges and with the attestations of archbishops Dunstan and Oswald as well as their suffragans.

Where did the annalist take the information from? The account does not occur anywhere in the sources which the annalist had been using up to that point.

However, it very closely resembles Orderic Vitalis' account of the same events in his

Historia Ecclesiastica:

*Tempore Edredi regis, Turketelus quidam clericus Lundoniensis fuit, qui a praefato rege ut sibi Crulandiam donaret expetiit. Cui rex quod petierat libenter annuit. Erat enim idem clericus de regali progenie, cognatus Osketeli Eboracensis metropolitae, multas habens divitias amplasque possessiones, quas omnes parvipendebat propter aeternas mansiones. Crulandiam quippe, ut diximus, non pro augendis fundis a rege poposcerat; sed, quia religiosos ibi viros, in solitudine scilicet, quae undique paludibus et stagnis circumdabatur, cognoverat, contemptis omnibus hujus saeculi delectamentis, divino cultui se mancipare decreverat. Ordinatis itaque prudenter rebus suis, Crulandiae monachus factus est, et aucta ibidem studio ejus monachorum congregatione, magister eorum et abbas nutu Dei et bonorum electione effectus est. Hic familiarissimus fuit amicus sanctis praesulibus, qui tunc temporis regebant Ecclesiam Dei, Dunstano archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Adelwoldo Wintoniensi, et Oswaldo Wigornensi et postmodum archiepiscopo Eboracensi, eorumque consiliis summo nisu saetegit famulari. Hic, ut diximus, magnae generositatis fuit, et LX maneria de patrimonio parentum suorum possedit, pro quorum animabus sex villas, scilicet Wenliburg et Bebi, Wiritorp et Elmintonam, Cotehham et Oghintonam Crulandensi Ecclesiae dedit, et testamentum inde sigillo strenuissimi regis Edgari filii Edmundi regis signatum confirmavit. Dunstanus etiam archiepiscopus cum suffraganeis suis praedictarum rerum donationem, facto crucis in charta signo corroboravit, et quisquis praefatae Ecclesiae de praenominatis abstulerit, nisi digna satisfactione emendaverit, aeternae maledictionis anathemate excommunicavit.*⁴⁴²

There can be no doubt that the Crowland account is an epitomised version of Orderic. Crowland does not add any details that are not in Orderic, but follows the latter very closely in all points. For instance, they both agree that Thurketel had been a London clerk, that he gave six manors to Crowland, and that the donations were

⁴⁴² Orderic, ii, 340.

confirmed with signatures. So, was the Crowland annalist copying from Orderic? And more importantly, why the effort?

In his work, Orderic stated that his knowledge of the history of Crowland came from the subprior and from some senior monks during a five-week visit at the monastery sometime in the 1100s or 1120s. The reason was that the abbot had asked him to write an abridged life of St Guthlac. Orderic, his account implies, was too inquisitive not to show interest for Crowland's past also.⁴⁴³

The 949 account in *Crowland* is the only passage shared with Orderic. And since the latter's work did not circulate at all in England, the Crowland annalist cannot have used a copy of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. However, a copy of the account found in Orderic survived in a manuscript that used to belong to Crowland Abbey, now Douai, Public Library, MS 852.⁴⁴⁴ Orderic's text is preserved in a late-twelfth century hand, immediately followed by a succession of short notices about abbots of Crowland (*Gesta Abbatum Croylandie*) from the twelfth to the late-thirteenth century.⁴⁴⁵ This section was written in three stages and by three scribes. The first worked in the late twelfth century and was responsible for the text from fol. 52v down to the last half-line of fol. 54v, ending with a brief record of Henry de Longchamp's succession to the abbacy. The rest of Henry's office was recorded by a second scribe who appears to have worked contemporaneously down to 1254, when he recorded the death of

⁴⁴³ Orderic, ii, 338.

⁴⁴⁴ For a description of this MS, see Colgrave, *Felix's Life*, 39-42; N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1983), 56. I am indebted to Dr. Timothy Bolton for having inspected the manuscript himself and for having provided me with reproductions of its contents.

⁴⁴⁵ Douai MS 852, fols. 52v-56v.

abbot Thomas de Welle, without however naming his successor (halfway through fol. 55v). That was the job for the third scribe who carried the account into 1280 and to abbot Ranulf de Merche's death. (fol. 56v). Was this, therefore, the Crowland chronicle's source for the 949 account?

The relationship between Douai MS 852 and Orderic's *Historia* has been discussed by Marjorie Chibnall. She thought that perhaps the text of the account in the Douai manuscript derived from a copy of the account that Orderic left at Crowland.⁴⁴⁶ Moreover, *The Guthlac Roll*, drawn up around the same time as the Douai manuscript (early 13th century), also bears witness to Orderic's account, strongly suggesting that a version of Orderic's text was preserved at the abbey.⁴⁴⁷ Whether the Crowland annalist copied directly from the Douai MS or from a common source is less important. He felt that he had to anchor his work in the local past as well as in the universality of sacred history. One foundational account had been the Incarnation, which provided the starting point of the annals. The other one was also a starting point, but one which set the beginnings of the abbey's existence. It was a decision that required him to use a source produced a century before but preserved in the abbey archive.

⁴⁴⁶ *Orderic*, ii, xxvi-xxvii. In producing her remarkable edition, Chibnall alluded to this possibility on two occasions, but not consistently. In *Orderic*, i, 113, she wrote: 'The account of the foundation of Crowland Abbey remained in England to be copied and excerpted in later histories of the abbots' but in *Orderic*, ii, xxvi: 'Probably Orderic left a copy of his epitome and short history at Crowland'.

⁴⁴⁷ In the last roundel, abbot Thurketel carries a scroll which lists the six manors mentioned by Orderic, London, British Library, Harley Roll Y.6, r. 18; G. Warner, *The Guthlac Roll* (Oxford, 1928), 15.

It is remarkable, however, how the annalist managed to preserve the universalist framework he had imposed on his work from the start, while adding these points of local and institutional detail. Nowhere in the account for 949 did he explicitly make known that he was writing at the abbey. He did not refer to the monastery as 'our monastery', or to Guthlac as 'our saint'. There were many opportunities for deictic interjections in the possessive, but he limited himself to only a few. As a resident monk, he was surely distressed when Savaric de Mauléon's men pillaged the surrounding area and raided the monastery in 1216. Yet, his outrage could only lift itself to 'our times could not recall that such a burning had been done in such a short time in our parts'.⁴⁴⁸ Local history is never allowed to become local. Instead, it is made to serve the master-narrative, that of divine providence. Even in the later, more analytical annals, the chronicler does not succumb to the deuniversalizing temptation of yielding to the circumstantial. In the narrative of the baronial revolt of 1215–7, the annalist is at his most perceptive. Yet, even then his providential worldview is strong and definitive, an indication that he still saw himself writing universal history with an English flavour.

The annalist must have been inspired by the same commitment to a universalist framework when his annals reached the office of the abbot under whom the chronicle was composed. This was Henry de Longchamp, and he became abbot in 1190. The annals were written during his term, but the annalist never allowed him to become more than a figure among other figures advancing God's work in history. He did not praise or criticise him, or at least not explicitly. Instead, he alluded to Henry in

⁴⁴⁸ *Crowland*, 1216.10.

a number of ways which speak volumes about the annalist's localizing and commemorating strategies.

The first reference to Henry de Longchamp is as a newly-elected abbot. Under 1190, he is introduced for the first time as an erstwhile monk of Evesham and brother of William of Longchamp, chancellor of England.⁴⁴⁹ There might not be anything special about his Evesham identity, as the annalist remembered other abbots in their former monastic office. One remembers Ralph, abbot of Thorney. Abbot Godfrey of Crowland was mentioned as the prior of St Albans.⁴⁵⁰ Yet, to state that the abbot was the brother of one of the most influential men in England was another matter, and this was no clinical reporting. There is here perhaps that same sense of pride that one saw in the way the Orderic narrative and the earliest references to Crowland were arranged, perhaps even saying 'With such a well-connected abbot, who needs to gloat?'

Another reference to Abbot Henry extends to his effort in the long-standing dispute with the abbey of Spalding over marshland. The quarrel began in the last years of Abbot Robert and was finally settled, though indecisively, in Crowland's favour in 1202. The annal for 1194 noted that the abbot travelled to the king in Germany to plead his case: *Henricus abbas Croilandie regem Ricardum dum adhuc esset in Alemannia pro marisco inter Croilandiam et Spandingum adiit.*⁴⁵¹ The dispute was Crowland's turn-of-the-century *cause célèbre*. A comprehensive account of it

⁴⁴⁹ *Crowland*, 1190.2.

⁴⁵⁰ *Crowland*, 1138.2.

⁴⁵¹ *Crowland*, 1194.2.

survives in the 'first anonymous continuation' of the *Historia Croylandensis*, which has been dated to the mid-fourteenth century.⁴⁵² By the vividness and accuracy of its details, it seems to have used material written at the time of the dispute or soon afterwards. The next chapter affords a more detailed discussion of this text. Here, it is important to note that the annalist mentioned a dispute that ended in victory for Crowland, even though the outcome was not recorded.

Why was it not? It is not that the annalist wrote the 1194 record before 1202, in ignorance of the settlement. The annal was compiled after 1209⁴⁵³, so the reason why the annalist did not mention King John's confirmation of charters to Crowland must lie in the annalist's understanding of the scope of the annals. This is another expression of universal history writing and of the annalist's strategies of reporting on the local past without sacrificing the universalist framework. He did not celebrate Crowland's victory under either 1194 or 1202. Yet, his decision to weave threads of Crowland past into a more national and universal account of history reveals another aspect of the annalist's approach to the writing of history.

One way the chronicle conveyed a sense of local space was by mentioning the abbots of Crowland from the foundation down to the present. This achieved two things. It advertised Crowland's past and carved out a significant landed and lordly presence for the abbey. Abbot Thurketel is remembered not only as Crowland's founding figure, but also as the one who enriched it through his royal and episcopal

⁴⁵² *Hist. Croy.*, 450-72; the account is printed with translation in D.M. Stenton, *English Justice Between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter 1066-1215* (Philadelphia, 1964), 154-215. The date and contents of the *Historia* are discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

⁴⁵³ The 1182 annal refers to Otto IV as 'future emperor'. He was crowned in October 1209.

connections. The same was true of Abbot Henry: not only was he the Chancellor's brother but he also successfully fought with Spalding for the possession of marshland. The Anglo-Saxon abbot Ingulf was said to have courted the Normans at a time when English bishops and abbots were being deposed in favour of Norman churchmen.⁴⁵⁴ Crowland also lost an abbot to this reversal of ecclesiastical policy.⁴⁵⁵

2. An inside coverage of Crowland

Another way of mapping the chronicle's local narrative landscape was by recording aspects from the life of the abbey. The focus here is not on abbots, but on the monastery itself. These notices included references to accidents, foundations and refoundations, raids and pillages. Though short, they prove revealing of the annalist's readiness to offer an inside coverage of his monastery.

References to major occurrences in the life of the monastery occur under 1091, 1114, 1146, 1174 and 1216:

* 1091: *Combustum est totum monasterium Croilandie*⁴⁵⁶

(*The entire monastery of Crowland caught fire*)

* 1114: *Ecclesia nova Croilandia fundata est*⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁴ *Crowland*, 1075.4.

⁴⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁵⁶ *Crowland*, 1091.2.

⁴⁵⁷ *Crowland*, 1114.2.

(A new church of Crowland was built)

* 1146: *Ecclesia Croilandie combusta est cum officinis et ornamentis et libris in Nativitate Beate Marie*⁴⁵⁸

(On the feast of the Nativity of Blessed Mary, the church of Crowland, as well as the buildings, ornaments and books were burnt)

1174: *Turris Croilandie cecidit.*⁴⁵⁹

(The tower of Crowland collapsed)

* 1216: *Savaricus autem de Malo Leone et alii plures armati a rege Johanne missi, ut milites et servientes regis adversarios in locis abditis et remotioribus latebras foventes inquirerent et comprehenderent, in crastino Sancti Michaeli improvisi Croilandiam venerunt et non inventis ibi ipsis quos querebant monasterium invaserunt et per ecclesiam et claustrum et officinas monasterii equites et armati discurrentes, coram altari inter sacra missarum sollempnia homines ceperunt et ab ecclesia abstraxerunt et quoque sibi placita quocumque reperta diripuerunt. In recessu vero suo predam infinitam tam in armentis quam peccoribus secum abduxerunt*⁴⁶⁰

(But Savaric of Mauléon and many armed men, who had been sent by King John to look for and seize some knights and servants, enemies of the king, who had been hiding in remote places, arrived expectedly at Crowland on the morrow of Michelmas. Not finding those whom they were looking for, they broke into the monastery, riding armed through the church, the cloister and the chambers and, in the middle of the celebration of Holy Mass, dragged the people from the church and also from the altar, plundering whatever they found to their liking. On their departure, they carried away an enormous booty of both cattle and horses.)

⁴⁵⁸ Crowland, 1146.2.

⁴⁵⁹ Crowland, 1174.2.

⁴⁶⁰ Crowland, 1216.11.

These are indeed significant incidents worthy of remembrance for a Crowland resident monk. If the 1091, 1114 and 1174 entries may well have become known by someone for whom Crowland was merely an object of interest and perhaps writing at a nearby abbey, then the details of the 1146 note may be seen as the report of a Crowland monk, for whom it was as important and relevant to note the destruction by fire of the conventual church, its ornaments and its books as it was to note the exact date of the disaster.

The account of the 1216 attack receives a fuller treatment in the next chapter. Here, it may be said that the lack of deictic specifications (eg. 'our abbey', 'us', 'ours') points to the chronicler's strategy of interlacing the local and the universal without undermining the latter.⁴⁶¹ A dose of Crowland is injected into the narrative of the civil war, but the focus stays on the general conflict, not on Crowland's losses, however important.

At this point, it is important to remember the limits of recovering the original text of the *Crowland Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* does not survive in the original manuscript nor is it preserved in a perfect copy. Instead, a very intricate process of stemmatic analysis has made possible a reconstruction of a text from multiple witnesses, a process which has its limits and weaknesses. When discussing the Crowland material in the *Crowland Chronicle*, one must ask whether that is all there is to it? Given that none of the surviving manuscripts seems to have been written at Crowland and for Crowland and none had a special interest in transmitting the whole

⁴⁶¹ Ralph of Coggeshall referred similarly to his abbey in an account of a raid that same year, *Coggeshall*, 177.

of the Crowland-specific items, how can one be sure that more such material was not originally in the original text? There is only one way to answer this, and the answer must be that one cannot be sure at all about it. Producing a critical edition under such textual conditions cannot presume to aspire to the heights of authorial fidelity. Instead, it seeks to restore a text as well as the evidence allows, not making unnecessary assumptions but affirming as often and as strongly as possible the limitations of such an effort. For this reason, it is impossible to know whether Crowland received better coverage in the original text or whether the original work contained more text that was dropped out in subsequent copies. One thing, however, is certain. In a work such as this one, covering the sixth age of the world in breviate form, it is highly likely that, if any Crowland accounts have dropped out of the manuscript tradition, they were no more substantial than those already preserved.

3. The monastic extended family

Referencing abbots and local occurrences was one way to reflect and track the narrative visibility of the abbey of Crowland in the *Chronicle*. Another more indirect way is to look at the way its cells and affiliated monasteries are represented. There are a few mentions of the abbeys of Spalding⁴⁶², *Pegelandia* (Peakirk?), an estate at Badby and one at Barnack, though this last one is also present in the Orderic account referred to previously, with the appendage that the *Chronicle* mentions it as a quarry: *Huius cooperator erat comes Waldevus, qui ad edificia Croilandie construenda villam lapidiscinis copiosam eidem loco contulit Bernake nomine.*⁴⁶³

This detail is absent from the Douai manuscript, so one can imagine that it came from the author's personal knowledge.

One of Crowland's disagreements with neighbouring monasteries, so frequent in that period, is visible in the 1194 notice discussed above. In 1104, however, the annalist reflects an indirect claim to an estate that Crowland did not possess in the early thirteenth century. A notice under that year mentions Wulfsige the hermit, who, the annalist claims, first gave the estate of Badby to Crowland: *Wulsius heremita apud Evesham obit. Hic Baddebi Croilandie primo dederat.* In Domesday Book, Badby near Northampton belonged to Crowland.⁴⁶⁴ According to other sources, however, Wulfsige had given Badby to the abbey of Evesham, for which reason Crowland may

⁴⁶² The foundation of the abbey of Spalding is quite obscure, but there is a sense that its early history was linked to that of Crowland, *CAP*, 49.

⁴⁶³ *Crowland*, 1048.3.

⁴⁶⁴ F.M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey* (Cambridge, 1934), 10.

have been struggling to have it back.⁴⁶⁵ The continuation of the *Historia Croylandensis* has a more dramatic account of the Badby claim, stating that the hermit left Badby to Crowland on his deathbed⁴⁶⁶. It may not be ours now, the annalist seems to say, but it was given to us. Crowland may have possessed more than thirty estates in the early thirteenth century, and yet Badby is the only one mentioned. The annalist was clearly trying to make a statement, but he made it in a very indirect and unassertive way.

4. Patron and affiliated saints

Crowland owed its existence to saint Guthlac (673–714), to whose memory the first abbey church was dedicated. A work that allows even a modicum of discursive space to the abbey should allow equal space to its spiritual figurehead. In many ways, the presence of St Guthlac in the narrative joins the fabric of the world history to the symbolism of the two chronologies, the finitude of the secular time of the sixth age and the eternity of divine time.⁴⁶⁷ It is hardly surprising then that there is so much of St Guthlac there – so much, that is, almost to the exclusion of all other local or more remote saints. Guthlac's birth is recorded under 674, his tonsure under 697, his arrival at Crowland under 699, his ordination under 705, his death and burial under 714, the vindication of his prophecy concerning King Æthelbald under 716,

⁴⁶⁵ S. Jane, L. Watkiss, (eds. and trs.), *Thomas of Marlborough: History of the Abbey of Evesham*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2003), 150-3; W.G. Searle, *Ingulf and the Historia Croylandensis : an Investigation Attempted* (Cambridge, 1894), 11.

⁴⁶⁶ *Hist. Croy.*, 121-3.

⁴⁶⁷ P. Brezzi, 'Chroniques universelles du Moyen Age et histoire du salut' in *L'Historiographie Médiévale en Europe*, ed. J-P. Genet, (Paris, 1991), 235-45, at 236-7.

and finally the translation of his relics under 1136 in the presence of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln.⁴⁶⁸ This synopsis of his life and legacy should not be allowed to trouble the argument in the slightest. A life of St. Guthlac had been written by the Crowland monk Felix in the eighth century and another commissioned by Abbot Henry in the late 12th century.⁴⁶⁹ For all this Crowland historiographical writing, one would expect to see more narrative nerve going into the Guthlac accounts in the *Chronicle*, but it must be remembered that *Crowland* was a breviate universal chronicle. It is not problematic that there are not more references to Guthlac; indeed, it is a strength that there are so many there at all. The focus of the *Crowland Chronicle* is not Guthlac, or Crowland, or even a king or another, or England, or the Fen country, but providential time, the tapestry of sacred chronology that brings together the thread of history and that of salvation.⁴⁷⁰ David Carpenter has convincingly argued that Matthew Paris similarly brought together the two elements, underlining the importance of Paris' historiographical and epistemological assumptions in constructing his notion of truth.⁴⁷¹

The body of the executed Earl Waltheof of Northumbria was brought to Crowland and buried in 1075. The annalist could not resist the temptation to record the burial as well as the subsequent miracles witnessed at Waltheof's tomb.⁴⁷² Research was

⁴⁶⁸ *Crowland*, 1136.2.

⁴⁶⁹ Colgrave, *Felix's Life*; W. Birch, *Memorials of Saint Guthlac of Crowland* (Wisbech, 1881).

⁴⁷⁰ E. Freeman, 'Aelred of Rievaulx's *De bello standardii* and medieval and modern textual controls' *Deviance & textual control : new perspectives in medieval studies*, ed. M. Cassidy-Welch, H. Hickey, M. Street (Melbourne, 1997), 78-102, at 89-90; S. Foot, 'Annals and Chronicles in Western Europe', *Oxford History of History Writing: Volume 2*, ed. S. Foot and C.F. Robinson (Oxford, 2012), 346-67.

⁴⁷¹ D.A. Carpenter, 'Chronology and truth: Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*', a forthcoming paper.

⁴⁷² *Crowland*, 1090.1.

not difficult, for the source was Orderic's memorial discussed above. In subsequent years, Waltheof became a figure of popular veneration and a cult developed at the abbey.⁴⁷³ The monks of Crowland had therefore every interest to associate themselves with the memory of Waltheof. For the Crowland annalist, Waltheof was not only a figure of veneration, but also a *cooperator* who had helped increase Crowland's properties and rebuild the abbey church.⁴⁷⁴

Similarly, St. Neot had become much of a household item when his remains were brought over to Crowland during the abbacy of Osketel in the tenth century.⁴⁷⁵ The *Chronicle* remembered St. Neot with a brief *floret* under 870 and a retelling of the translation of his relics to Crowland under 949.⁴⁷⁶ A note under 878 also says that with the help of saints Cuthbert and Neot, a Viking army was successfully staved off.⁴⁷⁷ Other non-domestic saints received some attention but never as much as Guthlac, whose major life events are mentioned in the text.

⁴⁷³ C. Watkins, 'The Cult of Earl Waltheof at Crowland', *Hagiographica* 3 (1996), 95-111, at 111.

⁴⁷⁴ *Crowland*, 1048.3.

⁴⁷⁵ *Orderic*, ii, 340.

⁴⁷⁶ *Crowland*, 949.2.

⁴⁷⁷ *Explorato tamen hostium otio sub inimici specie congregatis reliquiis suorum inde, cumque auxilio Sancti Cuthberti et sancti Neoti ex insperato sic eos contudit ut datis ad libitum obsidibus alii terram eius exirent*, *Crowland*, 878.2.

The function(s) of the *Crowland Chronicle*

To what end was the chronicle produced and when? The annalist does not say, despite the relative prolixity of his prologue. He alludes, however, to the work's computistical value. The only *appel au lecteur* has computus in mind:

*Habes igitur, o lector, si perpendas, tabulam ab ipsa Incarnatione demonstrative digestam, ut evidentes probare possis de anno quolibet, ubi vel Iudeorum vel nostram Pascham fuerit.*⁴⁷⁸

The reader is invited to figure out the date of Easter for any given year in the annals. For this reason, the computistical apparatus framing each annal is sophisticated, including two years from the Incarnation, one given in Arabic, the other in Roman numerals, and a dominical letter. In the margin are other computistical annotations relative to the Pascal cycle and the indiction. No doubt the work was first conceived as a work of chronography. The Fenland had had a long tradition of such intellectual preoccupations. Manuscripts of computistical works written between the eleventh and the thirteenth century survive from the abbeys of Ramsey, Thorney, Peterborough and Ely.⁴⁷⁹ Scientific knowledge circulated between the abbeys.⁴⁸⁰ Crowland was therefore equipped to tackle the details of sacred chronology,

⁴⁷⁸ *Crowland*, 0.5.

⁴⁷⁹ For Ramsey, see C. Hart, 'The Ramsey Computus', *English Historical Review* 85 (1970), 29-44; for Thorney, see works already cited; for Peterborough, see London, British Library, MS Arundel 230 and London, British Library Cotton Tiberius C.i fols. 2-17+ Harley 3667; for Ely, see London, British Library, MS Arundel 377.

⁴⁸⁰ London, British Library, MS Arundel 230, containing a calendar and a computistical table, shows marks of both a Crowland and a Peterborough provenance, L.F. Sandler, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts* (London, 1974), 154; Hart, 'Ramsey Computus', 31.

producing a work of strong computistical content. Yet, the *Crowland Chronicle* is neither a computistical treatise, nor a Paschal table. It is as historiographical in content as it is 'computistical' in its structure. This is a feature of original design. The annalist makes clear from the start that he will fill the years with historical content.⁴⁸¹ Furthermore, the effort he put into them rules out the view that he may have changed his mind on the way. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the computistical element lessens as annals approach the time of writing.

So how does one reconcile computus with historiography? Paul Hayward argued that the twelfth-century chronicles of Winchcombe and Coventry, in many ways similar to the *Crowland Chronicle*, were used as tools for teaching the art of computus, first of all by familiarising the reader with the complex calendrical notation.⁴⁸² The Crowland preface certainly gives this impression, and so does the amount of computistical notation in the annal headings and the margins. However, since no autograph of the *Crowland Chronicle* survived, one may wonder whether the preface as A has it was meant to be the reader's first contact with the Crowland work. It has already noted that A contains a diagrammatic chronicle going from Incarnation to the reign of King John which comes before A's version of the Crowland text. The two works are not related and may not even be the work of the same scribe. The Crowland preface is entered on a new quire, suggesting that the two works were only later bound up in the same volume. It is possible, however, that A's source may have contained an Easter table leading up to the Crowland preface. It is difficult to imagine that a work so rich in computistical reflection would have

⁴⁸¹ *Crowland*, 0.5.

⁴⁸² Hayward, *Winchcombe and Coventry*, i, 37-49.

provided no ready tool to make sense of the many chronographical instruments included in the annals. There is some evidence that such an Easter table may have existed. In the *appel au lecteur* cited above, the annalist referred to a tabular list (*tabula*), arranged from the Incarnation (*ab Incarnatione digesta*), which the reader may use to find the date of Easter as well as the Jewish Passover. Now *tabula* could also refer to the list of annals itself which indeed resembles a table, at least for the early annals. Though there are no vertical lines to separate columns, the rubricated years and leap year letters may give the appearance of a tabular list. Yet, the annalist said the *tabula* was 'demonstrative', which does not describe the annals. On the other hand, *tabula* was the word used by a thirteenth-century scholar in reference to the columns used in calendar tables.⁴⁸³ In any case, one wonders how the reader could meet the annalist's expectations of figuring out the date of Easter for a given year exclusively from the annals' computistical apparatus, without the help of an Easter table.

The chronicle may have been designed as a tool for the teaching of computus, but not exclusively. The annalist's historiographical effort and skill cannot be underrated. The work may assert a strong computistical intention, but that should not rule out the possibility that he was hoping to do both things, and not consider history an offshoot of computus or that history should be framed by it. The Winchcombe and Coventry annalists also combined computus and history writing in their works, though not as successfully as *Crowland*. The latter produced a work where history acts as an

⁴⁸³ J.L.G. Mowat, (ed.), *Sinonoma Bartholomei. A glossary [of medical terms] from a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Library of Pembroke College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1882), 5; *The Dictionary of medieval Latin from British sources* gives this as one of the earliest attestations of the word being used in a computistical context, *DOMLBS*, 3357.

embodiment of divine time which its computistical dimension highlights. Edification and instruction were history's chief utility for most of the medieval period.⁴⁸⁴ History was didactic, instructing the reader to do good and shun evil. In this respect, it complemented the science of computus, which also sought to instruct, but in a different way.

The *Crowland Chronicle* was produced in the interest of timekeeping, but it also looked back to the origins of time, showing how divine providence moved history into the seventh and last age of the world. The annalist constructed a work that was both a handbook of chronography and a record of the past. Although the annalist devoted more effort to the later annals, his original interest in computus did not fade. When the annals reached 1212 and the narrative became suddenly very historiographically elaborate, the computistical apparatus did not disappear. The annalist, for instance, expressed a great fascination when he learned that the translation of Becket's remains in 1220 happened on a Tuesday, as his martyrdom.⁴⁸⁵ He also dated some events of the last annals with a precision as though he was consulting a calendar.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁴ Guinée, *Histoire et Culture Historique*, 208.

⁴⁸⁵ *Crowland*, 1220.7.

⁴⁸⁶ *Crowland*, 1220.2.

Conclusion

The *Crowland Chronicle* is a work of universal history in breviate form. It was designed to track God's work in history, while covering the known past from the beginning down to the present. Committed to a universalistic framework, the annalist brought together a variety of sources, cleverly cutting and pasting the material he found in them. His scope was broad, universal, covering the history of the known world, celebrating the advent and the ripening of the sixth age. The East and the West were united in a single narrative centred on salvific time. However, this affirmation of universality was not easily maintained throughout the chronicle. As annals rolled on and the past come closer to the time of writing, the horizon became narrower. The universal commitment was reinforced by a readiness to record some of the Crowland past. The universal met the local. References to the monastery of Crowland abound in the annals, without, however, shifting the focus from larger, more comprehensive aspects of the Christian past. The narrative presence of the abbey in the annals is as fleeting as it is undeniable. The annalist explored different strategies of conveying a sense of locality, a monastic focalization which took him from celebration (of origins, prestige, abbot) to bitterness (over claimed possession of estates). The annalist managed to keep the two strands together, interweaving them and at times using one in support of the other, as when he described the attack of King John's mercenaries on the abbey in 1216 as an example of the atrocities of war.

The work was designed to be anonymous. The annalist did not speak about himself, about his identity as a monk of Crowland abbey. At least not explicitly, as this

chapter has shown. Also, he did not give his name, nor was the work associated with any author before fragments of it were later transcribed in the *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*. Yet, the author may be identified. It is the focus of the next chapter to place the text on a solid authorial foundation.

CHAPTER 3

QUESTIONS OF AUTHORSHIP AND CHRONOLOGIES OF COMPOSITION

The previous chapter focused on the question of what kind of composition the *Crowland Chronicle* is. It discussed points of genre, arguing that the annals were put together in a spirit of universal history writing. Moreover, the chronicle included what has here been called a monastic focalization, the result of the annalist's strategies of making the abbey of Crowland and its past a solid part of the narrative. In doing so, the annalist revealed himself as a Crowland monk writing in the early thirteenth century.

A few points of authorial identity have already been stressed. These were not difficult to make: that the chronicle was the work of one editor from beginning to end; that the annalist was a Crowland monk and that he worked in a number of ways, which ranged from compiling written sources, selecting, abridging, very much like a textual montage, to using oral testimonies and applying critical thought to all. The compass of the annals moved from the broad and general to the narrow and specific, interweaving elements of universal, national and institutional history writing. Yet, the annalist always seems to escape his own narrative, to stay outside his own work. Scholars have long stopped looking for the identity of whom they kept calling, *faute de mieux*, 'the Barnwell annalist'.

This chapter seeks to identify the author of the Crowland annals. It argues that the chronicle was compiled by a Crowland monk named 'R', normally expanded by other historians as Roger. Roger of Crowland collaborated with Abbot Henry de Longchamp in producing at least the later annals of the chronicle, using the abbot's

connections to broaden his knowledge of the baronial rebellion and the restoration of peace during the minority of King Henry III. This chapter also tries to establish how Roger worked chronologically and whether his account of the 1210s and 1220s – his narrative peak – may be the result of contemporaneous reporting.

General questions of compilation and authorship

Before moving on to identify the author of the annals, it is necessary to ask what monastic authorship means. What exactly makes an author of a set of annals? Is it right to call such an agent an author? Is a work to be assigned to a single author or does the text reveal several such 'authors' at work, each responsible for a section of the text? Ultimately, what does 'authoring' really mean?

Medieval annals and chronicles represent a difficult object of study in regard to questions of authorship because they do not yield to modern expectations towards written works. Monastic annals were, by definition, communal or institutional products and had their own logic responding to that of the environment in which they emerged.⁴⁸⁷ To look for an 'author' of a set of annals as though one was looking for the author of a modern novel is to misunderstand the nature of these works and to render them incomprehensible. Nevertheless, most studies of historical works have given special attention to the author(s) of those respective works. 'Who wrote it' is one of the first questions one asks in regard to medieval chronicles. Before asking

⁴⁸⁷ E. Van Houts, 'Medieval Latin and the Historical Narrative', *Media Latinitas, a collection of essays to mark the occasion of the retirement of L.J. Engels*, eds. R.I.A. Nip, H. van Dijk, E.M.C. van Houts, C.H. Kneepkens, G.A.A. Kortekaas (Turnhout, 1996), 86.

this question of the *Crowland Chronicle*, it is important to show what exactly is meant by the notion of 'authorship' in the context of medieval annals.

Bernard Guenée has highlighted the collective nature of monastic (annalistic) history, being a kind of teamwork ('travail d'equipe').⁴⁸⁸ This notion of 'vertical collective historical writing', as Elizabeth van Houts calls it, blurs the usual idea of 'one work, one author'.⁴⁸⁹ Writing annals in the cloister was usually a collective act in both agency and textuality. The permanence of the monastic establishment made possible the emergence of a multi-generational narrative.⁴⁹⁰ This was the collective agency. Annalistic chronicles were begun by one or more monks, but continued and updated by others, sometimes for hundreds of years. At the same time, the monk(s) responsible for beginning the annals usually drew on earlier material that covered the gap between a narrative starting point situated beyond living memory and the time of writing. These earlier texts were either copied as they were or modified in some way. This was the collective textuality. Incorporation of derived text was not seen as what might today be called 'plagiarism', but the only way to meet the requirements of a chronicle, that of supplying material to the years since time out of mind. In this context, 'authorship' seems an imperfect category for the study of medieval annals. Instead, scholars have drawn on the vocabulary that medieval writers themselves used to refer to authorial agency. For instance, Jane Sayers and Leslie Watkiss have drawn attention to words such as 'editus', 'abbreviatus', 'collectus et compositus' used by Thomas of Marlborough to indicate the many

⁴⁸⁸ Guenée, *Histoire et culture*, 49.

⁴⁸⁹ Van Houts, 'Medieval Latin', 81.

⁴⁹⁰ *ibid*, 83.

authorial engagements with written sources in his *History of the abbey of Evesham*.⁴⁹¹

An important notion in most discussions of monastic history writing is that of the compiler, the act of compiling and the result of it, the compilation.⁴⁹² The *Crowland Chronicle* has already been described as a compilation, so it is important now to explore what was the role of the compiler as well as the general structure of a compilatory chronicle and the process of bringing the annals down to the present time.

Guenée has argued that the genre of compilation became one of the dominant modes of annalistic writing in the thirteenth century, marking the transition from a rhetorical, classical model to a more scholarly model ('histoire savante'), in which sources, methodology, editorial techniques begin to weigh more in the process of historical writing.⁴⁹³ The annals, structured and universalist in scope, provided a framework of expressing this new mode of history writing. The annalistic compilation was pivotal to this development. The compiler or *compilator* gathers material from sources at his disposal and arranges it according to varying degrees of freedom, ranging from perfect transcription to careful summarization. In this, he makes selections, organises his cut-outs and repacks the 'plucked flowers' in a form that may sometimes be unrecognizable to the original composition.⁴⁹⁴ Isidore of Seville

⁴⁹¹ Watkiss, *Thomas of Marlborough*, xxiii.

⁴⁹² N. Hathaway, 'Compilatio: From Plagiarism to Compiling' *Viator* 20 (1989), 19-44.

⁴⁹³ B. Guenée, 'L'historien et la compilation au XIII^e siècle' *Journal des Savants* (1985), 119-135, at 124.

⁴⁹⁴ Hathaway, 'Compilatio', 39-40.

defined the *compiler* as a thief or a plagiarist, mixing 'the words of another with his own', but the metaphor of the pigment-maker he then makes suggests that this act of plagiarism nevertheless brings with it an element of originality.⁴⁹⁵

The importance of the act of compiling may be better understood in relation to the Christian annalistic chronicle, which has been discussed in chapter 2. It is enough to say here that the general structure of a medieval chronicle requires, as already mentioned, an account from a foundational date (Creation, Incarnation, Conquest, monastic foundation) to both produce and justify the chronological timeline connecting that time of origins to the present.⁴⁹⁶ Since this material is located beyond living memory, recourse to record is essential. From this perspective, the *compiler* can be seen as a mediator of two worlds.

The compiler relies mainly on derivative material, which he sets out to transform. As Dauvit Broun has pointed out, this transformation often implies a rewriting of the past.⁴⁹⁷ This was accomplished through the process of selection and alteration of the original text. The process of compiling stops when the annalistic sequence comes within living memory, at which point other sources may become important, such as memorial notes, eyewitness accounts, testimonies and suchlike.

⁴⁹⁵ *Compiler, qui aliena dicta suis praemiscet, sicut solent pigmentarii in pila diversa mixta contundere*, W.M. Lindsay, (ed.), *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX* (Oxford, 1911), i, x, 44; translated in A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, B. Oliver, (eds.), *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006), 216.

⁴⁹⁶ For instance, the Waverley, Hyde, Southwark, Reading, Worcester Annals begin at the Incarnation; Tewkesbury Annals and the Chronicle of Ralph of Coggeshall begin in 1066; Stanley Annals begin with Brutus; Dunstable Annals begin in 33; see also C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London, 2004), 122-4.

⁴⁹⁷ 'Broun, 'Creating and maintaining', 143.

Modern discussions of chronicle authorship are usually careful to distinguish between the use of derivative material and the 'writer's' own contribution, focusing on the latter, while the former is generally dismissed as the work of 'well-known authorities' or, more radically, a 'worthless compilation from the usual sources'.⁴⁹⁸

'Original' continuations are the loci for the identification of the author or authors and continue to attract, quite understandably, most scholarly attention. As the person who produced the compilation is almost always the same person responsible for the 'original' continuation, it is fair to call that person an author, a writer or a chronicler/annalist, bearing in mind his double task of compiling and bringing the sequence of annals down to the time of writing. The Crowland author was such a writer, and for this reason this study has referred to him as an 'annalist' and 'chronicler'.

Another important distinction made in regard to medieval historiographical authorship is that between anonymous and attributed chronicles.⁴⁹⁹ Chris Given-Wilson's concept of 'the culture of anonymity' describes the authorial patterns of most medieval annalistic chronicles.⁵⁰⁰ Begun by one chronicler, these annals were

⁴⁹⁸ R. Howlett, (ed.), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, Rolls Series 82 (London, 1885), lxxxvii; Stubbs was of the same sentiment in his edition of *Walter of Coventry*. Gransden seemed to go along the same path, *Historical Writing*, 332; the rewriting of earlier material occurs in the Winchcombe and Coventry annals, and their editor Paul Hayward does well to bring it out in his study, *Winchcombe and Coventry*, i, 99-144, 147-66.

⁴⁹⁹ Cristian Bratu's discussion of authorship in the *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* includes the general heading 'Anonymous Chronicles' followed by 'Single-Author Chronicles' which would suggest that the assumption is that anonymous is synonymous with 'unauthored', *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 134; Van Houts, 'Medieval Latin', 81.

⁵⁰⁰ Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 149.

continued by others whose main job was to ensure that the history of the institution would be recorded without interruption, for purposes of record-keeping, claims to property or simply self-advertisement.⁵⁰¹ The *Crowland Chronicle* was continued in different versions at different monasteries, but none at Crowland. The abbey, however, used it when work on the *Historia Croylandensis* as well as its continuations was undertaken.

Some twelfth- and thirteenth-century monastic annalistic chronicles, however, have been attributed to identifiable authors. Yet, this is due more to the results of scholarly investigation than to any direct textual evidence of authorship. Priors and abbots, on the other hand, were more likely to express their responsibility in authoring such works. Ralph, abbot Coggeshall, for instance, made such a claim in the *Chronicon Anglicanum*.⁵⁰² Thomas of Marlborough began his *History* of the abbey of Evesham during his priorate and drew on the work of another prior named Dominic.⁵⁰³ Chronicler monks were indeed rare to make such claims and that is perhaps the reason why so many annals linked to particular abbeys are sentenced to perpetual anonymity.

As collective creations, monastic annals invite the question of whether they were produced by one person or instead shared multiple authors, especially in the context

⁵⁰¹ Perhaps the best illustration of multi-authored annals in the 12th and 13th centuries is the Chronicle of Melrose. The *Historia Croylandensis*, for instance, shows how historiography was geared to record as well as to claim the past, A. Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-Century England* (London, 2004), 36-69.

⁵⁰² *Coggeshall*, 162-3; I am indebted to James Willoughby for agreeing to share with me his unpublished work on abbot Ralph.

⁵⁰³ *Thomas of Marlborough*, xxiii-xxx.

of annals extending over many years or generations after they were begun, as noted above. A good English example of such multi-authored annals are the Dunstable annals. They cover the years from AD 33 to 1297 and were the work, first of Prior Richard de Morins, and then of other annalists working under Richard's supervision until his death in 1242. After that, the annals were continued by a number of different scribes until 1297.⁵⁰⁴

By contrast, the *Crowland Chronicle* is not a multi-authored composition⁵⁰⁵ From the beginning down to around 1212, the Crowland annalist worked as a compiler, editing, selecting and abridging his sources, written and otherwise. According to Bonaventura's distinction between *auctor* on the one hand and *scriptor*, *compilator* and *commentator* on the other, the author may be regarded as a *commentator*, one who 'writes both the material of other men, and of his own, but the materials of others as the principal materials, and his own as those annexed for confirmation.'⁵⁰⁶ The chronicler may have thought of this when he wrote in the prologue that his work was to be a *compendium quoddam cronicorum*, a compilation of certain chronicles.⁵⁰⁷ The *compilator* was someone who reproduced what others had said but made no personal contribution to the text. Gervase of Canterbury made it clear

⁵⁰⁴ C.R. Cheney, 'Notes on the Making of the Dunstable Annals AD 33 to 1242', *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T.A. Sandquist, M.R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), 79-98.

⁵⁰⁵ Gransden also thought the 'Barnwell Chronicle', that is the 1202–25 Crowland annals, 'was almost certainly by one author throughout', *HWE*, i, 339.

⁵⁰⁶ *Aliquis scribit et aliena et sua, sed aliena tamquam principalia, et sua tamquam annexa ad evidentiam*, cited in A. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, (London, 1984), 94.

⁵⁰⁷ According to the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, the word *compendium* points to an epitomised or abbreviated work, which matches well the treatment of sources in the pre-1202 annals.

that he wished to compile rather than to write (*compilare potius quam scribere*).⁵⁰⁸

Therefore, according at least to Bonaventura, the Crowland annalist does not fit this profile.⁵⁰⁹ However, Gervase of Canterbury referred to John of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon as 'auctores'.⁵¹⁰ As a compiler, the Crowland writer used his sources discriminately, abridging his selections in a variety of ways. But he was not merely a compiler, for he had the opportunity later in the chronicle to be original and inquisitive – an author. When taken as a whole, the *Crowland Chronicle* was the work of an author, an *auctor*, who was also a *compiler*.

⁵⁰⁸ Gervase, i, 89.

⁵⁰⁹ G. Reiser, (ed.), *Commentarius in Primum Librum Sententiarum Petri Lombardi, Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi: Ex Typographica Collegi S. Bonaventurae, 1882), i, 14-15.

⁵¹⁰ Gervase, i, 89.

Towards identifying the author of the *Crowland Chronicle*

The annals had one author but they have long remained silent as to his identity. He was a monk at Crowland abbey writing in the first decades of the thirteenth century. No Crowland monks are known for that period, except for R., *humilis monachus Croylandiae*, better known to modern scholars as Rogerius, or Roger. He is a well-known figure to historians of Thomas Becket, because he revised and supplemented the conflation of Becket's *Lives* known as *Quadriologus II* ('fourfold narrative') with Alan of Tewkesbury's edition of Becket's letters.⁵¹¹ His work was presented by Abbot Henry de Longchamp to Archbishop Langton on the occasion of the translation of Becket's relics in 1220.⁵¹² Roger's version of *Quadriologus II* was a revision of the work of a certain Elias (or Edward), monk of Evesham, completed for Abbot Henry at Crowland at some point between September 1198 and April 1199.⁵¹³ Roger completed his *Life and Letters of Becket* and dedicated it to the same abbot.⁵¹⁴ Since most of his work consisted of compiling existing material, rearranging Elias' version of the text,⁵¹⁵ and appending a large body of letters, Roger's only narrative space of personal expression was in the dedicatory letter addressed to Abbot Henry,

⁵¹¹ R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland Before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), 586-7.

⁵¹² A.J. Duggan, *Thomas Becket: a Textual History of His Letters* (Oxford, 1980), 205-223; A copy of it was still at Canterbury in the fifteenth century, B. Barker-Benfield, (ed.), *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* (London, 2008), 944.

⁵¹³ PL 190, col. 260; T.D. Hardy, *Descriptive catalogue of materials relating to the history of Great Britain and Ireland : to the end of the reign of Henry VII*, Rolls Series 26, 3vols (London, 1862-71), ii, 342.

⁵¹⁴ J.C. Robertson, (ed.), *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Rolls Series 67, 7vols (London, 1875-85), iv, 266-426.

⁵¹⁵ Duggan, *Textual history*, 208.

in which he explained the nature and scope of his work.⁵¹⁶ His name is known only from the protocol to this letter, where he calls himself 'a humble monk of Crowland'.⁵¹⁷ The evidence for the name 'Rogerius' (or Rogerus) as historians accept it today is in some ways limited. The manuscripts only give the name as 'R', which can also be expanded as 'Robertus' or Reginaldus or Ricardus or any name beginning with R. The name 'Rogerius' first occurred in a marginal note written in an early modern hand in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 5372.⁵¹⁸ The first continuation' of the *Historia Croylandensis* mentions the work, but does not name the author. It says only that he was a monk at Crowland.⁵¹⁹ Historians have nevertheless passed over this ambiguity, to the effect that 'Rogerius' has now become the norm in historical scholarship.⁵²⁰ This study does not seek to break with this tradition. It therefore accepts the name Rogerius as the author of the 1213 version of the *Quadriologus*. It remains to be seen on what evidence Roger's authorship of *Crowland Chronicle* may be accepted.

The *Crowland Chronicle* has an identifiable Becket texture. Not only did the chronicler use Becket-related material he found in the *backbone narrative*, but he

⁵¹⁶ PL 190, cols. 257-60.

⁵¹⁷ *Amantissimo domino suo et patri, Henrico, Dei gratia abbati Croylandiae suus R. humilis ejusdem loci monachus, quod domino et Patri. Gloriosum gloriosi martyris Christi Thomae triumphum eo specialius sancta veneratur Ecclesia, quo se per ejus sanguinem nobilius recolit triumphasse*, PL 190, col. 259.

⁵¹⁸ S. De Sacy, (ed.), *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Imperiale et autres bibliothèques* (Paris, 1813), ix, 89; *Thomas Becket: actes du colloque international de Sédières, 19-24 août 1973*, ed. R. Foreville (Paris, 1975), 5-6.

⁵¹⁹ *ad honorem tamen a *** aliquid pro suo modulo offerre cupiens, librum de vita et passione eiusdem martyris a monacho monasterii sui Croyland egregie compilatum*, *Hist. Croy.*, 474.

⁵²⁰ A.J. Duggan, 'Crowland , Roger of', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23963>, accessed 3 Oct 2014].

also enlarged it with short interpolations whose source cannot be identified with any precision. One such interpolation refers to Becket's canonization in 1173 which the chronicler did not find in Howden's *Gesta Regis*, his source at that point in the compilation. The account of the 1220 translation of Becket's shrine in Crowland has been considered the best of all contemporary narrative sources, being perhaps the report of an eyewitness one.⁵²¹ To celebrate the capture of Damietta in 1219, the chronicler mentioned two mosques converted into churches and dedicated to English saints, one to St Edmund, the other to St Thomas.⁵²² Moreover, the chronicler referred to Becket as 'sanctus Thomas' in an entry for 1154, before he had even become archbishop of Canterbury.⁵²³

The Becket material in *Crowland* is, in itself, not compelling evidence that the author of the second *Quadriologus* was involved in the production of the *Crowland Chronicle*. However, Roger made clear that he completed his version of the *Quadriologus* in 1213⁵²⁴, a date which coincides with an increase in narrativity and detail beginning in the 1212–3 annals and coming to full growth under 1215–7. Consequently, it seems

⁵²¹ 'Nullus Anglorum tunc in carne vivens meminisse potuit ante eiusdem archiepiscopi tempora per aliquem predecessorum ipsius talem in Anglia sollempnitatem fuisse celebratam, seu tantam multitudinem divitum et pauperum semel coadunatam', *Crowland*, 1220.8; A.J. Duggan, 'The cult of St Thomas Becket in the thirteenth century', *St. Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. M. Jancey (Hereford, 1982), 21-44, at 38, n. 96.

⁵²² *Cum capta esset civitas a Christianis, archiepiscopi et episcopi fana Maumeti que plura in ipsa civitate erant in ecclesias sanctorum consecraverunt, ad instantiam vero quorundam militum Anglie qui ibi aderant, consecrate sunt due ecclesie in honorem duorum martyrum Anglicanorum, scilicet Sancti Edmundi regis et martyris, et Sancti Thome archipresulis Cantuariensis*, *Crowland*, 1219.8.

⁵²³ *Willelmus archiepiscopus Eboracensis obit. Succesit Rogerus Cantuarie archidiaconus cui in archidiaconatum succedit sanctus Thomas*, *Crowland*, 1154.2.

⁵²⁴ PL 190, col. 260D.

as though the *Crowland Chronicle* became most reflective of the political developments around the time that the *Quadriologus* was completed.

There is also textual evidence to support these contextual arguments. The prologue of *Crowland* conveys a strong computistical statement, as we have seen. It shows strong approval for Marianus Scottus' correction of the date of the Incarnation, which is regarded as *verum*, whereas the Dionysian year is dismissed as *falsum*. The prologue consists of a very sophisticated overview of Marianus' reasoning, seasoned with other computistical insights and implications.⁵²⁵ The distinction between the Marianist (*iuxta euangelicam ueritatem*) and the Dionysian, *anno domini* reckonings (*iuxta Dionisium*) is a central preoccupation in the prologue and determines the annalistic structure of the chronicle, especially in its use of the dual Incarnational reckoning. Unlike Gervase of Canterbury, who had discussed Marianus' achievements but decided to keep only the Dionysian year in his chronicle, the *Crowland* chronicler was determined to use the dual Incarnation dates throughout and to maintain the superiority of the Marianist reckoning.⁵²⁶

Discussions of the Dionysian reckoning invariably occurred in most, if not all, post-Bedan treatises of astronomy and chronology – and in the chronicles that emerged from these discussions –, as in the works of Hermann of Reichenau, Marianus Scottus, Frutolf von Michelsberg, Sigebert de Gembloux, Byrhtferth of Ramsey,

⁵²⁵ While mistakenly considering this correction to have been attributed to St. Jerome, Chris Given-Wilson suggested that by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it had become 'rather eccentric' to follow Marianus, *Chronicles*, 123.

⁵²⁶ *Verum arabicis litteris falsum latinis notatum*, *Crowland*, 1.1. Latin numerals are used for the Dionysian years, while Arabic digits express the corrected, Marianist year.

Heimo of Bamberg and others.⁵²⁷ Expressing the year *iuxta* or *secundum Dionysium* was used to distinguish between competitive systems of reckoning, in which the Dionysian standard was either defended or refuted. Towards the end of the twelfth century, Gervase resurrected the debate about competing reckonings, so by the time Roger began his chronicle, the topic was as fresh as ever.

Is this computistical interest to be found in Roger's *Quadrilogus*? In his dedicatory letter to Abbot Henry, Roger stated that he completed the revision of the *Quadrilogus* in *anno regni regis Joannis quarto decimo, qui fuit annus ab incarnatione Domini juxta Dionysium millesimus ducentessimus tertius decimus*. ('the fourteenth year of the reign of King John, which was the year 1213 from the Incarnation of the Lord, according to Dionysius'). It is very odd to see the Dionysian marker being invoked to date such an uncontroversial event. It suggests that Roger may have been familiar with the debates about chronography (most likely from consulting Marianus' discussion of chronology as he found it in the *backbone narrative*) which caused him to reveal his concern with chronology in the preface to the *Quadrilogus*.

There are other textual insights that argue further for Roger's authorship. In the dedicatory letter to the *Quadrilogus*, Roger explained the composite and compilatory nature of his work, noting several editorial conventions he applied in the interest of

⁵²⁷ W. Berschin, M. Hellmann, *Hermann der Lahme: Gelehrter und Dichter, 1013-1054* (Heidelberg, 2005); Von Den Brincken, 'Marianus Scottus', 191-231; H. Bresslau, 'Bamberger Studien. Die Chroniken des Frutolf von Michelsberg und des Ekkehard von Aura', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Geschichtskunde* 21 (1896), 139-234; M. Schmidt-Chazan, 'La chronique de Sigebert de Gembloux: succès français d'une oeuvre lotharingienne', *Les Cahiers Lorrains* (1990), 1-26; Hart, 'Ramsey Computus', 29; Verbist, *Duelling with the Past*, ch. 8.

making the text easier to read. As Anne Duggan observed, 'Roger performed the task with much skill both in the adaptation of the original text and in the selection and insertion of no less than 240 relevant letters and documents.'⁵²⁸ Roger took the reader's interest at heart. He re-divided the original three books of the *Quadriologus* into eight books, so that the reader would have a breather after each sequence (*ut lector habet ubi ex intervallo respiret*).⁵²⁹ The text is fairly long, running to some 115 folios in the only surviving manuscript.⁵³⁰ He also set out to mark in the margin of each of the Becket lives of the compilation the name of their respective authors, so that there would be no mistake who wrote what.⁵³¹ A comparable concern for the reader can be seen in the prologue of the *Crowland Chronicle*. There, the chronicler addressed the reader in the second person singular (*habes igitur, o lector...; tu autem*), drawing his attention to the computistical devices used. The chronicler invited the reader to follow his instructions so that he could find the date of Easter for any given year as well as the nineteen-year cycle and the corresponding dominical letter.⁵³² Moreover, Anne Duggan pointed out that in the *Quadriologus*, 'Roger's chronology is in fact better than that of either of his principal sources.'⁵³³ That was

⁵²⁸ Duggan, *Textual history*, 208.

⁵²⁹ *PL* 190, col. 260.

⁵³⁰ Duggan, *Textual History*, 207, n. 5.

⁵³¹ *Et quoniam ad singulos rerum gestarum articulos praetitulatum auctoris nomen in margine supra charaxatum habet compendium, placuit idem in opere praesenti observari, ut si quid in quaestionem venerit sit fides penes auctores*, *PL* 190, col. 260.

⁵³² *Habes igitur, o lector, si perpendas tabulam ab ipsa Incarnatione demonstrative digestam, ut evidentes probare possis de anno quolibet, ubi vel Iudeorum vel nostram Pascham fuerit. Iudei quippe in ipso termino; nos autem in Dominica proxima post terminum Pascha celebramus. Tu autem ex cyclo terminum et ex littera dominicam facile reperies*, *Crowland*, 0.5.

⁵³³ Duggan, *Textual History*, 212.

surely something to be expected from someone with an interest in chronology and annalistic writing.

Roger dedicated his work to Abbot Henry, who had also commissioned Elias' *Quadriologus*, written at Crowland and completed in 1199. That an Evesham monk was asked to undertake this earlier task should come as no surprise, considering that the abbot of Crowland had been a monk at Evesham. So if a strong case can be made for Roger as the 'author' of the Crowland annals, did Henry have a role in *Crowland*?

Under the supervision of Abbot Henry

Moving from a statement of authorship to some indication of sponsorship or supervision is problematic and potentially hazardous, especially in the context of monastic history writing. How is one to determine whether the monk appointed to compile and produce a set of annals was allowed to work in full liberty, closely supervised, or somewhere between these two extreme positions? How is one to recover the tension, if any, between agency and control? The *Crowland Chronicle* was designed with anonymity in mind, yet this should not come as a surprise, considering the way the notion of authorship was regarded in a Benedictine setting. No devout monk would wish to promote himself as author, and thus deny the prescription to humility and modesty in all things as required by his order.⁵³⁴ The *auctores* were the authorities of the Church, not monks compiling annals, who for the most part were recycling earlier texts anyway. Chroniclers and historians reflected

⁵³⁴ Van Houts, *Local and regional chronicles*, 30.

that in the way they referred to editorial agency. In brief, the genre of the monastic chronicle did not require the assertion of editorial authorship. The Dunstable annals, for example, show the same concealment of authorial identity. Cheney and Gransden have contended that the early section of the annals was written by the prior of Dunstable abbey, Richard de Morins, whose identification hinges on a statement at the beginning of the annals. It states that the 1210th year since the Incarnation was 'our eighth year'.⁵³⁵ Scholars have taken this to refer to the eighth year since Richard became prior.

Did Roger the monk receive instructions from Abbot Henry on what to include in the annals? Did they work together? Crowland was a Benedictine abbey, and a resident monk to collaborate with the head of the house was not uncommon in thirteenth-century England. David Carpenter argued that the *Flores Historiarum* begun at Pershore abbey in 1263 may have been the fruit of a 'coalition between [abbot] Eleurius and [monk] William de Flamstede'.⁵³⁶ There is evidence to suggest that Roger may have worked under some supervision, or at least that he may have received some guidance from Henry.

Chapter 2 showed how the annalist recorded Abbot Henry's election and effort in the dispute with Spalding. Roger introduced the abbot as a former monk of Evesham and the chancellor's brother. There is only one other source that mentions all these details. That is the 'first continuation' of the *Historia Croylandensis*.

⁵³⁵ *Dunstable*, 3; Gransden, *HWE*, 335-6.

⁵³⁶ D.A. Carpenter, 'The Pershore *Flores Historiarum*' in *EHR* 127 (2012), 1343-66, at 1362.

The history presents itself as the work of Abbot Ingulf of Crowland (d. 1109) and of a number of continuators and deals with the history of the abbey from the early eighth century until the end of the fifteenth century. The first, Ingulfine, or better Pseudo-Ingulfine section ends around 1095. The continuation purports to be the work of Peter of Blois (*Petrus Blesensis*, d. 1212) and takes the narrative down to 1135. A 'first anonymous continuation' runs from 1135 to 1470. Two further continuations extend to 1486. This chapter discusses only the 'first anonymous continuation', which is referred to here as *1Croylandensis*.

The *Historia Croylandensis* a remarkably detailed piece of historical writing, shunned by modern historians because of its reputation as a forgery. Gransden dismissed it in twelve lines with a one-page appendix, 'an official chronicle of the abbey's early history which is a total forgery'.⁵³⁷ The text was transcribed and printed by Fulman in 1684, translated into English by Riley in 1854, and edited again from a different source by Birch in 1883, but there is scarcely any modern discussion of it.⁵³⁸ Its status as forgery was argued by Palgrave, Riley, and Liebermann, and in detail by Searle, though their approaches to dating led to diverse conclusions, ranging from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century. The only modern discussions represent contrasting approaches. Where Ingulf claims to have consulted Domesday Book in London, Searle showed that his text does not follow Domesday Book, but in 1995 Roffe argued that the writer had access to original briefs from 1086 at

⁵³⁷ Gransden, *HWE*, ii, 400, 490–91. Gransden exaggeration is clear, since the Spalding-Crowland account cannot be dismissed as forgery.

⁵³⁸ *Hist. Croy.*, 451-593; Riley, *Ingulph's chronicle*; W. Birch, (ed.), *The Chronicles of Croyland Abbey* (Wisbech, 1883).

Crowland, seeking to vindicate the source used by Ingulf.⁵³⁹ And where the Victorians thought the charge of forgery annulled any interest, Alfred Hiatt in 2004 placed it in the context of medieval depictions of reality through fiction.⁵⁴⁰ As a piece of historical writing, Ingulf's work is compelling and it deserves an unprejudiced analysis, whether the result is to praise its creativity, vindicate its sources, or affirm its credibility. One needs to be cautious not to throw out the historical baby with the historiographical bathwater.

The first mention of Henry in this text refers to his appointment, just like in *Crowland*. The text notes that upon Abbot Robert's death in 1190, Henry, brother in the flesh (*frater carnalis*) of William the chancellor, was appointed abbot of Crowland.⁵⁴¹ This note is made in the context of a larger account, that of the dispute between Crowland and Spalding briefly mentioned in chapter 2.

The text of the dispute extends to 63 pages in Lady Stenton's edition and facing translation and is the most complete source for Abbot Henry's career.⁵⁴² It shall be referred to as *Crowland-Spalding* for the remainder of this chapter. It shows Henry in all his travels and difficulties, sparing no effort for the sake of his abbey, pleading with kings and accepting both victory and defeat. The abbot travelled to Speyer to put the matter to King Richard, and when the king had been released, Henry

⁵³⁹ W.G. Searle, *Ingulf and the Historia Croylandensis : an Investigation Attempted* (Cambridge, 1894), 8; Roffe, 'Historia Croylandensis', 95-6.

⁵⁴⁰ Hiatt, *The making of medieval forgeries*, 36-69.

⁵⁴¹ *Hist. Croy*, 457.

⁵⁴² D.M. Stenton, *English Justice Between the Norman Conquest and the Great Charter 1066-1215* (Philadelphia, 1964), 164-6. All references to the Latin text are to this work.

followed him 'through villages, castles and cities until at last the king came to Falaise'.⁵⁴³

The level of detail in the narrative is remarkable, strongly suggesting that the account was drafted from notes which must have been supplied by Henry himself. How else was the author of the account to know that the abbot was 'very troubled, as well because the lord King dragged out his business so much, as because the men about the court on account of the Earl's request, no longer as yesterday or three days ago showed him a cheerful face.'?⁵⁴⁴ The events are also very closely dated. The abbot went from Crowland to Winchester to plead his case before the king and Hubert Walter on 13 August 1193, and that the archbishop judged the matter of the dispute on 2 November.⁵⁴⁵ Henry must have kept a diary of his travelling. So much for Antonia Gransden's indictment of the *Historia* as a 'total forgery'.

Detailed as it is, the account has a retrospective feel to it, suggesting that its author wrote it some time after the dispute had come to an end. For instance, he was not sure whether 1202 was King John's third regnal year.⁵⁴⁶

It is not difficult to see why Henry should keep such a detailed record of this quarrel, carefully dated and furnished with a considerable number of transcribed charters and letters that the abbot managed to obtain from King Richard and his brother John,

⁵⁴³ Stenton, *English Justice*, 179.

⁵⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 199.

⁵⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 176, 185.

⁵⁴⁶ *Anno igitur gratie Millesimo ducentesimo secundo qui erat, ni fallor, tertius annus imperii Regis Johannis, ibid.* 188.

once this one became king.⁵⁴⁷ Henry wished no doubt to secure the memory of this protracted dispute (for fear of subsequent challenging perhaps) as well as to leave a memorial of his crucial role in prevailing over Spalding. His obit in the same narrative bears witness to this last point. Henry is praised specifically for his efforts in the Crowland-Spalding dispute:

*Graves siquidem et admodum intolerabilis pro Ecclesia sua praedicta labores sustinuit et expensas. Insuper et pericula perpessus est ingentia, tam in itinere suo versus Romam, quam in mari, cum pro placito marisci, ut praedictum est, bis ad Regem Richardum tunc in Alemania existentem et semel ad Regem Iohannem personaliter transfretaret.*⁵⁴⁸

'For on behalf of his church, he had endured both labours and expenses which were most grievous and almost intolerable. Besides which, he had exposed himself to mighty perils, both in his journey to Rome as well as at sea; for, on the occasion of the trial relative to the marsh, as already mentioned, he twice crossed the sea to wait upon King Richard, who was then in Germany, and once to King John.'⁵⁴⁹

Crowland-Spalding is therefore a piece of historical writing dating from Henry's time that must have been left at the abbey for at least a century, before the mysterious continuator of the *Historia Croylandensis* built it into his narrative. This shows that even discounting the *Crowland Chronicle*, some sort of historical writing was being conducted at the abbey at the turn of the thirteenth century. Moreover, it shows the abbot closely involved in the writing of this topical record. Henry is also remembered for his victory over Spalding in the *Gesta Abbatum* preserved in Douai MS 852 and discussed in chapter 2. The *Gesta* provides a large section of the obit also copied in

⁵⁴⁷ There is a clear desire to closely date the events, either by feast or by the day of the month; no less than eleven documents relative to the lawsuit are inserted in the main text.

⁵⁴⁸ *Hist. Croy.*, 477.

⁵⁴⁹ Riley, *Ingulph*, 322.

the *Historia Croylandensis* obit as well as gives a short notice of Henry's effort in the dispute:

Mortuo Roberto abbate, succesit Henricus frater Willelmi de Longe Campo cancellarii regis Ricardi et episcopi Elyensis. Hic erat monachus Eveshamensis et abbatiam suscepit concessu regis Ricardi qui tunc temporis ultra mare erat in procinctu itineris Ierosolimitani. Cui domum sibi commissam xlvi annis strenue rexit et pro ea multos labores angustias et pericula tam in mari quando ad regem Ricardum pro placito marisci personaliter in Allemaniam adiit, quam in itinere versus Romam autoritate concilii perpessus est. Ornamenta autem et vasa ecclesiastica aurea et argentea et vestimenta preciosa, libros quoque et alia quam plurima domui Dei necessaria que hic omittuntur enarrare, studiose perquisivit. Edificia fere omnia infra abbatiam et extra ad maneria tempore suo in melius reedificata sunt et constructa. Cui successit Ricardus monachus et celerarius Bardineie.⁵⁵⁰

The text echoes the brief note in the *Crowland Chronicle*:

Robertus abbas Croilandia obit. Succesit Henricus frater Willelmi de Longo Campo regis cancellarii monachus Eveshami. [...] Henricus abbas Croilandie regem Ricardum, dum adhuc esset in Alemannia, pro marisco inter Croilandiam et Spandingum adiit.⁵⁵¹

The *Gesta Abbatum* and *1Croylandensis* are no doubt related. They use the same words to describe how Henry enriched the abbey.⁵⁵² Yet, the account of the *Gesta* does not descend from *1Croylandensis*. The latter is reckoned to the *Gesta* by more than a century. Instead, *1Croylandensis* extracted text from the *Gesta Abbatum* and

⁵⁵⁰ MS Douai 852, fols. 54v-55r.

⁵⁵¹ *Crowland*, 1194.2.

⁵⁵² *ornamenta autem et vasa ecclesiastica aurea et argentea et vestimenta preciosa, libros quoque et alia quam plurima domui Dei necessaria*, MS Douai 852, fol. 55r; *Hist. Croy.*, 477.

the *Crowland Chronicle* which was then inserted into its detailed narrative.⁵⁵³ That explains how the account of the attack on the abbey in 1216 as well as that of King John's death are shared between *Crowland* and *1Croylandensis*.⁵⁵⁴

History was not the only type of literature that Henry was interested in. Robert Bartlett has convincingly argued that Abbot Henry was a figure of great hagiographical patronage.⁵⁵⁵ A number of hagiographical works are known to have been produced at Crowland or for Crowland consumption during Henry's office: two epitomes of Felix's *Life of St. Guthlac*, one in prose by Peter of Blois, another in verse by Henry of Avranches, previously attributed to William of Ramsey;⁵⁵⁶ the remarkable *Guthlac Roll* was produced within the first decade of the thirteenth century; an anonymous life of St. Neot followed by an account of the translation of his relics to Crowland were produced at the extreme end of the twelfth century.⁵⁵⁷ To this Crowland hagiographical body, one must add the Roger's already mentioned reworking of Elias of Evesham's *Quadriologus II*.

Henry's patronage also emerges in Henry of Avranches' dedicatory letter to his epitome of St Guthlac's Life:

⁵⁵³ On the breadth of sources used in the *Historia Croylandensis*, see Searle, *Ingulf*, 192-3.

⁵⁵⁴ *Crowland*, 1216.11, 1216.13 ; *Hist. Croy.*, 474.

⁵⁵⁵ R. Bartlett, 'The Hagiography of Angevin England' in *Thirteenth Century England V*, ed. P. R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1995), 37-52, at 49-51.

⁵⁵⁶ C. Horstmann, (ed.), *Nova Legenda Anglia*, (Oxford, 1901), 1-10; For Henry of Avranches's *Life*: see D. Townsend, (ed.), *Saints' Lives. Volume II: Henry of Avranches*, *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 31* (Cambridge, MA, 2014) and W.F. Bolton, *The Middle English and Latin Poems of Saint Guthlac* (PhD. thesis, Princeton, 1954).

⁵⁵⁷ J. Whitaker, *The Life of St. Neot, The Oldest of All the Brothers to King Alfred* (London, 1809), 317-38; for the different *Lives* of St. Neot, see M.P. Richards, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Neot', *Analecta Bollandiana* 99 (1981), 259-78; see also Colgrave, *Felix' Life*, 41.

*At tu qui Longus ad celsos Campus honores
Protulit abbatum rutilans Henrice lucerna
Dum me compellis presumere dum mihi stulto
Imponis sapientis onus presumptio partim
Est tua presumpum partim dignare tueri⁵⁵⁸*

But you, whom a Long Field has borne forth to heavenly honors, Henry, shining light among abbots—since you force me to be presumptuous, since you impose upon my foolishness the burden of the wise, the presumption is partly yours: and so deign to shelter to some degree that presumption's product.⁵⁵⁹

It is significant yet not at all surprising that at Peterborough (or perhaps Spalding), Henry was remembered for his patronage of hagiography but not for his performance in the Spalding dispute. The fourteenth-century *Chronicon Angliae Petroburgense* – whose only surviving manuscript has been used in the present edition for the recovery of the text of the *Crowland Chronicle* (S) – is silent as to Henry's abbatial appointment, but praises him upon his death for patronizing the works of Peter of Blois and Henry of Avranches.⁵⁶⁰ Liebermann and Kay have suggested that *Chronicon Angliae* may have been written at Spalding, since it contains many

⁵⁵⁸ Birch, *Memorials*, 5.

⁵⁵⁹ The translation is by David Townsend, *Henry of Avranches*, 87.

⁵⁶⁰ *Obiit dominus Henricus de Longo Campo, abbas Croylandiae, ad cujus petitionem magister Petrus Blesensis, archidiaconus Bathoniensis tunc eloquentissimus, vitam sancti Guthlaci heroico stylo, et magister Henricus metrico stylo, venustissime dictaverunt*, CAP, 135. The *Chronicon Angliae* seems to allude to the letter purported to be of Abbot Henry to Peter of Blois in the *Historia Croylandensis* in which the abbot entreats Peter to rewrite Felix' Life of St. Guthlac, *Hist. Croy.*, 108-9.

references to the abbey. The Crowland evidence reinforces this view, because Spalding would have had an interest not to record a legal defeat.

Henry was therefore remembered as a good administrator of the abbey and a patron of pious works. Was he also involved in Roger's chronicle? There is evidence which suggests that he may have looked after the annals, or that he may have at least urged Roger to add some notices into the annals.

The *Crowland Chronicle* as well as *1Croylandensis* note that Abbot Henry had been a monk at the abbey of Evesham before he became abbot of Crowland. The two texts mention him as such, though they are silent over when, how and why he joined the Evesham community. The Evesham connection, however, runs deeper than that. The *Crowland Chronicle* shows some interest in Evesham in two short notices relative to the succession and the death of Abbot Adam (1161–89).⁵⁶¹

Adam of Senlis was a strong figure who became deeply involved in the affairs of his own house.⁵⁶² He was particularly remembered for enlarging the abbey's possessions.⁵⁶³ As the chronicle mentions none of the thirty-two abbots of Evesham from the abbey's foundation down to Adam's office, the evidence suggests that the short record of Abbot Adam may have been Henry's suggestion. It would have been a way of celebrating the memory of an abbot to whom Henry perhaps owed his zeal

⁵⁶¹ *Crowland*, 1161.3, 1189.4.

⁵⁶² *Thomas of Marlborough*, 184-9; D.C. Cox, 'The literary remains of Adam, Abbot of Evesham (1161–89)' *Journal of Medieval Latin* 20 (2010), 113-66, at 113-4; I am indebted to Dr. David Cox for his many insights that helped shape the present argument.

⁵⁶³ *Thomas of Marlborough*, xxix, 185-9.

of defending Crowland's interests when they were under threat, as the quarrel with Spalding showed. When Adam died, moreover, Roger did not mention who succeeded as abbot. Thomas of Marlborough tells how Roger Norries forced his way to the abbacy when Adam died and proved to be a detestable abbot.⁵⁶⁴ Henry surely knew that but perhaps decided not to remember Abbot Roger in the Crowland annals, something that Thomas of Marlborough also contemplated in his own work.⁵⁶⁵ Abbot Roger is never mentioned by name, but the annals record instead his deposition by the legate.⁵⁶⁶

Henry may also have prompted a short notice relative to the foundation of Evesham. The account of the foundation is an epitome of John of Worcester's *Chronica* via the *backbone narrative*. John had written that Ecgwine built the abbey with the help of King Æthelred.⁵⁶⁷ Roger interpolated *et Kenredi* into the epitome of John's text, giving the Mercian king Cenred (675-709) a role to play in the foundation.⁵⁶⁸ At Evesham, Cenred was remembered as a royal patron.⁵⁶⁹ This detail may have been suggested by Henry. One can imagine Roger recording the foundation of Henry's erstwhile abbey, and asking him whether he might be able to enlarge the account.

⁵⁶⁴ *ibid*, 188-97.

⁵⁶⁵ *ibid*, 190-1.

⁵⁶⁶ *Crowland*, 1213.15.

⁵⁶⁷ *Sanctus Ecguinus pro eo presulatum suscepit, et post annorum curricula paucorum licentia iuamineque regis Æthelredi, monasterium quod Eouesham dicitur construere cepit*, *JW*, ii, 156.

⁵⁶⁸ *Sanctus Ecgvindus Wictoriorum episcopatum Osforo defuncto suspicit paucis inde elabentibus annis, auxilio Ethelredi et Kenredi regum monasterium Eovesham construit*, *Crowland*, 692.1.

⁵⁶⁹ *Thomas of Marlborough*, xlviiii.

When *Crowland* noted that Badby had been given by the hermit Wulfsige who died at Evesham, that information may have come directly from Abbot Henry.⁵⁷⁰

It seems then that the annals were a locus of Henry's commemorative strategies. Evesham abbey is one place to see this *lieu de mémoire*. Another is on the battlefield. That Henry used the *Crowland* annals to express his regard for people close to him is clear from a curious note at the end of Roger's account of the battle of Bouvines. Roger wrote:

*Et ex parte regis Francorum cecidit Steffanus de Longocampo vir in armis strenuus qui, se in primo conflictu obiciens cum quodam alio pro rege domino et coram rege viriliter decertans, succubuit.*⁵⁷¹

Stephen of Longchamp fell on the side of the king of the French, a man strong in arms who, having opposed in the first clash another man in the service of the lord king [of England], succumbed while fighting bravely in the presence of the [French] king.

Scholars have not noticed this entry, let alone how subversive it is. The text echoes the account of Stephen's death in William the Breton's *Gesta Philippi Augusti* and *Philippeis*. Roger and William agree that Stephen died on the battlefield and that he fell while fighting under King Philip's eyes.⁵⁷² They both underline Stephen's strength and valour.⁵⁷³ It is well known that William the Breton was an eyewitness to the

⁵⁷⁰ *Crowland*, 1104.2-3.

⁵⁷¹ *Crowland*, 1214.3.

⁵⁷² H.F. Delabord, (ed.), *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, 2vol (Paris, 1882-5), i, 283 + ii, 336.

⁵⁷³ *ibid*, i, 283 + ii, 335.

battle, staying close to King Philip.⁵⁷⁴ The Crowland account also seems to be the report of an eyewitness, for it is accurate in all points of detail. Yet, it is more important to ask why was this short note included in the account. It does not sit very well with the overall meaning of the battle, which ended in defeat for the Anglo-Imperial alliance and victory for the French king. The English losses were listed, but the French were not, except for Stephen. In his *Gesta Regis*, Roger of Howden wrote that King Richard entrusted the city of Acre to Bertram de Verdun and to Stephen *de Nunchams*. Stephen is described as *frater Eliensis episcopi*, none other than the chancellor William of Longchamp.⁵⁷⁵ When Normandy was lost – of which he had been steward under Richard, Stephen cast off John and joined the French king.⁵⁷⁶ Stephen was, then, the brother of the abbot of Crowland. Henry learned what happened at Bouvines and how his brother died in honourable combat. He was no doubt anxious to mention him in the annals, though it is not known whether the two men had ever met before. He may have hesitated, moreover, to record his death in such laudatory terms, since it may have been deemed inappropriate to express admiration for the enemy. After all, Stephen is the only casualty recorded on the French side.

⁵⁷⁴ J.W. Baldwin, 'Le sens de Bouvines', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 30 (1987), 119-30, at 120.

⁵⁷⁵ In the *Chronica*, Howden omits the name altogether, which prompted Stubbs to question whether the *Gesta* should be believed, *GRHS*, ii, 190, n. 2. Because the *Gesta* had been attributed to Benedict of Peterborough, this created an unnecessary problem for Stubbs, who thought was dealing with two different authors. Three years after his edition of the *Gesta*, Stubbs accepted that Stephen and William the chancellor were brothers, *RH*, iii, xxxix-xl.

⁵⁷⁶ T. Stapleton, (ed.), *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub Regibus Angliae*, (London, 1844), ii, cxi-cxvii; for more on the Longchamp family, see D. Balfour, 'Origins of Longchamp family' *Medieval Prosopography* 18 (1997), 73-92; L. Grant, *Architecture and Society in Normandy 1120-1270* (Yale, 2005), 17; A.E. Conway, 'The Family of William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, chancellor and justiciar of England, 1190-1191' *Archaeologia Cantiana* 36 (1923), 35-9.

The Crowland account of the battle of Bouvines also survives in the annals of Mortemer abbey, which omit the Stephen interpolation.⁵⁷⁷ Roger undoubtedly used a source also available to the Mortemer annalist.⁵⁷⁸ It appears that the information about the battle and that about Stephen's death reached Roger from two sources. One presumably came from a written report that circulated in England and Normandy, the other from the abbot, who wished to celebrate the memory of his fallen brother by mentioning him in the annals. Henry's other brother Robert was elected abbot at St. Mary's, York in 1197. His election was recorded in the Crowland annals.⁵⁷⁹

Was Henry telling Roger what to write? Was there a 'coalition of abbot and monk'? It is impossible to know whether Henry 'influenced the content of the chronicle beyond simply inspiring references to himself', as Eleurius, the abbot of Pershore may have done with William de Flamstede's works.⁵⁸⁰ Some parallels nevertheless can be made between the two cases. William was close to Eleurius, and so was Roger to Abbot Henry. Roger had already dedicated the *Quadriologus* to him, who may have made suggestions while Roger was working on it. Eleurius, as Carpenter pointed

⁵⁷⁷ MGH SS 6, 467-8. The annals are a continuation of Sigebert de Gembloux's chronicle and run to 1234.

⁵⁷⁸ According to Bethmann, the Mortemer annals 1166-1234 were entered in many similar hands, which suggests contemporaneous reporting, *Chronica Sigeberti*, 292.

⁵⁷⁹ *Willelmus episcopus Eliensis regis cancellarius obit[...]. Robertus frater eius a prioratu Elyensis ad abbatiam Eboracensis transfertur, Crowland, 1197.1*. This was also in Howden's *Chronica*, which the Crowland chronicler was using, so he might, without loss to my argument, have picked it from there, *RH*, iv, 17.

⁵⁸⁰ Carpenter, 'Pershore Flores', 1361.

out, was knowledgeable and well-connected.⁵⁸¹ Roger had access to the archives of Christ Church at Canterbury, something that Henry may have mediated.⁵⁸² Similarly, Henry perhaps attended the Oxford council of 1222. Roger's account of it is the most detailed of all chronicle sources⁵⁸³ and reads like an eyewitness report.⁵⁸⁴ Henry was, after all, a strong abbot, travelling the world to defend his abbey. It has recently been suggested that Roger's favourable account of King John may have been inspired by the fact that Henry came to know a sunnier side of John during the meetings they had over the dispute with Spalding.⁵⁸⁵ Elias of Evesham, the author of the original *Quadriologus*, wrote that Henry helped him harmonise the major sources for the Life of Becket.⁵⁸⁶ Henry seems to have offered some assistance when it came to establishing the reliability of the Becket letters which Roger wished to include in his improved *Quadriologus*.⁵⁸⁷

Chronologies of composition

⁵⁸¹ *ibid*, 1361-2.

⁵⁸² Roger's use of archival material is discussed in chapter 4.

⁵⁸³ M. Powicke, C.R. Cheney, *Councils and Synods* (Oxford, 1964), ii, part i, 104-6.

⁵⁸⁴ It is the only one to record words spoken there *hiis verbis usus est: Exauctoramus te' and to refer to the location of the council as 'in conventuali ecclesia de Oseneya, Crowland, 1222.2.*

⁵⁸⁵ D.A. Carpenter, *Magna Carta* (London, 2015), 87.

⁵⁸⁶ *Qui quoniam plures erant, nec poterat fieri quin alicui aliquid deesset, quod alter forte haberet, jussit paternitas vestra ut in scriptis singulorum codicibus ea tantum ab unoquoque exciperem et excerpta seriatim ordinarem quae ad historiam de martyre continuandam sufficerent. Tale aliquid ex ipsis evangeliiis legimus factum ab eo qui nobis ex quatuor unum fecit. Nam et hic quatuor fuerunt auctores, Joannes episcopus Carnotensis, Alanus abbas Teokesbiriensis, Willelmus subprior Cantuariensis, et magister Herebertus de Boseham. Benedictus enim abbas Burgi de fine tantum et de his quae post finem contigerant scripsit, PL 190, cols. 253-4; Robertson, *Materials*, iv, 425-6.*

⁵⁸⁷ Duggan, *Textual History*, 206, n. 7.

Roger finished the improved *Quadriologus* sometime between 3 May 1212 and 22 May 1213. It is likely that he had started work on the Crowland Chronicle shortly before that. His awareness of the multiplicity of Incarnational reckonings to which he alluded in the letter to the abbot may have come from reading Marianus in the *backbone narrative*.

The annals are, nevertheless, silent as to the year when the chronicle was begun. The only positive evidence is that work on the chronicle must have proceeded after 1209. Under 1182, Roger noted that Duke Henry of Saxony was exiled to England and that he took his wife and daughter with him.⁵⁸⁸ For that section of the annals, Roger relied mainly on Howden's chronicle, but he did not find the note cited above in that work. It was a clear interpolation, which moreover said that Henry was the father of Otto, who was later crowned emperor (*postmodum Romanorum imperator*). The coronation took place in 1209.⁵⁸⁹

All the annals down to 1212 are very brief and report many unrelated developments. The 1210 annal has a retrospective feel to it: *dura erat hiis diebus Ecclesie sancte conditio*.⁵⁹⁰ After 1212, the focus seems to stabilise on English affairs. The narrative becomes suddenly more detailed and the analysis more penetrating. As such, it would suggest that the writing of annals went into fourth gear around that time.

⁵⁸⁸ *Dux Saxonie pater Othonis postmodum Romanorum imperatoris et uxor eius filia videlicet regis Anglie Henrici secundi mater eiusdem Othonis venerunt in Angliam exules, Crowland, 1182.2.*

⁵⁸⁹ *Crowland, 1209.3.*

⁵⁹⁰ *Crowland, 1210.7.*

The account of the period 1212-25 is quite accurate, while the dating of the events contains few errors. Under 1211, however, the text reports a lunar eclipse, but gives it under the wrong date.⁵⁹¹ Was this Roger's own error or merely an error in A's transmission of its source? This is the only error in A's record of astronomical observations, which contain a fair number of lunar and solar eclipses.

If the work's starting date is difficult to recover, the end-date is easier to establish. The last annal of the *Chronicle* was surely around mid-1226. This evidence for the *terminus ante quem* comes from a lengthy document appended to the extreme end of the 1225-annal. It is known as the *Querimonia* of Falkes de Bréauté and it does not survive anywhere else. Falkes had risen to power under King John who, the *Chronicle* tells us, had made him 'the equal of an earl' by giving him Margaret FitzGerald, heiress to the Isle of Wight and widow of Baldwin de Redvers.⁵⁹² After John's death, Falkes clashed with justiciar Hubert de Burgh, who managed to bring him down in 1224 at the siege of Bedford castle.⁵⁹³ Stripped of all his property and exiled, Falkes sought papal support, for which reason he had the *querimonia*, or formal complaint, lodged on his behalf, hoping to be pardoned and restored to his former honour.⁵⁹⁴ The 1224-annal is exclusively concerned with Falkes at Bedford,

⁵⁹¹ The eclipse is dated to *festum Sancte Lucie* (13 December), but the nearest lunar eclipse that year was 22 November, on the day of St. Cecilia. *Cecilie* may have been copied as *Lucie*.

⁵⁹² *Nam Falcasius de Breaute, natione Normannus, quem pro strenuitate virilis obsequii Iohannes rex Anglie a satellite paupere in militem cum aliis sublimavit, et postea comiti parificavit, donando illi comitissam de Wyth, cum videret statum suum supra modum subito prosperato, dedignabatur habere parem; erat enim ei persepe in operibus frequentibus pro ratione voluntas, Crowland, 1224.3; Rot. Lit. Claus, i, 293b.*

⁵⁹³ Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, 363-8.

⁵⁹⁴ David Carpenter has argued that Robert Passelewe should be seen as the architect of this written protestation, *The Minority of Henry III*, 368.

containing a detailed narrative of the siege followed by the king's letter demanding an aid to offset the expenses of the campaign. It is only towards the end of the following annal that Falkes' complaint is entered, following accounts about the king's granting of the Great Charter in exchange for the levy of a fifteenth and about the emperor's preparations for crusade. Roger never came back to Falkes' story. He did not wonder what had happened to him, whether the king permitted him to return to England. By July 1226, anyway, Falkes died in Rome.⁵⁹⁵ Was Roger, by that time, dead too? One is tempted to believe that, since the text ends with an account of the Council of Bourges in November 1225. Richard Kay has conclusively argued that the account was a copy of a French original read at London in May 1226 (*Relatio de concilio Bituricensi*), of which two other witnesses, one being Roger of Wendover's, survive.⁵⁹⁶ The *Crowland Chronicle* ends abruptly with the last words of the *relatio*. The safest hypothesis is that Roger stopped writing sometime between May and July, after the London council but before he had time to learn, if he was still alive, about Falkes' death in Rome.

The *Crowland Chronicle* was, then, begun around 1212 or 1213 and finished around mid-1226. The contrast between the brief entries of the earlier annals and the much fuller later ones prompts the question whether Roger wrote the later ones contemporaneously with the events narrated. The general impression is that he was writing at least a year after the events, when he had time to arrange the material chronologically and observe his self-imposed convention of starting the year on 1

⁵⁹⁵ D.J. Power, 'Sir Falkes de Bréauté (d. 1226)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008; [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3305>, accessed 11 June 2014]; Carpenter, *Minority Henry III*, 368.

⁵⁹⁶ R. Kay, *The Council of Bourges, 1225: a documentary history* (Aldershot, 2002), 273-4.

January. The frequent use of distant temporal markers such as *eo tempore*, *hiis diebus*, *tunc temporis* add to a retrospective feel of the narrative.⁵⁹⁷ This time-lag between event and record also meant that Roger could build some continuity between accounts, creating a sense of expectation and even impatience and articulating different events around themes and larger issues. For instance, he wrote that in the civil war, some fathers sided with the king while their sons joined the barons.⁵⁹⁸ Later in the same annal, but not immediately after, he gives an example of such family divisions with William Marshal and his eldest son.⁵⁹⁹ At the extreme end of the 1214-annal, Roger tells how the barons revived the coronation charter of Henry I but then adds that the matter was put off until the next year. That must be the medieval equivalent of the modern 'to be continued in the next episode'. Similarly, the chronicler notes how William de Forz, count of Aumale defied the king in June 1220, adding that he later threw the kingdom into disorder, *ut postea patuit*.⁶⁰⁰ The allusion was to the count's obstinate acts of violence in the early 1221 that ended in his defeat and the razing of Bytham castle.⁶⁰¹ A definite sense of expectation also emerges from the many portents and signs that populate the 1214-annal, whose political significance is discussed in the next chapter.

There might be a certain time-lag between the narrative and the events. Yet, the prose is too fresh and the analysis too cogent for the text to have been composed

⁵⁹⁷ David Carpenter has made a similar point with respect to another work, Carpenter, 'The Pershore Flores', 1353.

⁵⁹⁸ *Crowland*, 1215.7.

⁵⁹⁹ *Crowland*, 1215.29.

⁶⁰⁰ *Crowland*, 1220.5.

⁶⁰¹ *Crowland*, 1221.1.

very long after the events. Not after mid-1226 anyway. The last years of King John's reign have a raw flavour to them and are miles away from the retrospection of Roger of Wendover or Matthew Paris. One can see that in how Roger handles his anger and denunciation in the prose. To no-one was the author more slighting than to the already mentioned William de Forz. His vituperation left little unsaid. Yet, four years before the count showed his true colours, Roger could speak of him dispassionately and tell how he abandoned John only to return to him shortly afterwards. Surely there was an opportunity for castigation, if Roger had known what was going to happen a few years later. But he did not.

That Roger worked fairly contemporaneously emerges also from his report of the Fifth Crusade. The Egyptian port city of Damietta was captured in November 1219, only to be surrendered less than two years later, in August 1221. For his account of the capture of the city, Roger paraphrases a letter sent by a group of crusaders and prelates to Pope Honorius, celebrating the miraculous victory.⁶⁰² Roger celebrated with them, reporting how two mosques had been consecrated to English saints and that so many miracles were performed there 'that it would be too tedious to tell.'⁶⁰³ Nothing in his account suggests that he wrote it after he had learned about the fall of the city. There is no sense of anticipation, nothing of the jeremiad of his later account

⁶⁰² *PL* 207, cols. 478-9. See also M. Tabarrini, (ed.), *Cronache dei secoli 13 e 14* (Florence, 1876), 704-6; R. Röhrich, *Studien zur Geschichte des Fünften Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1891), iii, 39-40, n. 2.

⁶⁰³ *Crowland*, 1219.7.

of the city's surrender.⁶⁰⁴ His jubilation of 1219 is genuine, and so is his lamentation of 1221. No doubt he was writing within no more than two years after the events.

Conclusion

A very strong case can be made for Roger as the author of the *Crowland Chronicle*. Roger began the chronicle shortly after he had finished the *Quadriologus*. He seems to have collaborated with Abbot Henry in shaping the content of some of the annals. He designed the chronicle to be all-embracing in scope, covering the entire history from Christ to the present time. As was common at the time, Roger trotted down through centuries of providential history, but lessened his pace for the last years covered by his annals whose events and developments he had been a witness of. He spent as much time and effort on the earlier, universalistic section of it as he did on the later, more expository annals.

As the next chapter tries to demonstrate, Roger did not abandon his original commitment to write universal history. There was no shift in his providentialism. God was advancing His plan on the wings of history, despite Roger's occasionally naturalistic analysis of political events. Though the crisis of 1214-17 had human, penetrable causes, ultimately, Roger explains, God saved England from the French.⁶⁰⁵ If King John's decisions were inspired by political and financial interest, it was the wheel of fortune that brought him down.⁶⁰⁶ Roger's understanding of those years was not, however, limited by his theology. Writing both during and after John's

⁶⁰⁴ So shaken was he at the news that he quoted Lamentations 5:15 to that effect: 'versus est in luctum chorus illorum', 1221.9.

⁶⁰⁵ *Crowland*, 1217.22; *HWE*, i, 342.

⁶⁰⁶ *Crowland*, 1216.13.

reign, he gave an account of the 1210–20s that is at once crisp and reasoned. He sought to understand the deep causes of the crisis that shook England during the conflict between John and his barons, while eschewing credulity and relying on oral as well as written evidence. Roger's last and most stimulating annals are the focus of the next and last chapter.

CHAPTER 4 CHRONICLING THE *HODIERNA DIES*: SOURCES AND SKILLS

The main historiographical strength of the *Crowland Chronicle* lies in its last fifteen or so annals. Roger promised to bring the annals down to *tempora nostra*, and so he did. Under 1205, he begins to speak about the 'present day' (*hodierna dies*), a clear sign that his historiographical kingdom was closer at hand. This section of the chronicle corresponds to Roger's continuous present time of writing. The narrative of these years is written without much distorting hindsight. The annals focus on the last years of King John's reign, on his conflict with the barons and on the political and financial challenges of the minority of Henry III. They have been held as the most reliable source for the period, and the fact that they were written shortly after the events makes the annals extremely valuable. Scholars have for a long time highlighted the collected, almost journalistic tone of the narrative, and the author's balanced, if not favourable attitude to John.⁶⁰⁷ While endorsing both of these assessments, this chapter seeks to go farther and examine how Roger understood the major political developments of the period and how he articulated his account of them. The first part discusses Roger's use of sources for this section of the chronicle and several aspects of his prose. The second part looks at his attitude towards the baronial war and examines whether the annalist may be regarded as 'pro-baronial', as scholars have argued⁶⁰⁸, or rather the opposite, or whether that really matters. The third and last part examines Roger's attitude to King John, while advancing the argument that the annalist's assessment of the reign was as much shaped by the

⁶⁰⁷ HWE, i, 343; Holt, *Magna Carta*, 223; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 86-7.

⁶⁰⁸ HWE, i, 344.

historical evidence at his disposal, as it was informed by his understanding of the forces of history.

Roger's sources for 1202–25

If the section of the chronicle from the beginning to around 1202 may be traceable to known written sources, the same cannot be said about the rest of it. Roger did not begin the annals in 1202, but his main source text, Howden's chronicle, came to an end then. There is no evidence, however, of an 'interregnum' after 1201. The annals for the following few years flow as they had flowed before 1202, but they build up more and more text. Roger was surely working from a written source, but it was not a very generous one, as he only has a few words to say about the loss of Normandy.⁶⁰⁹ Nor was he using updated sources. When the count of Flanders is taken prisoner in 1205 at the battle of Adrianople, Roger recycles a view common in the 1200s which wondered whether Baldwin had been captured or killed.⁶¹⁰

With the annal for 1205, things begin to change. Roger's entries become more detailed around the time of the dispute over Stephen Langton's appointment as archbishop. Yet, he does not produce his own narrative, but transcribes the account of the dispute from a document which he surely found in the archives of Christ Church, Canterbury, now surviving in London, British Library, Cotton MS Cleopatra E.i.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁹ *Crowland*, 1204.4.

⁶¹⁰ *Crowland*, 1204.3; R.L. Wolff, 'Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172-1225' *Speculum* 27 (1952), 281-322 at 289-94.

⁶¹¹ N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain; a List of Surviving Books* (London: 1964), 36; G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London, 1958), no. 162.

There can be no doubt that Roger consulted contents from the volume, either at Canterbury or on loan. The Cleopatra MS contains the account of Langton's disputed election followed by a report of John's persecution of the church⁶¹², then pope Innocent's letter addressed to the bishops of London, Ely and Worcester⁶¹³, the bull accepting John's submission to Rome⁶¹⁴, and the bull annulling Magna Carta.⁶¹⁵ Roger made use of all these texts. He reports on the barons meeting in the New Temple at London in January 1215 and discussing the charter of Henry I, and notes that they thereby 'raised a wall as if for the house of God' (*opponerent se pro domo Domini murum*).⁶¹⁶ These were words which Pope Innocent had used in his letter *Absit a nobis* to the English bishops charged with enforcing the terms of the interdict. Roger was writing from memory, having perused the letter preserved in the Cleopatra manuscript.⁶¹⁷ Similarly, Roger used the words *omnes conspirationes vel coniurationes* to describe the content of Innocent's letter of 19 March 1215 to the barons.⁶¹⁸ This letter is not in Cleopatra, so it is likely that Roger did not have access to it. Instead, he found those words in the papal bull *Etsi karissimus* annulling Magna

⁶¹² MS Cleopatra, fols. 138r-141r, printed in *Gervase*, ii, liv-lxiv.

⁶¹³ MS Cleopatra, fol. 143r (*Gervase*, ii, xci-xcii.); C.R. Cheney, M. G. Cheney, (eds.), *The letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales : a calendar with an appendix of texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 132, no. 800

⁶¹⁴ MS Cleopatra, fol. 152-3; Cheney, *Letters of Innocent III*, 153, no. 925.

⁶¹⁵ MS Cleopatra, fol. 155r; Cheney, *Letters of Innocent III*, 170, no. 1018.

⁶¹⁶ Nicholas Vincent has thought that Roger found these words in Scripture, but it is more likely that he remembered them after reading the papal letter, where Innocent had used them rhetorically in defence of the Church, N. Vincent, 'King John's Diary & Itinerary', *The Magna Carta Project* [http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk/read/itinerary/Baronial_grievances_aired_at_the_New_Temple accessed 23 February 2015].

⁶¹⁷ *Gervase*, ii, xci.

⁶¹⁸ *Crowland*, 1215.6; Cheney, *Letters of pope Innocent III*, 167, no. 1001.

Carta and used them in reference to the March letter which he only knew in its general outline, in order to illustrate the pope's warning to the barons.⁶¹⁹

That Roger found all those documents at Canterbury becomes clear once one notices that he read at least a letter addressed to Archbishop Langton which only survives in original in the Canterbury archives. This is a letter dated 5 September 1215 and sent by the bishop of Winchester, the abbot of Reading and Pandulf to Langton to urge him to excommunicate all *perturbatores* of the reign.⁶²⁰ Though he does not quote the letter *ex integro*, he uses enough words to show that he read it. He refers to Pandulf using the exact words of the protocol (*domini Pape subdiaconus et familiaris*) and lists the addressees in the original order and wording.⁶²¹ In the commentary on the letter, Powicke noted that the annalist 'clearly had our document in mind'.⁶²² Perhaps a fairer conclusion would be that he had the document in hand. Similarly, while at Canterbury, Roger may have found the king's letter of invitation addressed to the prior and monks of Christ Church to return from exile.⁶²³

⁶¹⁹ *Crowland*, 1215.6; Cheney, *Letters of pope Innocent III*, 170, no. 1018.

⁶²⁰ Canterbury, Christ Church, CCA-DCC-ChAnt/M/247; F.M. Powicke, 'The Bull 'Miramur plurimum' and a Letter to Archbishop Stephen Langton, 5 September 1215' *English Historical Review* 173 (1929), 87-93 (letter transcribed at 90-3).

⁶²¹ Powicke, 'Miramur Plurimum', 91.

⁶²² Powicke, 'Miramur Plurimum', 90.

⁶²³ *Crowland*, 1213.8; *RLP*, 98-9; The original survives as Lambeth Palace Library ms. Cartae Antiquae XI.7. Roger was the only chronicler to allude to this document. In the annals, he notes that the king sent letters of safe conduct not only to the prior and monks of Canterbury, but to other bishops and 'generally to all who had been exiled'. This is confirmed by the letter's eschatocol, in which it is stated that the king sent similar letters to other beneficiaries, *RLP*, 99.

If he indeed travelled to Canterbury to consult the archives, and it is very likely that he did, then this must have happened between 1213-5, because all the documents he used are dated to before 1216. Did the Canterbury visit owe anything to his work on the *Quadriologus*? Had he travelled there before on Becket business and earned his reader ticket into the archives? It seems likely, as he may have acquired at least some of his Becket material at Canterbury⁶²⁴. The relationship between Abbot Henry and Archbishop Langton was warm enough, since Henry later presented Roger's revised *Quadriologus* to Langton himself. It may all have been a case of reciprocity.

True to the historiographical spirit of his age, Roger was a friend of archives and documents.⁶²⁵ His work on arranging the Becket letters in the *Quadriologus* would have refined his skills of handling letters, charters and papal bulls. The annals under discussion here contain the three main modes in which a medieval historian could reference a written document. Roger alluded to some, quoted others in part and yet others *ex integro*. He consulted the letter of King John's agreement to the peace-terms of 13 May 1215 and the oath of fealty to Innocent witnessed two days later, perhaps in the same Canterbury archives.⁶²⁶ He does not quote the letters in full, but 'emplots' them in the narrative, using words from the documents themselves.⁶²⁷ He mentions the four barons who swore to observe the terms of John's submission to

⁶²⁴ Duggan, *Textual History*, 209-10.

⁶²⁵ Guenée, *Histoire et Culture*, 92.

⁶²⁶ C. R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart, 1976), 331, n. 26 + 332, n. 29. The two letters patent are not in the Cleopatra MS, but it is probable that the documents preserved in the volume were not yet bound together at the time, because the volume also includes an original papal letter dated 1261, fol. 213 .

⁶²⁷ *HWE*, i, 342; He makes clear that there are two charters, perhaps drawing attention to his work in the archive: *hec omnia litteris patentibus ad modum carte compositis publice protestatus est*, *Crowland*, 1213.5.

the Pope in the words of the letter patent: *hii quatuor in animam regis iuraverant*.⁶²⁸ He notes the *homagium ligium et fidelitatem* sworn to the Pope and the fact that the king surrendered from pure free will (*ex mera voluntate*), which summarises quite well the words *non vi inducti, nec timore coacti, sed nostra bona spontaneaue voluntate* of the original charter of surrender.⁶²⁹

Roger not only summarises the documents he consulted, but he also comments on their key points. He recognises that some in England condemned the letters (*publice protestatus est*) as a monstrous yoke of servitude (*ignominiosum et enorme servitutis iugum*), but he cogently explains that it was the only way to avoid the peril of invasion, because now that the king has made the Pope his ally, no-one would presume to turn against him. Roger was, in other words, recognizing somewhat approvingly the *realpolitik* of John's foreign policy.⁶³⁰

Roger was eager to show his skill as a historian and to dramatise his account. He writes *addidit* to pass from one document to the other, including detail from both. He refers to the charter of surrender as a *complementum satisfactionis*, which is fair. Roger introduces the account of John's submission with a rhetorical question (*quid multa?*), having already created an atmosphere of suspense when he related Peter's prophecy and the imminence of invasion. People were worried (*cor populi fluctuans*), everything was in suspense (*in pendulo essent et expectatione*). Antonia Gransden has suggested that while it was common for medieval chroniclers to insert

⁶²⁸ *Crowland*, 1213.4.

⁶²⁹ *PL* 216, col. 879.

⁶³⁰ Cheney, *Innocent III and England*, 335.

documents into their works, the documents were not meant to drive the narrative.⁶³¹

Roger's use of his sources provides a corrective to this view, showing how documentary text can become the basis of the narrative itself.

However, other documents he transcribed in full. Towards the end of his narrative, Roger transcribes a number of documents which follow one another against a minimum of narrative. He does not comment on them, nor does he always explain why he chooses to include them. A case in point is Falkes de Bréauté's plaint to the Pope (*querimonia*). Roger did not show himself at all sympathetic to Falkes in the events leading up to and during the siege of Bedford. Quite the contrary, he denounced Falkes for his *malitia* and for afflicting the realm with his arrogance.⁶³² As pointed out in chapter 3, Roger stops tracking Falkes' case towards the end of the 1225-annal, which is odd for someone who took the trouble to transcribe a 4000-word document. Why did he include the defence? Did Roger come to believe that Falkes was justified in his claim that his enemies had orchestrated his downfall?⁶³³ He may have seen the *querimonia* together with the pope's response delivered by Otto and expressed a feeling of compassion for a man who had lost everything. Yet, his narrative shows nothing of the sort. Falkes writes to the pope, the pope to the king and then, abruptly, the narrative veers towards the *relatio* of the Council of Bourges at the end of which it comes to a full stop. There had been a time for

⁶³¹ Gransden, *Legends, Traditions and History*, 236.

⁶³² *Crowland*, 1224.2.

⁶³³ Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, 352.

discussing documents and expressing views, but that was clearly not the case for the annals of 1225-6.

How did Roger obtain this material? For all his Benedictine lifestyle, he – or his abbot – must have had connections and he can be shown to have travelled at least to Canterbury. He is not as generous as Matthew Paris, for instance, in acknowledging those who provided him with information. In fact, he only names his source once, and that not even explicitly. After the capture of Damietta by the crusaders, he reports a miraculous story of how a Fleming was punished by God for showing contempt for St. Edmund, to whom a converted church had been dedicated.⁶³⁴

Roger's source was Richard de Argentein (d. 1246), described as *quidam miles egregius de Anglia*, who fought at Damietta. In 1220, Richard wrote to his *cognatus* Richard De Lisle, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, recounting the same story.⁶³⁵ The two versions, however, are independent of one another. The Crowland version mentions another church at Damietta dedicated to Thomas Becket, which St. Edmund's omits, as well as the words uttered by the Fleming, equally omitted in the St. Edmund's transcript. This is one of the few instances in the annals where Roger uses direct speech, and he never favoured rhetoric over veracity in his other annals. It may be that he was reporting the story as he heard it from Richard himself. Yet, there is no evidence that Richard was back in England before August 1223.⁶³⁶ Nor did Richard say where he was when he wrote the letter to the abbot of St. Edmund's. He may have been back in England before the city's surrender, or he may have written to

⁶³⁴ *Crowland*, 1219.8.

⁶³⁵ T. Arnold, (ed.), *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, Rolls Series 96, 2vols (London, 1890), i, 376-7.

⁶³⁶ P. Dryburgh, B. Hartland, (eds.), *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III 1216–1224* (Woodbridge, 2007), 321, n. 230.

Crowland in 1220 as he had written to Bury St. Edmund's. Yet, the vividness of Roger's account suggests that it was a verbal report, rather than the abstract of a letter. Besides, why would the story be known at Crowland better than at St. Edmund's? The abbot of Crowland was not related to Richard. Whether by letter or *viva voce*, Roger must have learned the story from the crusader himself, who may also have provided Roger with a copy of the letter sent by the crusaders and the prelates to the pope to announce the capture of the city, on which Roger based his account.

It seems, however, that Richard may have been more than a one-off informant for Roger. The Coggeshall chronicler records that Richard fought at the siege of Bedford castle.⁶³⁷ Roger's account of the siege may not be as detailed as Coggeshall's, but it is nonetheless informed.⁶³⁸ His chronology is accurate and agrees with Coggeshall, for instance, as to how many of the garrison were hanged.⁶³⁹ While Roger's stylistic source for the account was William of Tyre⁶⁴⁰, his source may very well have been an eyewitness account by Richard de Argentine. Though 'gravely wounded' in the siege, Richard recovered and lived until 1246.⁶⁴¹

That Roger is silent on his sources does not mean that he was any less informed about recent events. Scholars have noted the annalist's cautious use of unspecified

⁶³⁷ *Coggeshall*, 206.

⁶³⁸ Coggeshall's source for the siege may have been the monks of Warden Abbey, *HWE*, i, 325.

⁶³⁹ *Crowland*, 1224.3; *Coggeshall*, 207.

⁶⁴⁰ The dramatic bits of the account are transcribed word for word from *WT*, 832-3 (xviii, 15).

⁶⁴¹ *Coggeshall*, 206; H.R. Luard, (ed.), *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series 57, 7vols. (London, 1872-83), iv, 587.

oral sources.⁶⁴² He used words such as *ut dicitur*, *ut videtur* and *dicebatur* more than twenty times for 1202–25, as opposed to the 1–1201 section. Was he using them to convey fragile rumour, an oral yet reliable source, or rather his scepticism of hearsay? Actually, all of them. Roger was anything but a credulous chronicler. He expresses his disbelief of Peter of Wakefield's prophecy and rather contemptuously asserts that when it became clear that the prediction failed, Peter took refuge in metaphor (*allegoria*).⁶⁴³ He was alive to the practicalities of politics and knew how well papal ears responded to the peal of pennies (*pretio aures apostolicas pulsare*).

Roger used oral sources in a variety of ways. He could make perfectly clear that some information was pure rumour. Recounting King John's apprehension that a conspiracy might be brewing, Roger points out that the rumor lacked a reliable or at least known source (*sine certo auctore*).⁶⁴⁴

Yet, in most instances of hearsay, Roger seems to have given credence to his elusive sources. His knowledge of Arthur of Brittany's mysterious disappearance from John's prison was probably drawn from a written source, but by the time he compiled the short entry, he still did not know what had really happened to the captive. Instead of blaming the king (who is not even indicted), he focuses on the Bretons, saying that Arthur's vanishing was God's judgment on their presumptuous expectation that this Arthur would prove to be the Arthur of legend.⁶⁴⁵ He heard about this Breton belief (*ut dicitur*) from one of his sources, no doubt, but the rhetoric

⁶⁴² *HWE*, i, 342.

⁶⁴³ *Crowland*, 1213.9.

⁶⁴⁴ *Crowland*, 1212.11.

⁶⁴⁵ *Crowland*, 1202.4.

he deploys shows that he believed the report.⁶⁴⁶ Somebody else informed him why churches were left without leaders after John's settlement with Rome. He gives a discerning fourfold explanation of it, repeatedly pointing out that someone told him. Given the almost scholastic form in which he articulates his exposition (*hec tertia dicebatur causa, quarta etiam ut ferunt causa erat*), one may guess that he, or his abbot, acquired the information from a schooled prelate.

Roger may also have registered hearsay in order to put some distance between himself and those assertions. Peter Edbury has argued that William of Tyre's representation of rumor and hearsay may have had something to do with William's decision 'to disguise firm information as rumour owing to the delicate nature of the allegations.'⁶⁴⁷ When Roger reported from hearsay that foreigners were trying to urge Ranulf of Chester to rebel, he described them as 'coveting the disturbance of the kingdom more than peace'.⁶⁴⁸ His own abbot was an alien, brother to one of the most hated foreigners under King Richard. Was he trying to report without damaging Abbot Henry? Perhaps, or perhaps not. On another occasion, Roger tries to explain that Matilda de Briouze and her eldest son's death in 1210 was due to her husband's refusal to obey the king:

⁶⁴⁶ *sed non absque Dei vindicta qui frangit omnem superbum*, *Crowland*, 1203.3. Roger's source is confirmed by William of Newburgh and Peter of Blois, P. G. Walsh, M.J. Kennedy, (eds.), *William of Newburgh: The History of English Affairs*, 2vols. (Warminster, 1988), i, 32; *PL* 207, col. 112 (*Petri Blesensis Epistolae*, xxxiv).

⁶⁴⁷ P. Edbury, J. Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), 56.

⁶⁴⁸ *Crowland*, 1202.1; Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, 270-1.

Willelmus quippe de Brause, captis omnibus munitionibus suis terrisque occupatis, eo quod regi pro votis ut dicitur obedire detrectaret, uxore etiam cum filio fame necata, a facie furoris regii declinans, exulare coactus est.⁶⁴⁹

William was exiled that same year and died the next, but his son Giles, bishop of Hereford, joined the rebels in 1215.⁶⁵⁰ As argued later in this chapter, Roger was sensitive to acts of disobedience and did not look approvingly on those who violated their oaths. He disdained the arrogance of John's rebels and sought to explain that the big fish of the baronial party had selfish reasons for their rebellion. Roger's allegiance was not to individuals, but to principles of order, one might even say cosmic order, to which his universal chronicle attests in form as well as in content. It is possible, therefore, that he did not take a favourable view of William de Briouze's defiance of the king – while of course ignoring all the other facts known to modern scholars.⁶⁵¹ All the more so that Matilda's misfortune had become a *cause célèbre* by 1212 and some may not have found such a simple, straightforward explanation easy to swallow.⁶⁵² It is significant that he does not denounce the king for the murder. He had not condemned it in the case of Arthur of Brittany.⁶⁵³ One may discern the same pattern of thought. Arthur was not without guilt, because, Roger notes, he had risen against the king with his Poitevins, after John had made him a

⁶⁴⁹ Crowland, 1210.6; W. L. Warren, *King John* (Yale, 1997), 185-7.

⁶⁵⁰ Crowland, 1215.5.

⁶⁵¹ B. W. Holden, 'King John, the Braoses, and the Celtic Fringe, 1207-1216', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* (2001), 1-23; D. Crouch, 'The Complaint of King John against William de Briouze (c. September 1210) The Black Book of the Exchequer Text', *Magna Carta and the England of King John*, ed. Janet S. Loengard (Woodbridge, 2010), 168-80.

⁶⁵² Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 80-1, 277.

⁶⁵³ *A contrario*, Roger seems to find excuses for it, Crowland, 1202.4.

knight.⁶⁵⁴ One might speculate that Roger thought William de Briouse was guilty of the same crime.

If documentary and oral sources shaped Roger's narrative, it seems, on the other hand, that there was very limited opportunity for eyewitness testimony. This does not mean that Roger did not witness directly any of the events he recorded. It has already been pointed out that the account of Savaric de Mauléon's attack on Crowland in 1216 was written by someone at the abbey, and there is no reason to believe that Roger did not witness it himself. In other parts of his chronicle, the high level of detail would plead for eyewitness testimony. His account of the siege of Rochester is one of the fullest of contemporary sources. Similarly, he knew the geography of Lincoln and how the relieving army was disposed, to the point that, similarly to his account of the siege of Rochester, it reads like a piece of reportage.⁶⁵⁵ Yet, this may only be based on reports brought by eyewitnesses⁶⁵⁶, like the one of the second coronation of Henry III (*hii qui interfuerunt ex senioribus procerum Anglie*).⁶⁵⁷ Roger used very few visualizing interjections that might suggest a direct experience of the events narrated. He famously notes that he has seen (*vidimus*) families divided in the civil war and that he knew (*agnovimus*) 'certain sons who changed sides out of affection.'⁶⁵⁸ He subsequently writes that William Marshal's son sided with the rebels, while his father stayed with the king.⁶⁵⁹ Did Roger mean

⁶⁵⁴ *Crowland*, 1202.4.

⁶⁵⁵ *Crowland*, 1217.11.

⁶⁵⁶ The chronicle states that the Rochester garrison was harrassed with continuous siege fire, but it has a blank for the number of days this happened, *Crowland*, 1215.37.

⁶⁵⁷ *Crowland*, 1220.4.

⁶⁵⁸ *Crowland*, 1215.7.

⁶⁵⁹ *Crowland*, 1215.29.

he or Abbot Henry knew Marshal's family? It is unlikely, but he was ready to draw on his own indirect experience in order to make sense of the events.

Roger also made use of written reports, but these are difficult to trace because they only survive in his annals. There are some exceptions, however. One is the *Relatio de concilio Bituricensi* already discussed in the previous chapter. Another is a report of the battle of Bouvines which also survives in the annals of the Norman abbey of Mortemer, a 13th-century continuation of Sigebert de Gembloux's chronicle.⁶⁶⁰ In this case, it seems that the account was drawn by someone close to the battle and was then circulated in Normandy and England.

The variety of Roger's sources covering such a short period explains the value that historians have consistently placed on his work. Yet, the chronicle's reliability is a function of both sources and judgement. Without the judgement, erudite chronicles and histories would look like Matthew Paris' *Liber Additamentorum*, that is a compendium of documents adrift in narrative void.⁶⁶¹ Roger is at the other end of this gloomy historiographical scenario. His analysis is sharp, and it has already been noted how much he was willing to let his discernment shape the sources he used.

If he cared about content, he also cared about style. The *Crowland Chronicle* is not a work of great historical prose, but there is evidence that Roger tried his hand at some rhetorical discourse. In some places at least, it looks as though Gervase was right in his judgment that 'there are many who, when writing chronicles or annals,

⁶⁶⁰ MGH SS 6, 467-8.

⁶⁶¹ R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), 85-91.

exceed their boundaries, for they take pleasure in extending their threads and glorifying their fringes. Whilst such transgressors may desire to compile a chronicle, they proceed in a historical manner, and what they ought to have stated briefly, and in a style of writing that is humble discourse, they attempt instead to make weighty by the use of bombastic words.⁶⁶² Surely, compared to William of Malmesbury or Henry of Huntington, Roger of Crowland's discourse was humble and brief. Yet, he was inclined to weave occasional eloquence into what otherwise may be a factual, though bland narrative.

That there was a clear desire for expressiveness is evident from the brief annals of the pre-1212 section of the chronicle. The substance for the annal of 1139 is taken from Henry of Huntington's *Historia Anglorum*. The annal is extremely brief. It records that Empress Matilda landed in England and then states that 'everywhere in the land there was murder and arson' adding that there were 'many an image of death, while nowhere was peace safe.' (*plurima mortis imago, nusquam tuta quies*).

⁶⁶³ If Roger had followed Henry in his lamentation on the state of England, he would have found a number of elegiac verses composed by the latter for the occasion. Yet, he goes for something more 'classical', as the text he quotes represents fragments of two verses of the *Aeneid*.⁶⁶⁴ They belong to two different books but both describe the fall of Troy. Was Roger aware of the parallels between Troy and England in the

⁶⁶² *Sunt autem plurimi qui, cronicas vel annales scribentes, limites suos excedunt, nam philacteria sua dilatate et fimbrias magnificare delectant. Dum enim cronicam compilare cupiunt, historici more incedunt, et quod breviter sermoneque humili de modo scribendi dicere debuerant, verbis ampullosis aggravare conantur, Gervase, 87-8.*

⁶⁶³ *Crowland, 1139.3.*

⁶⁶⁴ *Aeneid, ii, 368-369, iv, 373.*

1140s or was that a meagre attempt at rhetoric? When King Richard dies, Roger interpolates a passage from Ovid which may also have been part of the body of quotations and fragments of classical works that elementary education provided. What is most remarkable is that these two 'classicizing' interpolations occur in annals of otherwise remarkable aridity, where it is difficult to see why Roger would deploy such effort. In the end, Gervase was right, it was a case of extending the threads, but with Roger, it was more a question of extending the shreds.

The 'classicizing' turn may be observed in the more discursive 1212–25 section. When King John dies, Roger learnedly calls up the figure of Sallust's Marius. This is discussed in more detail below. Elsewhere, he energises the narrative with classical expressions.⁶⁶⁵ The narrative makes fair use of figurative language and rhetorical devices. There is interest in alliteration and tricolon (*mandans et monens; tantillo tempore talem combustionem; nec domini pape epistole, nec legati persuasio, nec ventus*), alliterative puns (*perseveranter prece et pretio aures pulsare apostolicas*), hyperbaton and hendyadis (*superveniens pluvia iugis damna Anglis ex insperato intulit non modica, putantes et predicantes*), symmetry (*manu robusta – manu tyranni*) and he even works out a very elegant alliterative metaphor (*omnes de reliquo sopiantur rixe, et sepeliantur inimicitie*).⁶⁶⁶

Roger's prose gained much from his knowledge of the Bible and early Christian literature. As in most medieval narratives, there are many biblical quotations as well

⁶⁶⁵ e.g. *pavore percussi* (1215.37), *ad extrema perventum est* (1215.37), *terrore et tumultu* (1213.14), *turpe putabant referre pedem, acceptis ab Anglicis obsidibus* (1215.39), *rem gladiis cominus peragunt* (1217.12), *de medio factus est* (1203.3).

⁶⁶⁶ *Crowland*, 1215.18.

as allusions to figures from Scripture. The leaders of the 1215 rebellion were compared to 'sons of Belial'⁶⁶⁷, the notorious count of Aumale 'returned to his foolishness and obstinacy like a dog to his vomit'⁶⁶⁸, while for the crusaders, the loss of Damietta two years after its capture meant that 'their dance had turned into mourning'.⁶⁶⁹ He uses the Prudentian expression *frangens Deus omnem superbum* twice, and he quotes text from Augustine's *City of God*, as previously noted.

One source he uses over and over again is William of Tyre's *Historia rerum*, which he must have had at Crowland. There is no direct evidence that a copy of William's work was at the abbey during the thirteenth century, but the frequency of quotations from it strongly suggests that Roger repeatedly made use of it. He used the *Historia rerum* in two ways. In the earlier annals, he used it for material with an Eastern focus which was lacking in his other sources. In the later narrative (1215–24), he used passages from it in order to bring dramatism and detail to his prose. It has already been noted that Roger's account of the siege of Bedford owes much to William's account of the siege of Banyas in 1157.⁶⁷⁰ His siege vocabulary, more generally, is inspired from the *Historia rerum*. He repeatedly describes siege engines as *machinas iaculatorias*, whereas the close combat in the streets of Lincoln takes its inspiration from the skirmishes in the streets of Antioch.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁷ Crowland, 1217.5.

⁶⁶⁸ Crowland, 1221.1; Prov 26:11.

⁶⁶⁹ Crowland, 1221.9.

⁶⁷⁰ WT, 832-3.

⁶⁷¹ *ibid*, 255; Crowland, 1215.37, 1216.21, 1224.3, 1225.17; 1217.12, 1217.14;

A final point of style concerns Roger's purely rhetorical interjections. They are not very numerous, but they add rhythm to his prose. One of these is *quid multa?* which Roger uses frequently to add suspense to the narrative. He expresses his outrage at the barons who violated the settlement at Runnymede with a rhetorical expression of vicarious presence: 'Now you would think this [everyone keeping the peace] was done, but alas, no, for a most recent mistake was done, worse than the first.' (*Iam actum putares, sed heu, quia factus est novissimus error peior priore*).⁶⁷² For all his narrative phlegm, Roger could express strong feelings. He marvels at the speed and violence involved in the siege of Rochester and is confounded by the destruction caused in the Fenland area in 1216 by the king's men.⁶⁷³

Roger is not known to have produced other works than the *Quadriologus* and now the *Crowland Chronicle*. There is therefore no way of knowing whether he was capable of a loftier style than that imposed by the genre of annalistic history writing. Yet, it seems that his strengths were rigour and judgment. He showed his rigour not only in the careful arrangement of the Becket *vitae* and letters in the *Quadriologus*, but also in the arrangement of annals and the compilation of material in the *Chronicle*. The quality of his judgment, on the other hand, emerges from his account of one of the most difficult periods in English history, the conflict between King John and his barons. Roger was not a royal clerk or a well-travelled monk. There is no evidence that he ever met King John or King Henry and there is nothing to suggest that he

⁶⁷² *Crowland*, 1216.16; P. Damian-Grint, *The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance : inventing vernacular authority* (Woodbridge, 1999), 145.

⁶⁷³ *Crowland*, 1215.37, 1216.10.

travelled to the continent. Yet, stationary as he was, he proved a fine observer of his political and ecclesiastical world.

Roger and the civil war

In all probability, Roger began his chronicle not long before the deterioration of relations between king and barons. The annal of 1214 ends on a note of suspense with the disagreement between John and some of the northern barons (*ex Aquilonaribus nonnulli*) over the payment of scutage. Against John's demands, the barons bring forth Henry I's charter of liberties and the whole business is, Roger tells us, deferred until the next year. The end of this annal constitutes a change of speed in the narrative, because it is the only place where Roger does not include any episcopal or abbatial *fasti*. If anything, the transition from 1214 to the next annal is rushed, almost impatient. Roger must have thought that something was terribly wrong with the realm. Yet, for all this 'acceleration' of narrative, the significance of what Roger would soon describe as 'civil war' (*regni turbatio et intestina divisio*) is to be identified well before the end of the annal for 1214.

A close reading of the annals for 1211–14 reveal a strange pattern. Shooting through accounts of seemingly unrelated developments (emperor Otto's incursions in Italy, the Albigensian crusade, the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa) are persistent reports of miracles and portents. Scholars have never examined these short notices, perhaps because they thought portents have nothing to do with political history, the 'true' subject of these annals. Yet, they do. In 1211, Roger notes that a great multitude of deer came down from Cannock forest and threw themselves into the

Severn estuary.⁶⁷⁴ The oddity is interpreted in the next sentence: *videbatur aliquid novi nonnullis portendere*. The violence of the animal self-sacrifice, amplified by *rugitus terribiles et quasi lamenta horrissona* seems to anticipate social and political strife. The sacrificial story has a postscript. After a misdated or mistranscribed lunar eclipse⁶⁷⁵, Roger notes that a young stag with two heads and eight legs was cut out from one of the does which had jumped into the sea.⁶⁷⁶ It may be wondered whether the two-headed stag was meant to foreshadow the division caused by the civil war. The topos of monstrous births endowed with an intense sense of catastrophic portentousness went all the way back to Tacitus, though the definitive articulation of the portentously anomalous birth came with Augustine.⁶⁷⁷ Similarly, Isidore of Seville argued that monsters reveal the significance of concealed truths, which sometimes portend future events.⁶⁷⁸ As Daston and Park have argued, the medieval appetite for portents fed 'on the anxieties and aspirations of the moment [and] it drew its power from conditions of acute instability: foreign invasions, religious conflict, civil strife.'⁶⁷⁹

This portent cannot be regarded as an isolated instance of monkish delight in the marvellous. The annal for 1212 also breathes portents. Roger reports showers of

⁶⁷⁴ *Innumera cervorum multitudo in foresta Anglie, que Canoch dicitur, adunata, post rugitus terribiles et quasi lamenta horrissona, in mare circa ostia Sabrine precipitem se dedit, Crowland, 1211.6*

⁶⁷⁵ The recorded lunar eclipse of 13 Dec 1211 (St Lucy's day) in fact occurred on 22 Nov (St Cecilia's day).

⁶⁷⁶ *Ex cervam quadam que se in flumen pro pariendi angustia precipitaverat, exsectus est hinnulus duo capita et octo pedes habens, Crowland, 1211.10.*

⁶⁷⁷ J.P. Campbell, *Popular Culture in the Middle Ages*, (Ohio, 1986), 19; P.M. Soergel, 'The afterlives of monstrous infants in reformation Germany' *The place of the dead: death and remembrance in late medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. B. Gordon and P. Marshall (Cambridge, 2000), 288-309, 289.

⁶⁷⁸ L. Verner, *The Epistemology of the Monstrous in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2005), 34-5; J.E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages*, (New York, 1994), 126.

⁶⁷⁹ L. Daston, K. Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature* (New York, 1998), 187.

blood at Caen, while, on the same day in Falaise, three crosses in the sky were seen to be fighting against each other.⁶⁸⁰ This is immediately followed by a detailed report of a fire at London Bridge which claimed the lives of three thousand people. Roger concludes that it 'seemed to have prefigured some evil to the English, because so much destruction had been done so quickly in the capital city'.⁶⁸¹ Was London lost to the barons when Roger wrote this comment? Perhaps so, given the overall sense of anticipation that these portents convey.

The stories of the Cannock deer and the Southwark fire share an important element of northern-ness. The deer come down from Cannock to the Severn estuary along a north-south axis. Describing the fire, Roger notes that 'suddenly, the north part [of London bridge], by blowing of the south wind, was also set on fire' (*pars aquilonaris austro flante corripitur*).⁶⁸² Was this northernness to point to the *Aquilonares* during the war? Roger explains that they were called Northerners 'because most of them came from the northern parts' (*quoniam ex Aquilonaribus partibus pro parte maiori venerant*).⁶⁸³ Did they come like the Cannock deer or the fire at London bridge? The first time he mentions the *northern* barons he does not explain what it means, perhaps thinking that the reader should have already made the connection with the 'northern portents'. It is only later that he makes it clear that the barons thus called came from the north. Portents involving blood, moreover, were usually linked to

⁶⁸⁰ *Apud Cadomum in Normannia visus est sanguis pluisse vi idus iulii, vi feria. Eodem die apud Falaise vise sunt tres cruces adinvicem in aere quasi pugnare, Crowland, 1212.4.*

⁶⁸¹ *Videbatur hoc malum Anglis aliquod prefigurasse eo quod in capite regni tantus tam subito factus sit interitus, Crowland, 1212.6.*

⁶⁸² *Crowland, 1212.6.*

⁶⁸³ *Crowland, 1215.5; J.C. Holt, *The Northerners, a Study in the Reign of King John*, (Oxford, 1961), 8-9.*

rebellion and political strife.⁶⁸⁴ This makes it even more likely that Roger geared these signs and wonders towards an anticipation of the political upheaval of the civil war.

Roger manages to create a sense of grim premonition when he adds, after those two galloping portents, another unexplainable incident which was the cause of wonder for 'those who thought themselves to be sensible' (*qui sanum sapiebant*).⁶⁸⁵ People all over England, Roger writes, fell prey to an attack of panic (*quasi lymphatico metu correpti*), making hue and cry from town to town as in a frenzy. Roger carefully notes that the disturbance happened without notice and without sure cause. (*subito et sine certa causa*). The event is decoded as a mysterious announcement in the near future (*in proximo futurum nescientes prenunciabant*) of something of great turbulence (*aliquid forte turbationis*).⁶⁸⁶ Rain and destructive wind bring sonorous closure to this crescendo of forewarnings. There is a sense of impatience in the construction of this ominous narrative. The London disaster happens *in estate*, the rain *in autumnno*, the wind that knocked down stone towers *circa hyemis medium*. Having managed to create tension and apprehension, Roger begins to recount the dawn of King John's misfortunes, the hanging of the Welsh hostages, the king's fear of betrayal and the people's reception of Peter of Wakefield's prophecy, which gives a new twist to this purely premonitory annal.

⁶⁸⁴ *HH*, 446-9; *GRA*, i, 570-1; Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, 48-52.

⁶⁸⁵ *Crowland*, 1212.7.

⁶⁸⁶ *Crowland*, 1212.7.

There is also some evidence that the annals draw on the prophecies in the apocryphal 2 Esdras 5 for the content of the reported portents.

2 Esdras 5:4-8:

Et relucescet subito sol noctu et luna interdie. et de ligno sanguis stillabit, et lapis dabit vocem suam; et populi commovebuntur, et gressus commutabuntur. et regnabit quem non sperant qui inhabitant super terram; et volatilia conmigrationem facient. Et mare Sodomitum pisces reiciet. et dabit vocem noctu quem non noverant multi, omnes autem audient vocem eius. Et chaus fiet per loca multa, et ignis frequenter emittetur, et bestiae agrestes transmigrabunt regionem suam, et mulieres parient menstruatae monstra.

Roger's catalogue of wonders for the years 1211–4 echo, typologically, many of those in 2 Esdras. He also includes the record of a miraculous catch of fish.⁶⁸⁷ The fish were said to be of unusual form, resembling 'armed warriors', 'with shield and helmet' (*scutati et galeati*). Was this part of Roger's portentous strategy or was he simply describing the ancient *zytyron* or 'warrior fish'?⁶⁸⁸ The description, at any rate, may have been inspired by Ezekiel 38, a passage equally prophetic, for it looks ahead to the eschatological battle against Gog of Magog.⁶⁸⁹ To go back to 2 Esdras, one can see the striking resemblance to *Crowland* especially in the last two wonders, namely the beasts of the wild and the monstrous birth. They both occur in *Crowland* in the account of the self-sacrificing deer and the two-headed stag. If indeed Roger is thinking of Esdras in this passage, then he is surely pointing to the aftermath of the defeat at Bouvines and the baronial defiance of the king at Brackley, which come

⁶⁸⁷ *Crowland*, 1214.9.

⁶⁸⁸ K. Steel, P. McCracken, 'The animal turn: Into the sea with the fish-knights of Perceforest', *Postmedieval: a Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 2 (2011), 88–100, at 91.

⁶⁸⁹ *Persae Aethiopes et Lybies cum eis omnes scutati et galeati*, Ezek 38:5.

immediately after the account of the wonders. After 1214, there are no more reports of wonders and portents, which suggests that Roger's clustering together of signs was not without strategy.

Roger also proved a judicious observer as far as the causes of the war were concerned. Gransden has noted Roger's 'rationality' and interest in causality, while Holt described him as 'most perceptive', alluding to the chronicler's ability to sensibly extract causes from developments.⁶⁹⁰ As the narrative of 1215–17 was written rather contemporaneously with the events recorded, Roger's understanding of what caused the two-year division between the king and some of his barons is not stated at the beginning. Rather, it develops, as Roger becomes more informed and more reflective. Nor does he settle for a simple explanation of why peace was so difficult to restore. He writes that some barons were unhappy with John's demand of scutage, but later he explains, cynically, that the leaders of the rebellion owed massive debts to the king.⁶⁹¹ Elsewhere, he suggests that the barons would have kept their heads low if Prince Louis had not come to their rescue.⁶⁹² Because of these dramatic turns of the political and military tide, Roger is constantly switching focus. The narrative often reads like a game of chess. The ups and downs of war are given prominence, while the two camps experience both hardship and success:

*Ab illa die meliorari cepit pars eius – ab illa die manifeste cepit pars
regia prevalere et pars domini Lodowici deprimi nec erat qui*

⁶⁹⁰ HWE, i, 342; Holt, *Magna Carta*, 223; Warren, *King John*, 10.

⁶⁹¹ *Crowland*, 1215.30.

⁶⁹² *Crowland*, 1216.5.

*resisteret – rex... minus quam primo putabatur prosperari non erat qui resisteret – rex... mente igitur consternatus et vultu tristis.*⁶⁹³

Yet, there is consistency to what Roger thought were the deep causes of the war. Looking back over two years of conflict, Roger notes that the 'cause of the war was seen to be bad customs that needed to be abolished' (*de malis consuetudinibus, que quasi causa fuerant huius guerre, abolendis*).⁶⁹⁴ These words find an echo in Coggeshall's report of how the Northern barons demanded the abolition of evil customs of his predecessors. Roger's statement of causality cleverly dovetails with what he had to say at the beginning of the conflict: the barons refused to pay scutage for service overseas because neither Henry II nor Richard had ever demanded it.⁶⁹⁵ Roger understood that the barons sought the abolition of evil custom more generally, because ever since 1213, he notes that John began, as urged, to remove evil custom (*pravas consuetudines eliminare*), whereas after Louis' final departure, he lists the abolition of bad custom (*malas consuetudines*) together with the ordering of the reign (*ordinatio regni*) and the security of peace (*stabilitas pacis*) among the aims of the new government.⁶⁹⁶ Roger, unlike Coggeshall, does not specifically ascribe evil custom to John.⁶⁹⁷ Coggeshall wrote about the abuses added by the king, but Roger seems to suggest that John was merely following the practices of his father and brother. When the barons objected to the king's

⁶⁹³ Crowland, 1216.4.

⁶⁹⁴ Crowland, 1217.21.

⁶⁹⁵ Crowland, 1214.12; Holt, *The Northerners*, 98-102.

⁶⁹⁶ Crowland, 1217.25.

⁶⁹⁷ Roger mentions, however, that the barons sent a deputation to the pope to complain of the king's unjust and tyrannical exactions (*de iniustis exactionibus et quasi tyrannide*), yet here he may have only related, as elsewhere, what the barons, not himself, thought of John, Crowland, 1215.2.

imposition of scutage for the Poitou expedition of 1214, John defended himself by reminding them that his father and brother had done the same: (*eo quod in diebus patris sui necnon et fratris sic fieret*).⁶⁹⁸ If Roger meant it as criticism, it is easy to see this report as an indictment of the whole Angevin 'tyrannical brood', as Holt once delightfully put it.⁶⁹⁹ Though John had died, Henry's tutors and leaders of the realm (*capitanei regni*) thought there still were bad customs to remove.⁷⁰⁰ Soon after John's death, the rebels solemnly swore not to hold land of any of his heirs.⁷⁰¹ Roger may have thought that the barons' animosity was not so much fixed on John as on what they thought to be a long-standing practice of bad government.

It has already been suggested in this chapter that Roger did not look so favourably on the barons as historians have previously thought. Gransden's judgement was definitive: 'the author adopted the baronial standpoint.' and 'his sympathies lay with the barons.'⁷⁰² She thought the narrative was biased against the pope, the aliens and against John's advisers. Each of these claims can easily be resisted. Roger was too perceptive to develop such simplistic views. If he thought Honorius III was blinded with gifts and conquered by greed (*muneribus excecatus et cupiditate devictus*), he strongly believed in the righteousness of his excommunication of Louis: the reason why Louis failed was that he had lost divine support through his contempt for the pope and for the papal sentence of excommunication carried out against him:

⁶⁹⁸ Coggeshall, 170.

⁶⁹⁹ Holt, *Magna Carta*, 116.

⁷⁰⁰ Crowland, 1217.25.

⁷⁰¹ Crowland, 1216.20.

⁷⁰² HWE, i, 344.

*Sed causa in promptu est, quia manus Domini non erat cum eo, utpote qui contra sancte Romane ecclesie inhibitionem illuc venit, et sub sententia anathematis ibi moratus est.*⁷⁰³

If the report of the barons supposing that a new pope would do new things and steer clear of the legacy of his predecessor may have echoed Roger's own convictions, he was nevertheless able to commend Innocent for his peace-keeping initiatives and for his zeal against both heretics and infidels.⁷⁰⁴ If Roger could condemn *in corpore* the *alienigenas* for troubling the land, he made clear, on two occasions, that the English as well as the foreigners (*tam indigenarum quam alienigenarum*) wished violence more than peace.⁷⁰⁵ When Savaric de Mauléon, another foreigner, looted Crowland abbey, Roger did not descend into a diatribe aimed at either Savaric, the aliens, or the king, for having hired them. Finally, while Roger disliked Falkes, the 'poor satellite raised to the status of knight', for his pride and presumption, he still thought Falkes was not all bad and needed forgiveness, hence the inclusion of the *Querimonia* and the subsequent papal response absolving Falkes.⁷⁰⁶

The author does not adopt a consistent baronial standpoint and his sympathy does not lie automatically with the barons. Quite on the contrary, he takes a negative view of the baronial revolt. When he calls the baronial army 'the army of God', it is not with approval, but with contempt. The barons plot formidably against the king (*facta este contra eum coniuratio valida*), after their voices had prevailed (*invalescebant voces eorum*). These latter words were directly lifted from Luke, where they vividly describe

⁷⁰³ *Crowland*, 1217.22.

⁷⁰⁴ *Crowland*, 1213.14.

⁷⁰⁵ *Crowland*, 1221.1.

⁷⁰⁶ *Crowland*, 1225.11-3; 1225.15.

the Jews seeking to crucify Christ, the victim of another *valida coniuratio* of Jews and Romans⁷⁰⁷. Roger is clear about that. The account of the capture of London, where the *marescalli exercitus dei*⁷⁰⁸ are first mentioned as such, is immediately followed by a strong indictment aimed at the same barons: their plunderings were copied by others who revealed, through their acts, their true intentions (*revelatis ex multorum cordibus cogitationibus*).⁷⁰⁹ These words are also taken from Luke, where there is the same allusion to the Crucifixion.⁷¹⁰

The motivations of the rebel barons are themselves an object of disapproval. If they had once claimed to fight for the liberties of the church and of the realm (*pro libertatibus ecclesie et regni se decertare*) and to 'raise a wall as if for the house of God' (*opponerent se pro domo Domini murum*), they in fact 'revealed the thoughts of their hearts' and earned a reputation of 'faithless sons of Belial' (*filiis Belial reputati sunt, et infidelibus comparati*), schismatics (*proni ad schisma*) and 'obstinate in their disobedience'.⁷¹¹ Roger does not report that with the distance of words of the *ut dicitur* type, as he does when he writes that the barons thought John was a tyrant. The use of the verb *habeo* puts distance between the author's views and the source of his statement:

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. *at illi instabant vocibus magnis postulantes ut crucifigeretur et invalescebant voces eorum*, Luc 23:23.

⁷⁰⁸ On this title, see S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 495, n. 122.

⁷⁰⁹ *Crowland*, 1215.10.

⁷¹⁰ *Et tuam ipsius animam pertransiet gladius ut revelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes*, Luc 2:35.

⁷¹¹ *Crowland*, 1217.5.

*Hii itaque etsi multi essent, tamen in se ipsis parum confisi confugerunt ad Philippum Francorum regem, elegeruntque Lodowicum primogenitum eius in dominum, petentes et obsecrantes ut in manu robusta veniens eos de manu tyranni huius eriperet; sic enim iam habebatur.*⁷¹²

The barons had gone so far that even the clergymen on their side 'feared they would defile Mass when they knew for sure that they had been suspended and excommunicated.'⁷¹³

Another 'revelation' of the barons' true intentions was their pride. Having been excommunicated by the pope, they return to London to divide the realm among themselves.⁷¹⁴ The theme of division and disturbance is, as explained later, very important to Roger's understanding of history. In dividing the realm as though they are masters, the barons act 'arrogantly' (*non absque fastu*). This theme of illegitimate power is taken up again under 1221, when the rogue count of Aumale, 'adding iniquity to iniquity', acted as though he was sole ruler (*quasi solus dominaretur in regno*).⁷¹⁵ Because of divisions among the barons, evil was allowed to spread.⁷¹⁶ Roger is clear as to who is directly responsible for the state of the realm during the civil war. The realm was divided and deserved to be moaned and wept (*causa gemendi et statum regni merito deflendi*) as a result of the barons' breach of fealty and disobedience (*infidelibus comparati... inobediendum obstinati*).⁷¹⁷ Roger

⁷¹² Crowland, 1215.31.

⁷¹³ Crowland, 1217.5.

⁷¹⁴ Crowland, 1215.24.

⁷¹⁵ Crowland, 1221.1.

⁷¹⁶ Crowland, 1215.28.

⁷¹⁷ Crowland, 1217.5.

questions the barons' motivations for rebellion already under 1213, obliquely accusing them of infidelity: when Robert Fitz Walter and Eustace de Vesci decide to flee, Roger notes, in a biblical vein, that they did it 'either because they feared the king or on account of their conscience', echoing St Paul's teaching that the grace of the gospel leads to submission to legitimate authority, of whose respect conscience is the natural guardian.⁷¹⁸ This cannot be farther away from Gransden's assertion that the author's 'sympathies lay with the barons'.⁷¹⁹

It has been pointed out that 'the barons' financial debts to the king aggravated the struggle.'⁷²⁰ This is undoubtedly true, yet Roger is making a different statement when he writes that Geoffrey of Mandeville, Saer de Quincy and Giles de Briouze were indebted to the king. First, he does not say anywhere that John was squeezing them and they squawked in revolt, which would be a fairer judgment. Instead, he writes that the king had made Geoffrey of Mandeville knight, juxtaposing that to the fine of £19,000 which he had incurred for marrying John's divorced wife. There is an echo here to Arthur of Brittany. Arthur, too, had been knighted by John and then led a rebellion against him. Though Roger does not join the two facts in a causal relationship, it is very likely that he was hinting at ingratitude rather than simply stating facts.

When the narrative turns to the sealing of the Great Charter, however, Roger's attitude to the barons becomes clearer still. It is remarkable that he does not quote

⁷¹⁸ Here, Roger is playing on Romans 13:5.

⁷¹⁹ *HWE*, i, 344.

⁷²⁰ *HWE*, i, 344-5; Holt, *Magna Carta*, 193-8.

words from the Charter, nor devote more space to it. If he had not proved to be such an experienced and ambitious user of documentary evidence, one would think that he did not have the palate for letters and charters. If he is detailed and expansive in other accounts, the Runnymede moment represents perhaps one of the most arid pieces of his narrative. Unlike most chroniclers, he does not mention the name Runnymede, nor does he try to place it geographically. That is odd. When he mentions the Charter (simply as *carta sua*), he writes as though John was agreeing to any old charter. He is much more interested in conveying the pressure which barons were putting on the king (*videns rex eos invalescere*) and the peace which resulted from the settlement (*amici facti sunt...recepti sunt in osculum pacis*) than to reflect the importance of the Charter.⁷²¹ At least, one would expect that a writer who 'adopted a baronial standpoint' and believed in the barons' mission to restore liberties of church and state to dwell more on the Charter, perhaps to transcribe a copy of it, as Mathew Paris does. Roger does not focus on the Charter simply because he does not see it as representing a watershed in the relationship between king and barons. And the reason why he does not attach great importance to Runnymede is because his heart is elsewhere, as this chapter later explains. Similarly, if Roger was writing up in real time, he would have been aware, perhaps, that the charter would not last and that it would not have the importance it is later accorded with.

It is not so much the liberties set out in the Charter as the 'stability of the realm' and the peace that Roger worried about. Rather than doubting John's sincerity at Runnymede, he shifts the focus on the barons and how they looked for every

⁷²¹ *Crowland*, 1215.13-4.

opportunity to shatter their relationship (*amicitia inita*) with the king. Motivated by hatred of the peace and motivated by love of discord, many barons who had not been present at Runnymede used this pretext (*sub pretextu quod non intererant*) to harass the king⁷²² That is why he expresses outrage at how the fragile settlement was obliterated. With words taken from the Gospel, he deplores the baronial violations of the peace, exclaiming that the last error was worse than the first (*actus est novissimus error peior priore*).⁷²³

Finally, the same concern for peace may explain why Roger modifies the key words from a papal letter he consulted and to which he alludes in the narrative. He recounts how the king sent letters to the bishop of Winchester, the abbot of Reading and Pandulf instructing them to excommunicate John's enemies, whom he describes as *impugnatores et expulsos*.⁷²⁴ The letter *Mirari cogimur* has been discussed above. Roger consulted it where he found that the word Innocent had used to describe the barons was *perturbatores*.⁷²⁵ He testifies to it later, when he uses the word *regis et regni perturbatores*, the exact form used by Innocent in the letter.⁷²⁶ Roger previously noted that the barons were plotting to depose him (*in suam expulsionem conspirasse*)⁷²⁷, so when he then turns to the excommunication of the barons, he bestows on the papal words a new meaning derived from his own narrative. He may

⁷²² Crowland, 1215.16.

⁷²³ *iube ergo custodiri sepulchrum usque in diem tertium ne forte veniant discipuli eius et furentur eum et dicant plebi surrexit a mortuis et erit novissimus error peior priore*, Mat 27:64; *cum autem dormirent homines venit inimicus eius et superseminavit zizania in medio tritici et abiit*, Mat 13:25.

⁷²⁴ Crowland, 1215.20.

⁷²⁵ Crowland, 1215.23.

⁷²⁶ Powicke, 'Miramur Plurimum', 91.

⁷²⁷ Crowland, 1215.17; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 398.

have done that to underscore the gravity of their rebellion. Yet, when this statement of the barons' political intentions is joined to Roger's denunciation of their arrogance and later to the count of Aumale's similar effrontery, it is clear that Roger did not change the papal words out of stylistic variation, but to express his disapproval of barons arrogantly deposing the king.

Roger mentions the charter's 'security clause' (*eo quod ibi contineretur regem ipsum ad carte observationem cogendum*)⁷²⁸, but he subsequently describes, in some detail, the plundering committed by 'free-range' barons (*proceribus libere per regionem discurrentibus*) to the outrage of the prelates.⁷²⁹ He previously writes how the barons mistreated the sheriffs whose business was as much to do with peace as with finance, and how they even took some of them prisoners.⁷³⁰ It is against this background of baronial abuse that the peace movement was defeated.

Finally, Roger also seems to allude to the informational side of the war. When it comes to questions of espionage and counter-espionage, no narrative is better than *Coggeshall's*. Abbot Ralph famously discusses cases of sabotage, of falsifying letters and spreading pernicious rumours aimed at confounding the enemy. Roger reported what may be seen as two *ruses de guerre*. He writes that there was a rumour (*rumor*) that the king wanted to give up the throne.⁷³¹ One is tempted to see the barons' hands in this. Coggeshall reports something similar. He writes that the barons spread a fallacious rumour (*fallax fama*) of John's death and secret burial at

⁷²⁸ *Crowland*, 1215.17.

⁷²⁹ *Crowland*, 1215.18.

⁷³⁰ *Crowland*, 1215.17.

⁷³¹ *Crowland*, 1215.22.

Reading.⁷³² The two rumours certainly seem related, and it is at least not impossible that the rumour Roger reported was thought out and spread by the barons.

Coggeshall writes how John addressed letters to King Philip but used false seals so that the letters would seem to be sent by the English barons to the French king.

Through them, Coggeshall continues, he assured Philip that he had made peace with the barons and that an invasion was no longer needed. The 'fraudulent artifice'

(*strophā fraudulosa*) almost paid dividends. When Philip read the letters, he

suspected treason and, one may guess, almost broke negotiations with the

barons.⁷³³ Roger does not describe anything so advanced, but he writes that the

besieged garrison of Dover obtained a half-year truce, noting that this happened 'in

those days before the death of the king was made known'. Again, the narrative

suggests that the timing was of the essence. Perhaps the garrison would not have

been granted a truce had Louis and the barons known that the king was dead and

the royalists leaderless. Did those who had witnessed John's death and funeral take

precautions not to let the news of it break out? Did they understand that to be an

advantage? Roger indeed makes this suggestion when he comes back to the news

of John's death, noting that it was only after rumour (*rumor*) of it began to spread all

around (*omnem illam partem erexit*) that Louis and the Northerners slowed down

their operations.⁷³⁴ Surely the royalists thought that keeping the enemy in the dark

had its strategic advantage otherwise Roger would not have repeatedly made that

point.

⁷³² Coggeshall, 179.

⁷³³ Coggeshall, 176-7; Roger echoes the episode, *Miserunt autem Serum comitem Wintonie cum aliis pluribus ad maturandum domini Lodowici adventum, et ne aliqua eum retineret ambiguitas, unanimiter tactis sacrosanctis iuraverunt*, Crowland, 1215.35.

⁷³⁴ Crowland, 1216.17.

If the narrative is unfavourable to the barons, does it mean that Roger was biased in favour of the king? Historians have for a long time noted that the annals are the only source to look on John with some approval.⁷³⁵ Warren and Carpenter, in particular, took a rather positive view of John, with the later asserting that the 'monks of Crowland knew that John was not all bad'.⁷³⁶ There is strong evidence, however, that Roger was more charitable still, but that his view of the king was informed partly by his perception and partly by his more general understanding of the forces of history.

Roger was clearly a shrewd observer with 'an admirable sense of perspective.' He approved in principle of the reformation of the realm, but he disapproved of the way the barons went about it. He believed in the leadership of the pope and of his legates, but he had no reservations about criticising their cupidity and their powerlessness to avoid an escalation of the conflict.⁷³⁷ When he focuses on John and his policies, one can see the same sense of perspective. The king was guilty of many evils, first of all his obstinacy towards the Church during the Interdict. No wonder Roger, like other chroniclers, thought that the reconciliation was inspired by God: in their view there was no way that John would have alone forsworn the persecution of the Church. He dislikes John's reliance on foreigners at the expense of his own people and drives the point home when he famously notes that 'he was generous and honourable towards foreigners, but a plunderer of his own, relying more on aliens than on his

⁷³⁵ Holt, *Magna Carta*, 215 ; *HWE*, i, 343; Nicholas Vincent's more recent view that the chronicler's final assessment of king was meant to be 'bitter' is unwarrantable and is discussed in more detail below.

⁷³⁶ Warren, *King John*, 10; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 87.

⁷³⁷ *Crowland*, 1217.4.

own men' (*munificus et liberalis in exteros, sed suorum depredator, plus in alienis quam in suis confidens*).⁷³⁸ When he died, John was surrounded almost exclusively by mercenaries and foreigners (*conductiti et exteri*).⁷³⁹ Roger himself probably saw Savari de Mauléon and his mercenary army ravishing Crowland. Yet, Roger is not using this indictment to be a testimony of John's evil nature.

It has been suggested earlier that John's well-known acts of cruelty – the killing of Arthur and the Briouzes – did not impress Roger, who in one case pleaded ignorance, while in the other suggested that John's revenge was not without some cause. The narrative never returns to these points, and it certainly does not weave fabulous stories around them.⁷⁴⁰ On the contrary, there is evidence of John's more humane side. He takes pity on those affected by his enforcers of forest law (*miseratus afflictorum*), he shows favour to widows and the country finds peace when he begins to act more courteously towards everyone: *cepit se rex civilius habere ad suos, et siluit terra*.⁷⁴¹ Even under a sentence of excommunication and with a kingdom under interdict, John kept the peace (*pacis provisioni quantum ad temporalia attinet satis sedulus*).⁷⁴²

When Roger writes that the king's attempts to curb injustice was 'something that should be remembered to his praise' (*memoria dignum pariter et laude*), it is not to be understood that he thought that was John's only instance of good government.

⁷³⁸ Crowland, 1216.13.

⁷³⁹ Crowland, 1216.13.

⁷⁴⁰ Warren, *King John*, 11-16.

⁷⁴¹ Crowland, 1212.11.

⁷⁴² Crowland, 1212.14.

The words come right after the report of the 1212 conspiracy, and the tone is commiserative towards John: 'amid so many adversities (*tot adversa*), he even (*etiam*) did something worthy of remembrance and praise'. He tells how the king began to abolish evil customs and to inquire into the practices of his sheriffs⁷⁴³, and is almost celebratory of how John subdued and pacified the British Isles during his military campaigns of 1209–11.⁷⁴⁴ The people were far from disenchanted with John, for where he went, he raised their spirits.⁷⁴⁵ If the Runnymede settlement failed, Roger suggests that the fault lay with the barons, not with the king, who instead suffered his kingship to be decreased, while accepting and observing all the demands of the barons.⁷⁴⁶ While the barons are frequently accused of ravishing the land, John almost never finds himself at the receiving end of the indictment. When the pope excommunicated the barons *in corpore* but not by name, Roger notes that some thought (*ut dicebant*) that John could have been counted with them, as he had 'troubled the land and disowned himself through his own deeds.'⁷⁴⁷ In this Roger, was taking his distance. Similarly, in a famous passage where John is described as *tyrannus*, Roger immediately adds that 'he was thus regarded' (*sic enim iam habebatur*)⁷⁴⁸, just as he later reports that they considered him 'deposed or cast out' (*pro deposito vel deiecto habentes*).⁷⁴⁹ He was clearly distancing himself from the baronial claims. When John died, he calls him *princeps magnus*, which fits well with

⁷⁴³ Crowland, 1213.14.

⁷⁴⁴ Crowland, 1213.14; 1211.4.

⁷⁴⁵ Crowland, 1215.40.

⁷⁴⁶ Crowland, 1215.14.

⁷⁴⁷ Crowland, 1215.23.

⁷⁴⁸ Crowland, 1215.31; *manus tyranni* was also used to contrast with *manus robusta*. It may be that Roger was trying to inject dramatism in the narrative through the antithesis.

⁷⁴⁹ Crowland, 1215.25.

the rest of the narrative up to that point. This epithet has been entirely overlooked by historians, who have instead focused on the rest of Roger's final assessment of John. Yet, it is only when one fully understands what Roger meant by describing John as *princeps magnus* that the rest of his appraisal reveals itself.

The obituaries of Henry II, Richard and John all describe the kings as *princeps*. In the annals, the term is reserved only to the three Angevin kings and to the Norman princes of Antioch. Henry is rhetorically described as 'a prince most fortunate in greatness of power and in great number of children' (*princeps cum potestatis amplitudine cum liberorum multitudine felicissimus*)⁷⁵⁰, while Richard as 'a prince second to none, whose terror seized not only the bordering regions but also remote lands' (*princeps nulli secundus cuius tremor non solum finitimos sed externos invasit*).⁷⁵¹ When he reaches John's death, Roger picks up themes from the previous obituaries:

*Princeps quidem magnus, sed minus felix, et cum Mario fortunam utramque expertus; munificus et liberalis in exteros, sed suorum depredator, plus in alienis quam in suis confidens, unde et a suis ante finem derelictus est, et in fine modicum luctus.*⁷⁵²

A great prince indeed, but less fortunate, and like Marius, he experienced both types of fortune. He was generous and honourable towards foreigners, but a plunderer of his own, relying more on aliens than on his own men, by whom he had been abandoned before the end, and little wept at the end.

⁷⁵⁰ Crowland, 1189.2 ; Note the rhyming isocolon *potestatis amplitudine...liberorum multitudine*.

⁷⁵¹ Crowland, 1199.2.

⁷⁵² Crowland, 1216.13.

Read together, the three obituaries tell a different story from what historians have usually concluded. John was less fortunate (*minus felix*) than his father (*felicissimus*), and instead of instilling fear in foreigners, he relied on them to his own sorrow. There is criticism in this appraisal, but also praise and compassion. John is compared to Gaius Marius, the Roman general who opposed Sulla and reformed the Roman republic. Nicholas Vincent has recently argued that the chronicler was inspired by Lucan's *Pharsalia* in his assessment of John.⁷⁵³ According to Vincent, the chronicler had Marius' legacy of civil war and strife at the back of his mind, using the comparison to bring it out against John. Vincent's argument is tenuous. First, there is no evidence that Roger had Lucan in mind. Vincent's proof is meant to be textual, but it is not.⁷⁵⁴ Lucan was widely read in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but that is not enough to prove that Roger had read *Pharsalia* or any material drawn from it. Sallust was perhaps more popular, if not as popular as Lucan. The twelfth century saw a renewed interest in Sallust's work.⁷⁵⁵ More than 130 manuscripts of his two works from before the year 1200 have survived.⁷⁵⁶ It is also well known that Sallust's

⁷⁵³ N. Vincent, 'William of Newburgh, Josephus and the New Titus', *Christians and Jews in Angevin England*, ed. S. R. Jones and S. Watson (Woodbridge, 2013), 57–90, at 89.

⁷⁵⁴ The two passages quoted by Vincent are not *ipso facto* conclusive. He relies on a very common idea in Roman historiography of calling up *Fortuna* in the explanation of events or human performance.

⁷⁵⁵ B. Munk-Olsen, 'La diffusion et l'étude des historiens antiques au XII^e siècle' in *Medieval Antiquity* (Leuven, 1995), 21–43, at 22; B. Smalley, 'Sallust in the Middle Ages', *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500–1500*, ed. R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1971), 167–75; J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1903), 633.

⁷⁵⁶ L.B. Mortensen, 'The Texts and Contexts of Ancient Roman History in Twelfth-Century Western Scholarship' *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. P. Magdalino (London, 1992), 99–116, at 104.

Marius owed much to the forces of *fortuna*.⁷⁵⁷ Sallust recalls how a soothsayer advised Marius to 'put his fortune to the test' (*fortunam experiretur*).⁷⁵⁸ While Sallust's Marius did that, Roger's king John was put to the test (*fortunam expertus*) by the same *fortuna*. Roger was not going for 'bitter' criticism in this analysis, as Nicholas Vincent suggested, but he meant the comparison as commiseration, presenting John as responsible for his own life and at the same time the prey of chance.

Roger's judgment of John becomes clearer when one looks at what Roger has to say about the king's attempts at reforming the realm: he would have accomplished his projects had it not been for the baronial conspiracy and the fear of a French invasion.⁷⁵⁹ Likewise, Roger makes clear that John would have seemed more fortunate (*felix videretur*) if he had not lost his continental possessions and been excommunicated.⁷⁶⁰ The theme of the erratic *fortuna*, the wheel of fortune, capable of bringing one up and down, seems to stick to the whole of John's reign. Perhaps this is why Roger could not bring himself consistently to castigate John. He never accuses him of plunging England into civil war, as other chroniclers have done. He was certainly responsible for the interdict, but the king was not worse than his predecessors. Insofar as he subdued the Welsh, Scots and Irish, he was more remarkable than his father and brother (*quod nulli patrum suorum contigisse*

⁷⁵⁷ C.D. Gilbert, 'Marius and Fortuna', *The Classical Quarterly* 23 (1973), 104–107; E. Tiffou, 'Salluste et la Fortuna', *Phoenix* 31 (1977), 349–60, at 354.

⁷⁵⁸ Sallust, *De Bello Jugurthino*, 63:1.

⁷⁵⁹ *Crowland*, 1213.14.

⁷⁶⁰ *Crowland*, 1211.4.

notissimum est).⁷⁶¹ John was a *princeps magnus*, only he was carried up and down by the forces of history. Roger thereby provides a useful lesson in ethics. Henry II was a most fortunate and powerful king, but he sinned, Roger concludes, in his persecution of Becket.⁷⁶² Richard may have been the object of fame and reputation (*fama et celebritas*), but he was ultimately brought down by a divine judgment visited on his self-righteousness.⁷⁶³ John was 'indeed' a great king, but his abusing his own people led to his downfall.

The brilliance and sharpness of Roger's understanding of the period does not lie, therefore, in his either 'adopting the baronial standpoint' or favouring the king. Rather, it lies in his balance and sense of perspective. He recognised the need for limiting the abuse stemming from bad custom and from John's bad governance, yet he limited that view with a condemnation of the conflict between the king and his barons. Roger was not so short-sighted, as many historians have made him, to side with the barons or against them. Instead, his standards were higher and lay in the preservation of the peace.

It was not the barons, nor John, nor bad custom nor abuse that Roger wrote against. Rather, it was peace and order. Magna Carta was not as important to him as one might like to think because it did not lead to peace. He did not linger on it because he knew that it only brought more war and more division. It has already been mentioned that Roger could lambast in very harsh words those who threatened peace and

⁷⁶¹ *Crowland*, 1211.4.

⁷⁶² *Crowland*, 1189.2.

⁷⁶³ *Iudicio tamen Dei occulto sed iusto hoc genere mortis occubuit. ... Neque enim lex equior ulla est quam necis artifices arte perire sua*, *Crowland*, 1199.2.

accord, and the way he denounces the count of Aumale is remarkable. His exasperation with the frustrations of peace reach a climax right after Runnymede, which prompts him to take a plaintive tone.

The theme of the disturbance of peace, or *turbatio*, shoots through the whole narrative. Roger used the expression *qui plus regni perturbationem desiderabant quam pacem*, twice referring to the foreigners during the minority of Henry III. For the 1202–25 annals, he used cognates of the verb *turbare* 24 times, while in the 1–1201 annals, 6 of the 7 instances of the same terms occur in passages where he consciously departed from his usual sources.⁷⁶⁴ By contrast, Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum* – often mentioned in the same breath as Roger's 1202–25 annals – has only six occurrences of the same words for the entire narrative of the 1066–1224 annals.

Roger had treated the earlier material similarly. There is very little Viking activity in the chronicle of John of Worcester, for instance, that did not get repackaged in Roger's narrative. Under 876 even, he even adds to John's report of Rollo's incursion in Normandy, noting that 'he troubled the whole land' (*et totam terram perturbat*).⁷⁶⁵ And as already pointed out, he emends Henry of Huntingdon's account of the 1139 civil war with extracts from the *Aeneid* which suggest the same kind of response to the problem of political and social disturbance.

⁷⁶⁴ 852.2, 876.1, 975.1, 980.1, 985.1, 1191.1; examples of cognates used are *turbare*, *turbatio*, *conturbatio*, *turbatus*, *perturbator*, *perturbatio*.

⁷⁶⁵ *Crowland*, 876.1.

Political trouble and the disturbance of peace, more generally, are symptomatic of how the people of England reacted to the events. Roger develops the metaphor of the people's heart (*cor populi*), and tracks it from the interdict to the civil war. The heart is unsteady (*fluctuans*), distant from the king (*elongatum ab eo*), dissolved (*dissolvatum*), but also strengthened (*solidatum*) and comforted (*confortatum*).⁷⁶⁶ Through these words, Roger was taking the pulse of the people, showing how ripples on the political surface reverberated towards the lower, popular levels.

Roger's allegiance, therefore, was not to a particular group of people. He did not favour the barons against the king, or his order against others. Instead, he cared most about peace, and this point fits perfectly with his understanding of divine providence and universal time discussed in the previous chapters. The great single disturber of peace during the war was Prince Louis, as his intervention on the barons' side prolonged the conflict. Roger expresses his awe at how quickly and miraculously Louis' fortunes faltered, against all odds.⁷⁶⁷ His explanation is simple: God did not favour him, because he had frustrated the papal peace efforts.⁷⁶⁸ The narrative of the last thirteen or so years of the *Crowland Chronicle* is as complex as it is well-informed. Roger provides a perceptive analysis of one of most influential periods in medieval English history. He used narrative, documentary and oral sources intelligently in order to guide his observation and perception of the civil war and the first decade of the reign of Henry III. Witnessing the upsetting of political and

⁷⁶⁶ *Crowland*, 1215.40.

⁷⁶⁷ *Et erat pro miraculo quod primogenitus regis Francorum in tanta multitudine armatorum interiora regni admissus, occupata tanta parte regni, tot magnatibus partes eius iuvantibus, tam cito cum suis omnibus absque spe recuperationis regno est egressus, ne dicam eiectus, Crowland*, 1217.22.

⁷⁶⁸ *Crowland*, 1217.22.

ecclesiastical order during the 1200s and 1210s, he inquired into the deep causes of John's conflict with the Church and with the barons, judging everything against an ideal of peace and stability that the Interdict and the civil war disrupted. He did not align either the king or with the baronial party, but tried to be fair to both.

Roger was balanced, but he understandably allowed his ideology to limit his judgement. Because he sought peace and order, he failed to recognise the importance of the Charter of Liberties for the decades following Runnymede. That is partly, of course, due to his nearness in time to the events. Similarly, his reliance of divine providence and the changeability of fortune made him perhaps too favourable towards King John and too oblivious and insensitive to his abuses.

The 1212–25 annals were, ultimately, an opportunity for Roger to make his contribution to historiography. His work remains the most interesting source for the last years of King John's reign, and his ability to avoid the extremes of condemnation and adulation, so common in monastic history writing, commends him as a sharp observer of his *hodierna dies*.

CONCLUSION

This study has sought to introduce and examine a work of medieval historiography that has never been acknowledged as a standalone work. The *Crowland Chronicle* is the name that has now been given to an annalistic universal chronicle in partially abbreviated form extending from Incarnation to 1225 and begun at the abbey of Crowland in the 1210s most likely by a monk called R(ogerus). The chronicle was designed to be a record of world history from the birth of Christ down to the present time, and also to help the reader with the yearly liturgical requirements; hence, a strong computistical dimension that shaped not only the form of presentation, but also informed its content.

As the archetype is now lost, the text has to be reconstructed from the best available manuscripts. Chapter 1 has pleaded in favour of manuscript A, which contains the best text of what we may now call the *Crowland Chronicle*. Not only it contains fewer and less critical errors than the L manuscript (the second best witness), but it is the only one to contain the entire text from Incarnation to 1225 including the prologue that all the other manuscripts left out. Moreover, it is the only manuscript to contain a full set of Arabic numerals for the annal headings, a convention laid out in the prologue and observed only in A. Chapter 1 has also showed the intricate transmission of much of the Crowland material. The text was put together at the abbey where the author had access to a text similar to that contained in manuscript L. That text being both insufficient in extent and unwieldy in size, the author, let us call him Roger, both supplemented and abridged his main source with texts at his disposal. Of these, the most important were William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regis* and *Gesta Pontificum* and William of Tyre's *Historia*. The way he abridged his sources and rearranged them to conform to his universalist framework commend Roger as an accomplished compiler. Chapter 1 also suggested that the constraints of the universalist framework determine the

structure of the work. Annals are filled with information however thin so that the *inconcussa series annorum* may not become discontinued.

As a universal chronicle, the *Crowland Chronicle* is a record of God's action in Creation. Chapter 2 discussed the *chronicle's* place on the edge of universalism and localism, caught between the large focal length of inter-national history and the magnifying glass of local, institutional history. The tension between these two constraints may explain why the *Crowland Chronicle* failed to travel as much as a work of its scope should have done. It appears that it did not leave the Fenlands. A network of information was certainly active between Crowland, Peterborough, Ely, Spalding, Evesham, Waverley and perhaps the London abbeys of Merton, Southwark and Bermondsey, but there is no evidence that *Crowland* circulated to any of these places. One could speculate that Henry de Longchamp, as a former monk of Evesham and apparently full of admiration for the house, may have sent over a copy between 1225 and 1236 the year of his death.

If Crowland was not active as an exporter of historiography, it was certainly an exporter of hagiography. Under Abbot Henry, Crowland became a noteworthy centre of hagiographical production. The *chronicle* attests to this fact, and one must wonder if the *chronicle* was not in fact produced with the aim of promoting Crowland not only as a centre of book production, but also as an abbey strongly affiliated with important local saints. Here, Jennifer Paxton's suggestion that the twelfth-century Fenland abbeys of Ely, Ramsey and Peterborough produced works of history in a self-promoting attempt to attract lay patronage is worth bearing in mind. This is something that surely Abbot Henry would have been interested in, considering his managerial ambitions in the 1190s and his eagerness to be the one to place in

Archbishop Langton's hands the unrivalled edition of Becket's Lives and correspondence on the occasion of the translation of the saint's tomb.

The localism of the *Crowland Chronicle* is something that has been difficult to pin down. It is still not clear what Roger's intentions were in regards to promoting his abbey in the narrative. The abbey is rarely allowed to take centre stage, and when it does, one feels that it is not even very central at all. Chapter 2 surveyed the strategies open to the author to link the text to the abbey and it is on the basis of these connections that a Crowland provenance was predicated in the first place. Yet, they remain elusive and it is difficult to see whether they are meant to convey a particular message or are there more like a signature.

Roger's commitment to a universalist vision of history is less difficult to see. Two things stand out. The computistical aspirations vented in the prologue guarantee the work's functionality as a tool for the reckoning of time. Manuscript A preserves the apparatus that allows the computistically-minded reader to not only determine the date of Easter for any given year in the past since the birth of Christ, but also to continue the existing cycle and set up new ones in the future. In this respect, the *Crowland Chronicle* saw itself as a model for future computistical projections, a kind of primer for constructing other chronicles and other liturgical tools. It may even be the case that one of the reasons it was put together in this form was to make it more exportable. In any case, it would be difficult to find another reason for the extravagance of carrying Arabic numerals as annal headings. Manuscript A is the only one to have rubricated Arabic numerals for the years according to Marianus Scotus' recalibration of the date of Incarnation. The *Crowland Chronicle* may be the earliest historiographical work to use Arabic numerals for purposes other than scientific notation.

The second point is related to the first and refers to Roger's conservative use of John of Worcester's double incarnational date. The *Crowland Chronicle* is perhaps the last to still make use of the Marianist years as made popular by Worcester. The Winchcombe Chronicle was still using the double dating system in 1181, but by the turn of the thirteenth century, Gervase of Canterbury acknowledged the merits of the convention but chose not to adopt it. A shift from the double system to a single year is actually visible within manuscript A, where the very last annals drop the VA year (corrected year) and keep the AD year only. The *Crowland Chronicle* represents one of the last breaths of Marianus' innovative system.

One of the *Chronicle's* strengths, as far as modern scholarship is concerned, is the way Roger recorded and represented what for him was recent or contemporary history. This point has baffled scholars, who, while relying on the text represented by copies of manuscript L, were convinced that the continuation of Roger of Howden's chronicle was a standalone work of twenty-three annals. Chapter 1 and manuscript A now demonstrate that the 1202–25 section of annals is as much part of the *Crowland Chronicle* as is that for 1-1201. As annals approach the time of writing and narrative sources fail him, Roger becomes more observant of the developments around him. A mysterious visit to Christ Church, Canterbury is an opportunity for him to learn more about the interdict and to weave some important letters, charters and bulls into his narrative. Perhaps Roger's probable visit to Canterbury was due more to his work on the *Quadriologus* than to any historiographical consideration.

Roger's style of work invites commentary. He is not very fond of transcribing whole documents when he can knit them into his narrative. Of the many occasions when he could have copied a document in full, he only did it a few times at the very end of his work, where his text reads more like a charter-chronicle than a proper narrative. It seems as though he thought that the best way to make use of letters and charters was to comment on them, not to

give them in full. This sophisticated, one might say quasi-modern approach to sources is one of the reasons why students of Magna Carta have long been seduced by these annals. He has therefore a monk who has access to the most important records of the baronial crisis (papal bulls, episcopal letters, copies of Magna Carta), but the way he implements them in the chronicle seems to say that he is more interested in commenting on the crisis than recording it in the manner of a monastic annalist.

An important feature of Roger's commentary is the recourse to the supernatural. His treatment of the political crisis is well-constructed. He suggests that the civil war was a cosmic disaster using imagery from the eschatological book of 2 Esdras, the medieval bestiary imagination and a reworking of the theme of *perturbatio*. Roger is at his most medieval when his ultimate source of explanation is the divine. Nevertheless, he puzzles the reader with his patience and even compassion for King John, a striking departure from the quasi-unanimity of his history-writing contemporaries. His patience, however, is controlled and never cheap. If Roger does not lambaste the king, it is not because he lacks the power or the will to attack someone in his chronicle. His censure against the count of Aumale shows with clarity that Roger could bite when he so wished.

Roger was not only skilled and perceptive, but also sporadically eloquent, which means that he could be so when he wanted to. He quoted from the classics, had a very good knowledge of Scripture and could turn a nice phrase. The obits of Kings Henry II, Richard and John were an opportunity for him to comment briefly on their reign or their personal lives; so briefly that one almost feels sorry that the theme was not pursued more vigorously.

The *Chronicle* ends in 1225 but it is not clear why. There is a sense of loss of interest towards the end, with a rapid succession of transcribed documents replacing the careful narrative of the previous annals. Perhaps Roger died in 1225 and there was no-one to pick the project up. The chronicle was continued in manuscripts A and L independently. While manuscript L seems to have stayed at Crowland, manuscript A soon travelled to the priory of Barnwell where nothing much was added to it.

The *Crowland Chronicle* is a work that can challenge our assumptions about medieval history writing. Above all, it challenges our idea of monks being chained to their scriptoria like the books in the library of Hereford cathedral; our idea of monastic chroniclers lacking political imagination. Roger and his work are here to tell a different story, one of a shifting historiographical landscape where genres mix, where monastic annalists can drop an alliterative pun and a hyperbaton in the most unexpected places and quote Vergil in an eighteen-word annal when that seems to be the most unnatural thing to do. If anything, Roger and his *Crowland Chronicle* can show us that even in the world of medieval annals, things can be different.

APPENDIX.1
A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE *CROWLAND CHRONICLE*
THE TEXT

The text of the Crowland Chronicle does not survive in its entirety in any manuscript. The present edition is restorative, that is, it endeavours to reconstruct the text of the chronicle based on a number of witnesses, each preserving important textual evidence that reveals the existence and content of the lost archetype θ , discussed at length in chapter 1). The edition is based on what has been called manuscript A (London, College of Arms, Arundel 10), but it has been emended with text from manuscripts S (London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A.v) and L (London, British Library, Addition 35168). The reasons for this approach have been explained in the introduction.

Given the nature of the Crowland compilation, S lends its help to the text of the chronicle from the beginning down to 1201. For the last section of the annals (1202-25), L becomes an important independent witness to the archetype θ , and provides significant text absent from A.

In constructing the chronicle, Roger of Crowland used a number of sources, many of which have been identified. Others, however, have not. As pointed out in the introduction to the edition, the annals from 1202 down to the end are partly derived from material whose source cannot be identified with any precision (except for very few passages), and partly represent Roger's original composition, the fruit of his contemporaneous observation and analysis of the events recorded.

The edition endeavours to reflect all these elements in the text. Regular type point 12 indicates text which is not found in any known earlier sources, while smaller type point 10 indicates text derived from known, identifiable sources. Italics indicate text shared between manuscripts A and S in the 1-1201 section of the chronicle. Yet, whenever S provides a reading absent from A, but present in the lost archetype θ , that text is underlined. The reason for this editorial convention is that A does not preserve a full copy of θ , but needs S's readings to supplement its imperfect text. S

supplies readings to the base text only where there is a high degree of certainty that S preserves a reading from θ that A omitted. The reasons for these emendations of the base text are explained in the corresponding endnotes.

Therefore, regular type italics give the text of what was original in θ as witnessed by both A and S, while small type italics indicate derivative text as θ would have had it, which A and S witness to.

Footnotes are used for a double purpose. In the section 1202-25, they give the textual variants of A, L and the three copies of the latter, namely CMV. For the earlier section (1-1201), the footnotes indicate various palaeographical and codicological aspects of ASL, which are the only witnesses used in that section of the edition.

The text of the *Chronicle* has been divided into entries and paragraphs for the purpose of clarity and to facilitate the use of endnotes. Each annal has been divided into numbered units. An example is the annal for 1075, which has been divided into 1075.1, 1075.2, 1075.3, etc. These subdivisions correspond to those in the endnotes. The divisions are arbitrary, but they take into account the unity and coherence of the text.

The endnotes seek first to identify the sources used for the text of the annals, but they also comment on various other points of historical interest as well as on questions of authorial methodology. As already pointed out, they also make clear the reason for accepting readings from S into the base text in order to get closer to θ .

Finally, it should also be noted that the annals from 1 to 450 AD have not been included in the endnotes. The reason for their omission is that McGurk's and Darlington's Oxford Medieval Texts edition of John of Worcester's *Chronicle* (volumes 2 and 3) begins in 450 AD, while the first volume is yet to be printed. Since so much of the Crowland text of this section was based on John of Worcester's corresponding annals, I decided that this labour is best deferred until the missing volume has been published. This is not a proclamation of scholarly sloth, but the acknowledgement of the fact that the first four hundred annals do not bring any new

evidence to bear on the history or composition of the text other than that already manifest in the annals thereafter. Moreover, this editorial omission does not have an impact on the accuracy of the edited text. The text of S only begins in 654, so it cannot be used to supplement readings absent from A, but present in John of Worcester's work, represented by L.

**THE CROWLAND CHRONICLE EDITED FROM LONDON, COLLEGE OF ARMS,
MS ARUNDEL 10**

0.1 Inter scripture sacre cronographos prima causa dissensionum translationum est varietas. Cum enim in Septuaginta interpretum editione multo plures anni contineantur quam in aliorum translationibus et habeant tam hii quam illi fautores suos: de annorum numero non mediocris inter temporum tractatores oritur dissensio.

0.2 Est et alie dissonantie causa regnorum translatio regumque confusa et multiplex successio. Dum enim ab Assiriis ad Persas, a Persis ad Macedones, a Macedonibus ad Romanos monarchia transfertur ad quam quasi ad signum aliquid eminens cronographi attendentes tempora utrumque digesserunt dumque aut inter regna aut inter reges sibi succedentes tempora sepius laberentur cronicorum inde non parva generata est confusio.

0.3 Terciam huiusmodi discordie causam annorum dicere possumus diversitatem. Dum enim hii maiorem illi minorem annum haberent et hii a Marcio illi a Decembri alii a Septembri nonnulli etiam a Februario annum inchoarent hinc etiam nonnulla procreata est dissonantia.

0.4 Accedit ad hoc multorum fomes errorum et mater mendaciorum scilicet hystoriarum interruptio et per interruptionem clanculo subintrans corruptio. Hystoriographi namque cum non sese continuant sed quasi post sompnia longa memoriamque abolitam res gestas describant que non viderunt et audierunt haec testantur et fame fallaci non nunquam etiam, mendacio ficto, scripture auctoritatem accomodant. Hinc igitur est illa de annis ante Dominum incarnatum tanta tamque

mirabilis dissensio. Hinc etiam de Anno Incarnationis eiusdem tam multiplex opinio, ut merito dicere possimus, quod Varro de hystoriographis ait eos scilicet inter se quasi de industria et quasi data opera dissentire. Aiunt quippe hii qui in Septuaginta interpretum verba iurant ante Verbum Incarnatum ab origine mundi annos efluxisse v milia cxxix, alii iuxta Hebreos annos tantum iii milia dcccclii, alii in medio procedentes unamque generationem etati secunde addentes iuxta Lucam evangelistam dicentem qui fuit Sale qui fuit Cainan annos iiii milia clxxxii. Eadem est causa quare de Olimpiade indictione aliisque pluribus, anni Incarnationis dissentiat. Inter tot igitur et tantas varietates hoc utamur temperamento ut de Hebreorum cronicis Hebreorum credamus hystoriis qui ab initio divinis instructi oraculis annumque a Deo terminare docti et incipere annorum seriem inconcussam servabant. Romanis et de suis hystoriis et temporibus *post urbem conditam* fidem accomodemus qui tempora sua sollicite digerentes annos per reges vel consules diligenter annotabant.

0.5 De anno vero Incarnationis Dominice evangelium audiamus, ubi dicitur quod exierit edictum a Cesare Augusto, ut describeretur universus orbis, eodemque tempore natus fuerit Salvator in Bethleem inde quod anno quintodecimo imperii Tyberii Cesaris procurante Pontio Pylato Iudeam etcetera, factum sit Verbum Domini super Johannem in deserto. Quod baptizatus fuerit eodem anno Dominus cum inciperet annorum esse, quasi triginta. Quod, quarto abhinc anno crucifixus, tertia die resurrexerit. Hos ergo a supradicti imperatoris anno quintodecimo quo scilicet iuxta evangelicam veritatem natus est Salvator inchoantes et compendium quoddam cronicorum usque ad tempora nostra digerentes, hoc ordine illud agere censuimus singulos annos suis litteris dominicalibus notantes litteram, quam libet pro anno suo ponemus super eandem si qua suo anno memorabilia aut scitu digna contigerunt

breviter annotantes; notam etiam bissexti cum contigerit eidem adiungentes.

Numerum anni eiusdem ab Incarnatione Domini iuxta evangelicam veritatem alterum etiam numerum iuxta Dionisium subiungemus a septimo anno Tyberii in quo iuxta Dionisium natus est Christus; illum incipientes cyclum etiam decennovenalem et indictiones in margine signabimus ut scias de anno quolibet que littera dominicalis quoties ab Incarnatione Domini quota in cyclo decennovenali quota etiam indictionem. Habes igitur, o lector, si perpendas, tabulam ab ipsa Incarnatione demonstrative digestam, ut evidentes probare possis de anno quolibet, ubi vel Iudeorum vel nostram Pascham fuerit. Iudei quippe in ipso termino; nos autem in Dominica proxima post terminum Pascha celebramus. Tu autem ex cyclo terminum et ex littera dominicam facile reperies. Concurrentes etiam per litteram eandem quia semper cum F; i cum E; ii D; iii C; iiii B; v A; vi G; vii.

0.6 Licet autem in vere creatum mundum acceperimus, nos tamen Romanorum auctoritatem sequentes a kalendis Ianuarii annum inchoamus ubi tam littera dominicalis quam cyclus mutatur unde contingit, ut alio anno Dominum dicamur circumcisum quam natum. Cum die octavo iuxta evangelium circumcisis legatur. Secus est de indictione. Cum enim indictione viii kalendis Octobris mutetur, liquet quod eadem indictione circumcisis fuerit Dominus qua natus.

0.7 Altius ergo ordientes pauca de annis ante Incarnationem dicamus. Notandum ergo quod mundus in quintodecimo kalendis Aprilis, ut supradictum est, creatus est anno cycli decimonovenalis sextodecimo, littera dominicali G, concurrentibus vii, in secunda linea cycli, aut solaris anno sexto indictione xv.

0.8 Prima igitur etas seculi ab Adam usque ad diluvium habens annos iuxta hebraicam veritatem mdclvi. Secunda a diluvio usque ad Abraham annos habens iuxta hebreos cc xcii. cum adiectione autem Luce evangeliste d xxii. Tercia etas ab Abraham usque ad David annos habens cccc lxxiii. Quarta a David usque ad captivitatem annos habens cccc lxxiii. Quinta a captivitate usque ad Christum habens annos d lxxxix. Ab origine igitur mundi secundum cronicorum emendatissimorum veritatem usque ad xv kalendis Aprilis aut nativitatem Domini sicut per litteras dominicales et cyclos decennovenales probari potest anno etiam atque etiam iiii clxxxii. Ab urbe condita dcc xl. Ab olimpiade prima dcc lx. A templo salomonis m xix.

0.9 Principium veri numeri arabicis litteris notatur secundum evangelicam veritatem Anno quadragesimo secundo Augusti Cesaris, qui superato Antonio secundus post Iulium Romanum rexit imperium cum pacatis undique provinciis bellisque sedatis pace profunda universus orbis. Gauderet angelus Gabriel ad beatam virginem mittitur Christi Incarnationem annuncians. Johannes Baptista nascitur, beata Maria presente. Euntibus in civitates suas singulis ut edicto Augusti profiterentur ibat et Joseph cum uxore sua pregnante in Bethleem Iudee ubi Dominus Jesus Christus filius Dei vivi nascitur. Anno beate Marie quarto decimo. Dominica nocte. Octavo kalendis Januarii indictione quarto decimo. Anno cycli decennovenali xviii.

0.9.1 2

Jesus Christus circumciditur. A magis stella duce adoratur. In templo presentatus a Simeone suscipitur. Angelo monente in Egyptum transfertur.

0.10 Hic interferendum puto quod annos Domini duppliciter sumimur. Uno modo secundum annos Romanorum qui in kalendis Ianuarii annum incipiunt alio modo secundum unius anni integri revolutionem scilicet a Nativitate ad Nativitatem. Iuxta igitur primum modum primum annum Domini dicimus. Illum in cuius fine natus est et de quo tantum septem dies habuit qui et septimo die Nativitatis eius terminabatur secundum autem qui octavo die Nativitatis eius die videlicet circumcisionis inchoavit et scilicet secundo anno Nativitatis circumciscus dicitur qui octavo die a Nativitate est circumciscus. Similiter et baptizatus dicitur anno Nativitatis tricesimo primo et crucifixus anno tricesimo quarto primo scilicet anno numerato de quo non habuit septem dies et ultimo in cuius fere principio baptizatus est vel de quo fere tres menses habuit anno passionis.

0.11 3

4 Herodes pueros trucidat.

5 Iohannes apostolus nascitur.

6 Herodes morbo intestinis aque et scatentibus toto corpore vermibus moritur.

7 Christus ab Egypto reducitur Archelaus pro patre substituitur ab Augusto per vii annos. Fratres eius tetrarche fiunt.

8 Rome fames valida.

9 Tyberius dalmata sarmatasque in romanam redegit potestatem.

10 D

11

12

13 Iesus annorum xii inventus est in templo inter doctores legis interrogans et audiens.

14

15

16 Archelaus in Ravennam Gallie urbem relegatur.

17 Augustus apud Nolam Campanie obit anno etatis septuagesimo sexto imperii vero quinquagesimo sexto. Succedit Tyberius Augusti privignus annis xxiii.

0.12 Laus Octaviani. Octavianus vir mitis et gratus animi civilis corpore toto pulcher sed oculis pricipue a cuius facie quidam oculos avertens se fulmen oculorum imperatoris ferre non posse asseruit. Omni die legebat scribebat declamabat, cibi et vini multum abstinens, probra pacienter sustinens, prodicionis sue reis veniam largiens, in cives. Clemens, in amicos tantus ut eos sibi pene coequaret. Nulli genti nisi iustis de causis bellum indixit pessimum dicens causa triumphandi dubios belli eventum subire. Sic a barbaris dilectus ut ad eius obsequium quidam reges ultro venirent Romam quidam in eius honorem civitates conderent. Romam se invenisse gloriatus est latericiam et marmoream reliquisse. Nec tamen hic tantus viciis omnino caruit. Erat enim paulum impaciens leniter iracundus occulte invidus palam facciosus donandi cupidus.

18

19 Incarnatio iuxta Eusebium et Bedam.

20 Ovidius in exilio obit.

21 Germanicus cesar de Parthis triumphavit.

22

1

1.1 Tyberius multos reges Romam invitans nusquam ad sua remisit. Incarnatio iuxta Dionisium contraria Evangelice veritati. Verumque usus optinuit ut anni numerum alterum ab hoc anno incipimus ut habeas duos numeros verum scilicet et falsum. Verum arabicis litteris falsum latinis notatum.

2

3

4

5

6

6.1 Philippus tetrarcha Paneadem edibus venustatis Cesaream Philippi vocat.

7

8

8.1 Herodes in honorem Tyberii et Livie matris eius Tyberiadem condidit et Libiadem.

9

9.1 Christus die dominica baptizatus in crastino ieiunium inchoans et xl die scilicet xv kalendis Martii illud terminans quinta feria sexta erat. Eo die temptatorem vicit in

deserto quo Adam primus victus est in Paradyso ab hinc predicare et discipulos cepit vocare.

10

11

11.1 Iohannes Baptista decollatur.

12

12.1 Iesus Christus iuxta evangelicam veritatem viii kalendis Aprilis luna quinta decima crucifigitur et tertia die scilicet vi kalendis Aprilis a mortuis resurgit. Flegon Hystoricus sic. Anno quarto cc ii olimpiadis magna et excellens inter omnes que acciderant solis defectio facta est hora diei vi ita tenebrosa ut stelle passim viderentur. Terremotus tantus ut civitates obrueret. Stephanus lapidatur.

13

13.1 Paulus de celo vocatus convertitur. Gloriosa virgo et mater Maria assumitur, feria tertia annorum lxxiii. Quando natus erat dominus xiiii annos habuit et xxxiii annis vixit cum eo. Post passionem xvi. Paulus Ierosolimis apostolis sociatur.

14

14.1

16

16.1* Paulus Ierosolimis apostolicis sociatur.

16.1 Petrus Antiochie incathedratur. Dilato ad Tyberium que contra Christum contigerant et de Christianorum secta referende. Tyberius ut deorum numero iungeretur miro suffragio senatui suggestit Senatus autem indignans quod sibi primo res non significaretur Christianos urbe pellendo, decrevit. Tiberius Christianorum accusatoribus mortem comminatur.

17

17.1 Tyberius in Campania Veneno obit. Succedit quarto Romanorum Gaius Caligula annis iiii mensibus x.

Laus Tiberii. Tiberius privignus Augusti postea genus, postremo filius adoptivus cui etiam et in regnum successit. Vir prudens et in armis fortunatus litterarum scientissimus sed magis eloquio clarissimus repentinis consiliis vel responsionibus melior quam premeditatis. Arguebatur simultatis quasi offensus hiis quos diligebat, hiis vero quos oderat, quasi benivolus apparebat.

18

18.1 Gaius Herodem Agrippam vinculis liberatum regem Iudee facit.

19

19.1 Herodes tetrarcha Romam suadente Herodiade adiens ab Agrippa accusatus tetrarchiam perdidit. In Hispaniam fugiens in luctu vitam finit cum uxore.

20

20.1 Pilatus in exilium actus manu propria se interemit.

21

22

22.1 Matheus in Iudea evangelium scribit. Gaius in palatio occiditur. Cui succedit Claudius Romanorum quintus annis xiiii mensibus vii diebus xxvii usque ad annum per passionem domini xxv.

De Gaio.

Multa erat in Gaio pravitas ingenii morum intemperentia contra omnes homines et principue contra Iudeos ferebatur gravissimus.

23

23.1 Iacobus frater Iohannis ab Herode occiditur.

24

24.1 Petrus ab Herode incarceratur sed divinitus eicitur. Herodes qui et Agrippa ab angelo percutitur. Cui Agrippa filius eius succedit. Primus igitur rex de alienigenis apud Iudeos Herodes filius Antipatris secundus Archelaus eiusdem filius. Tertius Herodes tetrarcha frater Archelai. Quartus Herodes Agrippa filius Aristoboli. Quintus Agrippa filius Agrippe qui usque ad extrema templi excidia duravit.

25

26

26.1 Paulus ut ipse dicit post annos conversionis sue xiiii venit iterum Ierosolimam et cum coapostolis viam predicat fidem confert. Seorsum autem cum Petro et

Iohanne et hiis qui videntur esse aliquid. Petrus Romam adit et cathedram tenet
Rome.

27

27.1_Claudius de Britannis triumphat unde et se Britannicum fecit vocari.

28

29

29.1 Passio iuxta Eusebium sed falso.

30

31

31.1 Claudius Iudeos Roma expulit.

31.2 Ames in Grecia.

32

32.3 Marcus evangelium quod Rome descripserat Petro mittente, in Egypto predicat.

33

34

34.1 Passio iuxta Dionisium. Felix procurator Iudeam laudatur.

35

35.1 Lazarus primus episcopus Cypri secularia morte obitum inter duas mortes, annos xxiii vixisset. Egiptus quidam pseudopropheta Sicarios in seditionem concitavit.

36

36.1 Claudius uxoris dolo veneno obit. Succedit Nero Romanorum vi annis xiii mensibus vii diebus xxviii.

Laus Claudii. Claudius vir bellicosus multa gessit tranquille quaedam minus caute Britannici nomen sibi et filio imposuit eo quod facillime Britones vicerit. Adeo civilis in quosdam ut placitum virum nobilem qui in Britannica expeditione multa gessit egregie ipse triumphantem sequeretur in Capitolium ascendentem lenus comitaretur.

37

37.1 Festus succedit Felici. Paulus a Felice Romam victus mittitur. Linus corepiscopus sub Petro apostolo exteriora curat per annos xi

38

39

40

41

42

42.1 Iacobus Alpei a Iudeis die sancto pasche lapidatur viii scilicet kalendis Aprilis. Cui succedit frater eius Simeon qui et Simon hii duo fratres Domini dicuntur eo quod filii fuerunt Marie sororis matris Domini que Alpei uxor Maria Cleophe dicitur. Vel quia Alpheus alio nomine Cleophas dictus est vel quia mortuo Alpeo Cleophe nupserit fuit Ioseph, vel a patre. Hec etiam Iacobi Minoris mater scribitur.

43

43.1. Nero Cythara contendit. Retibus aureis piscatur.

44

45

45.1 Marcus evangelista sancto die Pasche, die scilicet Dominica, vii kalendis Maii obit. Succedit Amanus. Considera diligenter et videbis quod anno cycli decennovenali octavo et littera dominicali c necesse sit Pascha hoc die contingere.

46

46.1 Perseus Satyricus obit. Lucanus poeta obit. Albino succesit Florus.

47

47.1 Nero in olimpiade multis agonibus contendens et vincens coronatur.

48

48.1 Linus corepiscopus patitur. Succedit Cletus corepiscopus annis xii. Hic ex precepto Petri xv presbiteros in urbe Roma constituit. Seneca venarum incisione et veneno obit.

49

50

50.1 Nero primo Petrum et Paulum et postea se ipsum interfecit. Nero primam in Christianos movit persecutionem. Clemens non solum Petri successor sed etiam cum eo ix annos Romane ecclesie prefuit et deinde post Petrum xxi cum corepiscopis scilicet post Petrum xii annis et solum ix ut ex verbis eiusdem patere potest et decretali Leonis secundi successoris Agathonis pape. Iosephus hystoriographus cum a Vespasiano in Iudea occidenda esset, de morte Neronis et de eius imperio futuro ei predixit et vitam cum honore adeptus est.

De Nerone. Nero Romanum imperium deformavit matrem uxorem magnam senatus partem trucidavit. Romam per dies vii incendit omnibus odibilis ita tandem omnibus est destitutus, ut a Senatu hostis iudicatus fugiens in loco quodam latitaret qui ideo usque hodie Lateranis dicitur, eo quod ibi omnium inimicus latitaret scriptum interfecit.

51

51.1 Galba imperium Romanum post Neronem nactus mense vii ab Othone capite truncatur. Otho cum Galba regnum occiso arripisset. Vitellius in Galliis a legionibus

Germanicus imperator constituitur. Cui cum tribus preliis testitisset, parti sue diffidens, se tanti non esse ait, ut propter eum civile bellum oriretur. Sicque xc die imperii se ipsum interfecit, Vitellius succedit Romanorum ix mensibus viii diebus viii.

52

52.1 Vaspasianus ab exercitu in Iudea imperator appellatur. Vitellius Neronem turpitudine superans a militibus Vaspasiani nudus publice perducitur subiecto ad meritum gladio, postremo minutis ictibus perfossus, gladio stercore obvoluto excarnificatus est, uncoque in Tyberum tractus, sepultura caruit.

53

53.1 Capitolium Rome incensum.

54

54.1 Iudea a Tyto capitur. Ierosolima oppugnatur et ad solum cum templo diruitur. Abcidiuntur Iudeorum undecies centena milia venduntur centum milia.

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62.1 Lues ingens Rome. Clementi successit Anacletus. Vaspasianus pro fluvio ventris obit. Titus filius eius succedit annis ii mensibus viii diebus xx.

Laus Vaspasiani. Vaspasianus quamvis obscure natus optimus tum comperandus et vita privata fuit illustris. In imperio moderatus peccunie non multum avidus. Nullius principis maior libertas nullius iustior lenitas. Cuius filius Tytus tante fuit bonitatis ut dictus sequerentus perdidisse qua nichil se recoluit prestitisse.

63

64

64.1 Tytus obit. Succedit frater eiusdem Domitianus annis xv mensibus v.

Laus Tyti

Tytus scilicet voluptas Tytus deliciae verum Titus gloria temporum. Tytus inusitato favore dilectus est et tantus eo mortuo publicus lucrus ut omnes tanquam in propria orbitate doluerint. Cum procul a Roma mortuus fuisset, senatus obitu eius circa vesperam nuntiato, nate incipit in curiam, et tantas mortuo laudes congressit et gravis quantas nec unquam vino nec presenti egerat.

65

65.1 Cletus correptus patitur. Hoc tempore Statius poeta clarus habetur.

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76.1 [H]ic simul incipiunt ciclus xixl^a et solaris i concurrente cum bissexto.

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78.1 Sanctus Johannes apostolus in dolium olei ferventis mittitur et in exilium religatur.

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80

80.1 Anacleto succedit Evaristus. Gravissima persecutio Christianorum. Domitianus omnem Styrypem dd milia iussit funditur deleri. Multa signa per orbem universum fiunt. Iohannes Apocalipsim scribit. Domitianus a suis in palatio occiditur. Succedit Nerva anno uno mensibus quatuor.

81

81.1 Senatus decreto omnia que Domitianus iusserat frustrantur, unde et Iohannes Ephesum redit.

82

82.1 Nerva obit. Succedit Traianus annis xix mensibus vii diebus xv.

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86.1 Traianus strenuus in omnibus multas nationes Romane subiecit ditioni.

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89.1 Hoc anno potuit Iohannes apostolus dormire Dominico, die vi kalendis Ianuarii.

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91

91.1 Evaristus papa obit. Succedit Alexandrus annis x.

92

93

93.1 Simeon Ierosolimorum episcopus crucifigitur. Succedit Iustus.

94

94.1 Ignatius Rome Vestus traditur.

95

95.1 Plinius Traiano suggestit, ut Christiani legibus non obviantes non inquirerentur.

96

96.1 Iersolimorum ecclesiam post Iustum, suscepit Racheus post quem Tobias, cui successit Beniamin, cui Iohannes, cui Mathias, cui Philippus.

97

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99

99.1 Iudei in Egypto et Libia et Siria seditioes machinantur et rebellionem.

100

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102

102.1 Alexandrus papa patitur. Succedit Sixtus annis v. Alexandrus statuit, ut aqua benedicta cum sale in habitaculis fidelium spargeretur. Sixtus autem statuit, ut sacra mystera non nisi a sacris ministris tractarentur, et ut intra missam diceretur, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus. Obiit Traianus pro fluvio veniens, qui solus inter omnes intra urbem sepultus est. Succedit Adrianus annis xxi.

Laus Traiani. Traianus inusitate civilitatis fuit et fortitudinis sed gloriam militarem inordinatione superavit. Rome et per provincias omnibus se equalem exhibens.

Amicos salutandi tam si equeritans egrotantes visitans diebus eorum festis cum eis

convivians vicissim, sepe etiam in vehiculo eorum sedens. Nullum senatorum ledens, nil iniustum ad augendum fiscum agens. Talem dicebat imperatorem esse delere subiectis, quales esse sibi subiectos optasset. Nil non venerationis meruit et vivus et mortuus.

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107.1 Sixtus papa passus est.

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109.1 Succesit Teleforus.

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116.1 Basilides heresiarches a quo heretici gnostici.

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118.1 Iudei duce Cochaba Palestina depopulantur. Adrianus misso exercitu res Iudeorum penitus oppressit.

119

120

121

121.1 Ierosolimis primus ex gentibus episcopus Marcus cum ex circumcissione precessissent xv.

122

122.1 Elia ab Adriano conditur et nominatur.

123

123.1 Telesphorus papa sextus patitur. Hic constituit, ut clerici vii ante Pasca ieiuniis celebrent ebdomadibus, et ut nocte Natalis dominice misse celebrentur et cantetur hymnus Anglorum. Telesphoro succedit Ignius septimus. Hic clerus constituit et gradus ecclesiasticos distribunt. Adrianus morbo intercutis aque obiit. Succedit Antonius Pius cum filiis suis Aurelio et Lucio annis fere xxiii. Laus Adriani. Adrianus princeps medius fuit, pacem omni tempore imperii sui habuit. Semel tamen per presidem dimicavit. Orbem Romanum circumiit, Latino sermone facundissimus, Greco eruditissimus fuit.

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126.1 Sub Igino papa venerit Romam Valentinus et Cerdo magister Marcionis.

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140.1 Iginus papa obit. Succedit Pius.

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142.1 Galienus medicus, Pergamo genitus, floret.

143

143.1 Pius papa obit. Succedit Anicetus novus post Petrum. Hic statuit ne comam clericus nutriat. Sub Aniceto, Policarpus Romam veniens, heresim valentini et Cerdonis repressit.

144

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146

146.1 Antonius Pius obit. Succedit filius eius Marcus Antonius Verus cum fratre Lucio Commode xix annis mense I. Laus Antonii. Antonius Pius vir honestus et insignis nune merito conferendus, nulli acerbis cunctis amabilis, in re militari moderat. Defendere magis provincias quam ampliare studens viros equissimos ad administrandum rem publicam querens. Bonos et honorem habens imperbos sine acerbitate detestans. Regibus amicus tam venerabilis ut ad eum contraversias deferent et eius sententie starent. In amicos liberalissimus rarium tamen opulentium reliquit. Pius propter clementiam dictus est.

147

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150.1 Lucio Cesare Athenis sacrificanti, ignis ab occidente in orientem in celo ferri visus est.

151

152

152.1 Lucius Cesare cum fratre de Parthis triumphat. Persecutio in qua Policarpus passus est. Peregrinus Philosophus rogo facto, scipsum combussit.

153

154

154.1 Romani contra Germanos, quandos Marchomam nos dimicant. Roma ex parte occupata. Anicetus papa obit. Succedit Sother decimus, annis ix. Hic statuit ne monacha pallam facturam in ecclesia contingat, nec incensum ponat. Lucius Cesar cum fratre in carruca sedens, apoplexia.

155

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157.1 Heremanus pseudo propheta, a quo heresis catafrigarum auctoribus montano et Prisalla. Tacianus a quo heresis Taciana.

158

159

159.1 Pestilentia tanta, ut Romanus exercitus pene usque ad interneccionem deleretur. Multis undique bellis insurgentibus, sepe imperator intererat. In quibus cum semel siteris periculosa exercitum oppressisset, pluvia divinitus data et in hostes fulminum ictus vibrantur.

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163.1 Sother papa obit. Succedit Eleutherius. Lucius Britannorum rex ab Eleutherio papa Christianum se fieri per epistolam impetravit. Suscepta fide Christiana, immolatam eam servavit Britannia usque ad Diocletiam tempora quando in ea multi martyrio coronati sunt. Inter quos Albanus civis Verolamii. Marcus Aurelius imperator

gravissimus scripto testatur, situm illam Germanica pestilentem, Cristianorum militum orationibus discussam.

164

165

165.1 Antonius obit. Succedit filius eius Commodus, annis xiii mensibus vii.

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171

171.1 Commodus de Germanis triumphat et Septembrem suo nomine appellat. Fulmen et capitolium ruit et bibliotecam cum vicinis edibus incendit. Hyreneum a Lugdunensis insignis habetur.

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176.1 Commodus multos nobilium interfecit.

177

177.1 Theodotion Ephesius interpres. Palatium et edes veste Rome incendio cremantur. Eleutherius papa obit. Succedit Victor, annis x mensibus ii.

178

179

179.1 Commodus in domo Vestiliani strangulatur. Succedit Elius pertinax mensibus vi. Hic cum esset prefectus, Senatus decreto imperare iussus est. Cumque ut uxor eius Augusta et filius Cesar applicarentur, Senatus obsecraret. lenuit dicens sufficere si debere, quod ipse regnaret invitus. Victor papa instituit, ut Pascha die Dominico sicut et predecessor eius Eleutherius et a quartadecima luna primi mensis usque ad xxi celebraretur.

180

180.1 Iulianus pertinaci in palatio occiso, imperium invasit, sed mox ad pontem Milvium a Severo interfecit. Laus Severi. Severus igitur Romanorum xxi^{us}

imperavit, annis xviii mensibus iii. Severus multa bella feliciter gessit. Vicit Parthos et Arabas et Arabenos, unde et particus et arabicus et arabenicus dictus est. Multa toto orbe ad Romansi decus recuperavit, qui partes bellicam gloriam ecclesiam cuiuslibet studiis clarus fuit, litteris doctus philosophicis disciplinis ad plenum exuditus.

181

182

182.1 Symacus interpres quartus, samarites secundus proselitus.

183

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186.1 Bellum Iudaicum et Samariticum. Victor papa obit. Succedit Zephirius, annis ix. Hic constituit ut presentibus, omnibus laicis, clericis, sacerdos vel diacones ordinetur, et ut a stantibus sacerdotibus, misse celebrentur.

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193.1 Leonides Pater Origenis efficitur martyr.

194

195

195.1 Severus in Britannias bellum traicit, et ut Britones tutos ab hostibus redderet, vassum per xxx miliaria inter illos et hostes a mari usque ad mare deduxit.

196

197

197.1 Tertullianus floret.

198

198.1 Severus Eboraci obit. Succedit filius eius Antonius qui et Caracalla propter genus vestis dictus est, quod Rome erogaverat. Hic tante libidinis fuit, ut novercam suam duceret.

199

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202.1 Quinta editio inventa in dolio apud Jerico.

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205

205.1 Caracalla occiditur. Succedit Ophius Macrinus cum filio Diadumeno, anno i mensibus ii.

206

206.1 Zepherinus papa obit. Succedit Kalixtus quartusdecimus. Hoc constituit quatuor temporum ieiunia propter frugum habundantiam. Ophius cum filio occiditur.

Succedit Marcus Aurelius filius Caracalle ut putabatur, cui sacerdos Eliagaboli templi ad eo impudice vixit, ut nullum genus obscenitatis omiserit.

207

208

209

209.1 Eliogabalum templum Rome construitur. In Palestina ex Emaus fit Nicopolis.

210

210.1 Aurelius cum matre Rome occiditur. Succedit Alexander Mamee filius, annis xiii. Hic Xersem regem Persarum vicit.

211

211.1 Kalixtus papa patitur. Succedit Urbanus post Petrum quintusdecimus, annis quatuor mensibus x. Hic statuit ut fidelium oblationes non in alios usus quam ecclesiasticos et Christianorum fratrem indigentium convertantur.

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218

218.1 Alexander discipline militaris tam severus corrector fuit, ut quasdam legiones tumultuantes exauctorizaret.

219

220

220.1 Urbanus papa postquam multos nobilium ad fidem Christi convertit, passus est sub Alexandro. Succedit Pontianus, annis v. Ulpianus iurisperitus Alexandri assessor insignis habetur.

221

221.1 Floret Origenes.

222

222.1 Mamea inter Alexandri Origenem ab Cesarea Palestine Antiochiam accitum, summo honore habuit et diligenter audivit.

223

224

224.1 Alexander apud Mongontiacum tumultu militari occiditur. Succedit Maximianus, annos iii, mense uno. Hic primus ex corpore militari sine auctoritate senatus imperator electus est. Hic sextam persecutionem commovet contra Ecclesiam propter familiam Alexandri predecessoribus sui Christianam et propter Origenem.

225

225.1 Pontianus papa in Sardinia deportatur, fustibus ibi mactatur. Succedit Antherus mense uno. Succedit illi Fabiani post Petrum decimus octavus annis xvi. Hic vii diaconos septem notariis prefecit qui Gesta Martirum notarentur.

226

227

228

228.1 Maximinus Aquileie a Puppieno occiditur. Succedit Gordianus, annis vi. Albinus et Puppienus in palatio occiduntur, qui imperium occupaverant.

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231

231.1 Origines multa scribit et Celsum epicurum, octo libris confutat.

232

233

233.1 Gordianus cum admodum adolescens a Parthis victor rediret, fraude occiditur Philippo filio, annos vii. Philippus iunior adeo severi animi fuit, ut nullo commento ad ridendum solui potuerit, patremque cachinnante vultu averso notavit, utiis semper resistens et ad ardua virtutum conscendens.

234

235

236

236.1 Philippus primus imperator Christianus fuit.

237

238

238.1 Millesimus annus conditionis urbis Romane teste Cassiodoro. Ob sollempnitatem igitur Natalis urbis, Philippus innumerabiles in cyrco bestias occidit, ludosque teatrales in Campo Martio tribus diebus noctibusque populo pervigili exhibuit eius agon m annorum publica celebratione actus est. Ex hiis ergo pateti

quod anno ab urbe condita dccxl natus sit Dominus, manifestusque est error tam Eusebii quam Dionisii de incarnationis dominice anno.

239

240

240.1 Heresis Novatiana

241

241.1 Philippus senior, Verone, Iunior, Rome fraude Decii occiditur. Succedit Decius, annis tribus mensibus totidem. Qui ob odium Philipporum gravem persecutionem contra Ecclesiam movet. Fabianus papa patitur. Succedit Cornelius, annis iii mensibus v. Huius temporis magna inter cronographos est dissentio.

242

243

244

244.1 Decius cum filio a Gothis in bello occiditur. Succedit Gallus cum Volusiano filio, annis ii mensibus quatuor. Cornelius papa patitur. Succedit Lucius mensibus viii. Hic constituit, ut episcopus sine duobus presbiteris et tribus diaconibus umquam et nusquam sit propter testimonium ecclesiasticum.

245

245.1 Lucius papa patitur. Succedit Stephanus. Hic decrevit, ut usu cotidiano ut uterentur ministri altaris vestibus sacratis, non alibi nisi in altaris ministerio.

246

246.1 Gallus et Volusianus ab Emiliano Mauro occiduntur. Qui tercio mense postquam imperium invasit, est occisus. Origenes obit et Tyri sepelitur. Valerianus tricesimus secundus imperator cum filio Galieno regnavit, annis xv.

247

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250

250.1 Cyprianus primus retor. Postea Cartaginensis episcopus martyrio coronatur. Valerianus commota gravi in Christianos persecutione, a Sapore rege Persarum capitur et excecatur.

251

251.1 Sapor Syriani, Ciliciam depopulatur. Stephanus papa patitur. Succedit Syxtus ex philosopho papa vicesimus secundus, annis ii.

252

252 Galienus ecclesie pacem redit, patre in Persas captivo ducto. Theodosus qui et Gregorius Nazarenus episcopus inter cetera virtutum insignia ut ecclesie faciende locus sufficeret, montem precibus movit.

253

253.1 Dionisius papa vicesimus tertius sedit annos vi mensibus v. Hic ecclesiis parochias presbiteris ecclesias et dioceses instituit. Paulus Samosatenus fit episcopus Antiochenus.

254

255

255.1 Galieno in omnem lasciviam dissoluto, Romanum undique conculcatur imperium.

256

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259.1 Dionisio pape succedit Felix, annis iiii.

260

261

261.1 Galienus Mediolani occiditur. Succedit Claudius, anno i mensibus ix. Iste superat Gothos, unde ei statua aurea data est.

262

262.1 Felix papa obit. Hic statuit super memorias martirum missas celebrari.

263

263.1 Claudius firmio obit. Succedit Quintilius frater eius. Quo decimo septimo die imperii occiso, succedit Aurelianus annis v mensibus vi. Euticianus papa vicesimus quintus, annis vi. Hic statuit ut fruges ruue super altare benedicentia et ut nullus martirem sine dalmatica vel purpurato colobio sepeliret.

264

264.1 Aurelianus undique superatis hostibus et contritis sparsum resarcivit imperium et Rome triumphat.

265

266

266.1 Eusebius Laodicens insignis habetur.

267

258

268.1 Aurelianus cum adversus nos persecutiones concitaret, fulmen iuxta eum comitesque ruit. Aurelianus Romam firmioribus muris vallat. Euticianus papa patitur. Succedit Gaius, vicesimus sextus, annis.

269

269.1 Aurelianus occiditur. Succedit Tacitus mensibus vi, quo occiso, succedit Florianus mensibus iii. Illo etiam ocisso, probus regnat annis vi mensibus quatuor.

270

270.1 Manicheorum heresis oritur.

271

271.1 Probus vir illustris tenuus ac iustus Aurelianus pene gloria militari equavit, sed morum civilitate superavit. Hic cum bella innumera gessisset, pace parata dixit brevi milites necessarios non futuros.

272

273

273.1 Archelaus Mesopotamie episcopus contra Manicheum volumine insigni disputat.

274

275

276

276.1 Probus tumultu militari occiditur. Succedit Carus cum filiis suis Carino et Numeriano, annis ii mensibus ii.

277

277.1 Carus cum Parthorum regione vastata super Tigrum castra posuisset, fulminis ictu interiit.

278

278.1 Numerianus cum on dolorem oculorum in lectica veheretur, dolo apri soceri sui occiditur, vix hoc ferore cadaveris post aliquos dies comperto. Succedit Diocletianus annis xx. Hic Dalmate scribe filius moratus callide sagax admodum subtilis ingenio, severitatem suam aliena invidia explere consuevit. Primus circa Romanam libertatem adorare ut Deum se fecit, cum ante illum imperatores salutarentur. Contigit illi quod nulli, ut primatus inter dominos referretur.

279

280

280.1 Carus, sumpta purpura, Britannias occupat. Narseus bellum iudicit orienti. Quinque gentiani Affricam infestant, Egyptum Athilleus occupat, ob qua tamen Constantius et Maximianus cesares in consortium imperii a Dioclitiano assumuntur.

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285

285.1 Gaius papa instituit, ut per omnes grados ecclesiasticos ascendat episcopus futurus. Passus est Sanctus Albanus.

286

287

287.1 Gaius papa obiit. Succedit Marcellinus vicesimus septimus, anni viii.

288

288.1 Diocletianus vestibibus et calceamentis suis gemmas interferi decit, cum ante eum imperatores clamide purpurea plus habitu privato induerentur. Persecutio contra ecclesiam tam gravis, ut intra xxx dies xvii milia passi sint, Marcellianus etiam papa cum primo intolerabilis sacrificare compulsus esset, postmodum prima ductus, capite plexus est. Succedit Macellus, post Petrum tricesimus octavus, annis v. Maximianus a Narseo ictus cum Diocletiano in nomine occurrisset, tanta ab eo insolentia fertur exceptus, ut per aliquot miliaria purpuratus tradatur, ad vehiculum cucurrisset.

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295.1 Maximianus victo Narseo, cum honore a Diocletiano recipitur.

296

297

297.1 Diocletianus et Maximianus ingenti pompa, Rome victo Narseo triumphant.

Primus annus persecutionis sub Diocletiano magne, que x annis duravit. Hoc anno scilicet, Diocletiani anno xix, mense Marcio, ecclesie subverse sunt. Terremotus ingens apud Tyrum et Sinonem, populum innumerum oppresit.

298

298.1 Diocletianus Nicomedie Maximianus Mecholani, uno die ex conducto propriam deposuerunt, ut ipsis in quiete senescentibus, iuniores rem publicam amministrarent. Sucedunt Galerius Maximianus et Constantius qui imperium inter se diviserunt. Constantius vir tranquilissimus Galliis et Hispaniis contentus, reliquum Galerio concessit. Marcellus papa a Maximiano primo fustibus ceditur. Denique cum audisset quod in domo Lucine matrone missas in media civitate celebraret, iussit ibidem stabulum fieri publicum et Beatum Marcellum publicorum animalium custodie deputari, ubi multo tempore indutus cilicio patientus serinens, ob et a Johanne presbitero cum aromatibus cimiterio Priscille sepelitur.

299

299.1 Constantius Eboraci obit. Succedit in partem imperii patris Constantinus filius eius, ex Helena concubina natus, annis xxx mensibus x, vir primo imperii tempore, optimus ultimo mediis principibus comparandus. Innumere in eo animi corporis que virtutes claruerunt, militari gloria summus, fortuna paret industria, civilibus armis et studiis liberalibus deditus; affeccator iusti amoris, in amicos egregius, verum ex insolentia rerum secundarum, aliquantulum ex illa favorabilis animi docilitate tandem mutatus est.

300

300.1 Maxentius Maximiani Herculii filius Rome a militibus pretorianis Augustus appellatur. Severus a Galerio Maximiano contra Maxentium missus, Ravenne interficitur. Eusebius papa mensibus viii. Succedit Melchiades. Hic decrevit ut die Dominico et v ferie nemo ieiunet, eo quod pagani hos dies ieiunio celebrent.

301

301.1 Licinius a Galerio imperator factus est. Herculus Maximianus cum filium Maxentium imperio privare conaretur nec posset, ad Constantinum generum suum eadem causa divertitur, sed detecto eius dolo per filiam Faustani fugiens, Marsilie occiditur.

302

303

303.1 Galerius persecutor ecclesie, vermibus consumptus, obit. Licinio parti sue succedente, Melchiatas papa obit. Succedit Silvester tricesimus primus, annis xxiii.

304

304.1 Sub Maxentio, passa est beata Katerina.

305

306

306.1 Orto inter Maxentium et Constantinum bello civili; Maxentius apud pontem Milvium occiditur, Constantino partes eius occupante. Bellum civile adversus Licinium; tandem vero post annos x, pax ecclesie reddita est baptizato per Silvestrum Constantino. Helena filio baptizato. De Britanniis scripsit, ut Iudeos Christiani negantes sequeretur. Tunc Constantino et Licinio quater consiliis congregati sunt cum Helena, scilicet xx Iudeorum sapientissimi et cum Constantino et Silvestro, xxxiii episcopi, superatique sunt Iudei, omni Scriptura Divina.

307

308

308.1 Dioclitianus in villa sua privatus moritur. Solusque omnium privatus inter deos refertur.

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313

313.1 Crispus et Constantius filius Constantini et Licinius filius Licinii Cesares appellantur.

314

314.1 Alexandrie ordinatur Alexander episcopus a quo Arrius ab ecclesia eiectus, multos secum trahit.

315

316

316.1 Constantinus prohibuit occidi Christianos et templa paganorum iussit claudi. Concilium Nicenum cccxviii episcoporum, xvii kalendis Iulii, exposita fide catholica Arrium, Fotinum, Sabellium que cum sequatibus suis condemnavit. Intererant huic concilio Silvesteri papa legati Vincentius et Victor presbiteri. Eodem tempore Silvester papa, in urbe Roma convocatis cclxxvii episcopis eundem Arrium condemnavit. Ibi etiam decretum est, ne clericum inferioris gradus presbitero vel episcopo crimen inferat. Ut crisma sanctam ab episcopo conficiatur; ut puro lineo corpus Christi offeratur, ut baptizatum liniat presbiter; ut dalmaticis in ecclesia utatur; ut pallio linostemo lena subdiaconorum tegatur.

317

318

318.1 Licinii duo cum Crispo occiduntur.

319

319.1 Vicennalia Constantini aguntur Arrius primam simulans et fictani fidem scribens ab exilio revocatus est per Constantinus principem, qui reversus sic Constantino iuravit. Si non credimus patrem et filium et Spiritum Sanctum sicut credit Ecclesia Catholica, iudex sit nobis Deus et hic et in futuro, Constantinus autem et ei inde gavisus tamen eum et complices suos in Ecclesia Catholicis communicare non permisit donec episcoporum de temporis fieret iudicium. Constantinus autem interim volens Arrium probare ad palatium interim convocat, sub iureiurando de Niceni concilii decretis interogat. At ille fecte suam sectam sub alia habens, sic iuravit esse,

quam vero tempora dies Sabbatum erat, iussit eum imperator in crastino ad communionem accdere. In aula ergo a militibus Eusebii honoratus in crastino cum pompa et honorifice ad ecclesiam communicaturus deducitur. Sed beato episcopo Alexandro sub altari tota, ut dicitur, nocte et usque ad illam horam in oratione prostrato, cum ad forum Constantini ubi pars Sancte Crucis dicitur honorifice reportata pervenisset, totus interius concusset que tremefactus ad lacrimas secessit, ibi animam cum visceribus per posteriora digna sibi morte et loco egressit.

320

321

321.1 Donatus a quo Donatiste.

322

323

324

324.1 Iuvencus presbiter, ewangelia heroicis, versibus explicat. Porfirius ab exilio revocatur.

325

325.1 Edicto Constantini gentilium templa subvertuntur.

326

326.1 Constantinus filius Constantini ad regnum provehitur. Pestilentia et fame in Syria et Cilicia mortalitas hominum magna.

327

327.1 Silvester papa obit. Succedit Marcus hic petitione Sancti Athanasii aliorumque Egypti catholicorum lxx capitula Niceni concilii in Egyptum misit, eo quod omnia catholice fidei monimenta ab Arrianis combusta quererentur Egyptii. Marcius papa obit. Succedit Iulius tricesimus quartus, annis xvi mensibus ix.

328

329

329.1 Tricennalia Constantini aguntur. Ieronimus nascitur.

330

330.1 Constantinus Magnus filius Constantii et Helene imperio tribus filius scilicet Constantino, Constantio et Constanti delegato, diem clausit extremum. Constantinus cura Constantino et Constante fratribus regnavit annis xxvii.

331

331.1 Iacobus Nisibensis episcopus insignis habetur.

332

332.1 Ex hoc tempore impietas Arrii Constantii regis fulta presidio. Exiliis, carceribus variis que afflictionibus, premium Athanasium deinde imnes non sue partis persecuta

est episcopus. Iulius etiam papa in exilium mensibus x missus mortuo Constantino cum gloria remeavit.

333

333.1 Constantinus filius Constantini in bello quod fratri Constantio intulerat occiditur.

Iulius papa angelico ammonitu corpus Sancti Clementis ad litus transferens, ecclesiam in locore ei fabricat delatis secum de corpore sancto Romam reliquit.

Eodem etiam die quo reliquias cum summo honore receperunt Romani sepulcrum quod ante latu erat sub mari super undas cum terra proxima insulam fecit, ubi constructa basilica et congregatione usque in presens navigio illuc itur.

334

335

335.1 Macedonius episcopus a quo heresis Macedoniana.

336

337

337.1 Sapor Persarum rex Christianos persequitur.

338

339

340

341

341.1 Solis eclipsis. Bellum Persicum. Ex novem gravissimis contra Persas prelus, millum Constantio prosperum fuit. Arriani Ierosolime cathedram invadunt.

342

342.1 Magnentio apud Augustidunum imperium arciante, Constans occiditur. Unde turbata republica, veterani Murse et Nepotianus Rome imperatores funit. Nepotianus occiditur capudque eius cum filo per orbem circumfertur.

343

343.1 Magnentius Murse vincitur.

344

344.1 Iulius papa obit. Succedit Liberius annis xix.

345

346

346.1 Magnentius Lugduno se interimit.

347

347.1 Gennadius retor. Donatus gramaticus. Victorinus orator insignes habentur.

348

348.1 Quidam donatiste montenses dicuntur eoque Cartagine cum magistro pulsi Rome ecclesiam in monte habuerunt. Eusebius Vercellensis lucifer que cum pluribus Gallie episcopis et presbiteris et diacono Hyllario ab Arianis et Constancio dampnantur exilio. Iulianus Cesar dicitur.

349

349.1 Antonius monachus obit. Hylarius pictavensis Arianorum factione in Frigiam pulsus libros de nostra religione scribit. Reliquie Timothei apostoli Constantinopolim invehuntur. Liberius papa in exilium truditur. Iurantibus autem clericis quod nullum loco eius reciperent. Felix tamen ab Arrianis indruditur, consentibus illi tandem clericis non nullus et periurio pollutis. Liberius tandem dedio victus in hereticam pravitatem subscribens felice deposito ad sedem redit.

350

350.1 Monasterium Sancti Antoni a paganis est destructum. Nichomedia terremotu evertitur.

351

352

352.1 Omnes pene tot orbe ecclesie sub nomine pacis et religionis Arrianorum polluuntur.

343

354

354.1 Augustinus nascitur.

355

355.1 Heresis antropomorphitarum oritur.

356

357

357.1 Constantius obit. Succedit Iulianus Apostata, annis ii mensibus viii. Iuliano ad cultum Ydolorum converso, blanda persecutio fuit illiciens magna quam compellens in qua multi propria voluntate corruerunt, hic liberalibus studiis ad prime eruditus memorie tenacis et ample dacundie ingentis et prompte philosophoproprior, civilis in cunctos, avidus glorie et per hoc annum plerumque inmodici.

358

358.1 Eusebius et Lucifer de exilio vocantur.

359

359.1 Prohibito per edictum imperiale ne Christiani liberalium arcium scolas tenerent, Pheius sophista Atheniensis cum sibi specialiter scolas tenere concederetur a Iuliano sponte cessit. Ecclesie antiochie clauduntur. Sanctus Eliphius presente Iuliano decollatus in prato ameno prope fluminis rimpam quod vera dicitur capud proprium utrisque manibus vinctis iudentibus cunctis per miliare usque ad montem

deculit. Rupes vero Alba adveniēti gremium aperiens locum concavum et aptum frater se sedenti dedit, qui mons usque hodie mons sancti Eliphii dicitur.

360

360.1 Iulianus odio nominis Christiani collectis undique ex cunctis regionibus Iudeis templum Ierosolimis reparare permisit, sed subitis terremotibus omnia a fundo evertēbantur. Calx et lapides congesti, turbine subito dispergebantur. Ignis etiam ab uno erumpens plures conbusserit, unde et residui perterriti, omissoque ceperant conversi sunt ad Christum et ne casu putaretur sanctum nocti sequenti in omnium vestibus crucis repertum est signaculum. Iulianus in preside latera lancea perfossus, sanguinem propria manu in aera spargens clamavit. Vicisti Galilee, vicisti sic demonibus quibus se dederat animam tradidit. Succedit Iovinianus mensibus viii. Hic cum a militibus ad imperium impelletur, reliquit se Christianum infidelibus nolle imperare. Cumque omnis se sibi consimiles fieri pollicerentur, adquevit, qui nidore parietum nuper constructorum prunarumque quas instante frigore in cubiculum in magna quantitate congeri fecerat, extinctus est.

361

361.1 Mortuo Ioviniano, succedit Valentinianus, cum fratre Valente, annis xi mensibus v.

362

362.1 Beatus Nicholas migrat ad Dominum.

363

363.1 Terremotus magnus et maris a litore egressio, multa milia hominum ex civitatibus oppresserunt. Liberius papa obit. Succedit Damasus tricesimus septimus, annis xix. Hic statuit, ut psalmi nocte et die in ecclesia cantentur. Ursinus antipapa a parte Damasi occiditur. Valens ab Eudoxio arriano baptizatus est, nostros persequens.

364

364.1 Gratianus filius Valentiniani ambianus imperator creatur. Apud Artebatas lana plume mixta descendit.

365

365.1 Sanctus Hillarius obit.

366

366.1 Eusebius vercellensis obit.

367

367.1 Lucifer Caralitanus obit, qui nuncquam Arrianis secus miscuit. Basiliius magnus clarus habetur.

368

369

369.1 Didimus Alexandrinus qui a quinto anno nativitatis lumine orbatus Divina Scriptura plene eruditus erat, multa per notarios composuit.

370

370.1 Eonomius heresim sui nominis facit. Ordinatio sancti Martinii.

371

371.1 Sancta Melania floret.

372

372.1 Ordinatio sancti Abrosii per quem omnis Italia ab Arriana perfidia liberatur.

Sanctus Patricius in Britannia nascitur ex Calpurn presbitero et sorore sancti Martini.

Hoc tempore floruerunt in Egipto, illa beatorum monachorum preciosa examina.

373

373.1 Valentinianus apoplexis obit. Succedit Valens frater eius cum Gratiano et Valentiniano filiis fratris.

374

374.1 Valens lege data monachos militare cogit, nolentes fustibus mactat. Fotinus

obit, unde Fotiniani. Basilius Cesariensis clarus habetur, qui multa continentie et

ingeniis bona una superbie malo perdidit.

375

375.1 Legiones romane a Gothis usque ad internicionem ceduntur, ubi dum Valens graviter vulneratus in villulam declinasset, incensa domo ubi erat, etiam sepultura caruit. Succedunt Gratianus et Valentinianus fratres.

376

376.1 Gracianus Theodosium in consortium regni accipit et orientem ei tradit.

Priscilianus episcopus unde heresis Priscilianistarum.

377

378

379

380

380.1 Sinodus c. I. patrum in Augusta contra Macedonium.

381

381.1 Damasus papa obit. Succedit Siricius tricesimus septimus, annis xv.

382

382.1 Maximus in Britannia creatur imperator, quo in Gallias transfretante, Gratianus Parisius vincitur et Lugdunum fugiens, ibidem captus, occiditur. Succedit Theodosius Romanorum imperator quadragesimus nonus, annis xi mensibus quatuor.

383

384

385

386

386.1 Maximus tyrannus vincitur et occiditur.

387

388

389

389.1 Iohannes heremita clarus habetur.

390

390.1 Valentinianus apud Viennam laqueo vitam finivit. Arbogastes magister militum Eugenium imperatorem creat.

391

391.1 Scotti et Picti Britanniam vastant.

392

392.1 Eugenius a Theodosio occiditur.

393

393.1 Claudianus poeta clarus habetur.

394

394.1 Theodosius obit. Succedit Archadius cum honorio fratre eius, annis xiiii mensibus iii.

395

395.1 Hoc anno videtur potius mortuus sanctus Martinus licet in sequenti notetur, cum legatur in die Dominica nocte defungi, qui hoc anno per G. fuit, vel forte obit nocte dominicam sequente et tunc obiit hoc anno.

396

396.1 Concilium apud Kartaginem.

397

397.1 Hoc anno obit sanctus Ambrosius in vigilia Pasche. Siricius papa obit. Succedit Anastasius tricesimus octavus, annis v. Hic statuit, ut sacerdotes Ewangelium stantes audiant.

398

398.1 Eutropius eunuchus consulatu similis et vita privatur.

399

400

400.1 Gothi duce Ragadalso Italiam invadunt.

401

401.1 Iohannes Constantinopolitanus et Teophilus Alexandrinus clari habentur, sed utrumque obscuravit invidia; hinc etiam Iohanni fertur Epiphanius episcopus Cypri dixisse: Puto quod non morieris episcopus, illeque ei cum Constantinopoli esset respondisse: Puto quod ad ecclesiam tuam vivus non redibis. Et utrumque factum esse dicitur.

402

402.1 Anastasius papa obit. Succedit Innocentius xxxix, annis xiii.

403

404

404.1 Ragadalsus a Stilicone duce vincitur.

405

405.1 Wandali, Suevi, Alani Galliam invadunt.

406

406.1 Constantius in Britannia tyrannidem accipiens, in Gallias transit.

407

407.1 Reliquie Abacuc et Michee revelantur.

408

408.1 Archadius obit. Succedit frater eius Honorius cum filio fratris Archadii Teodosio, annis xv.

409

409.1 Wandali Hispanias occupant.

410

410.1 Roma a Gothis Alarico duce capta est et ob hoc solus fuit orientalium partium hoc anno consulatus.

411

411.1 Constantinus tyrannus cum filio occiditur.

412

412.1 Gothi Gallias ingrediuntur. Innocentius papa Sabbati ieiunium instituit, quia eo die in sepulcro requievit Dominus.

413

413.1 Burgundiones partes Gallie circa Renum optinuerunt. Pelagius Brito heresim sui nominis contra gratiam divinam indurat.

414

414.1 Atalus Gothorum fretus auxilio tyrannidem in Gallia assumit.

415

415.1 Inventio sancti Stephani sociorumque eius cuius reliquias Orosius eo tempore a beato Augustino ad Ieronimum missus, primus occidenti attulit. Attalus capitur.

Pelagiani Augustino opera dante dampnantur.

416

416.1 Innocentius papa obit. Succedit ei Zozimus, annis iiii. Hic cerei benedictionem fecit.

417

417.1 Honorius Rome Attalo victo et currum preeunte triumphat.

418

419

419.1 Iterum cum alio Cartaginense Pelagiani dampnantur, cuius synodi decreta ad papam Zozimum delata sunt et confirmata. Zozimus papa obit. Succedit Bonifacius, annis iiii.

420

420.1 Wandalis pro pace data est secunda Aquitannia.

421

421.1 Constantius in consortium imperii ab Honorio assumitur. Sanctus Ieronimus obit.

422

422.1 Bonifacius papa statuit nec servum nec curie obnoxium clericum fit.

Constantius imperator obit.

423

423.1 Bonifacius papa obit. Succedit Celestinus, annis ix.

424

424.1 Honorius obit. Succedit Archadii filius, Theodosius Minor, annis xxvii. Iohannes imperium Rome arripit.

425

425.1 Theodosius Placidie et Valentiniano filio eius regnum occidentis donans contra Iohannem incidit. Quo mira celeritate subacto, regno potiuntur Valentinianus augustus appellatur. Hoc tempore extitit exordium regni francorum. Primus rex eorum Faramundus. Cum enim Alani Romanorum in vaderent partes Valentinianus contra eos Francos vincit et ob insignem Alanorum expulsionem eis per decennum relaxari fecit tributum. Unde in parvo tempore feliciter et prospere agentes usque ad omnium adumbrationem aucti sunt, cum primo gens essent minima.

426

426.1 Bonifacius apud Agros augetur, duriciis et gloria. Wandali ab Hispaniis ad Affricam transferunt.

427

427.1 Nestorius Constantinopolitanus episcopus novam heresim inducere molitur, Christum solum hominem asserens.

428

428.1 Sanctus Germanus Antisiodorensis episcopus in Britannias cum Lupo

Trecasino episcopo a Celestino papa missus, Pelagiano eas errore liberat.

Celestinus inter missas psalmos davidicos cantari instituit, cum ante tamen lectiones apostoli et evangeliorum recitarentur.

429.1

430

430.1 Beatus Augustinus libris Iuliani inter Wandalorum obsidentium tumultus in ipso fine dierum suorum respondens, gloriose obit.

431

431.1 Nestorius in Ephesina Synodo dampnatur. Primus episcopus ad Scottos mittitur, Paladius.

432

432.1 Celestinus papa obit. Succedit xliii^{us} Sixtus, annis viii. Patricius in Hyberniam mittitur episcopus.

433

433.1 Eudoxia uxor Theodosii reliquias sancti Stephani Romam detulit.

434

435

435.1 Pace facta cum Wandalis, data illis pars Affrice.

436

437

437.1 Gisericus rex Wandalorum Arrianam heresim per regnum suum inducere nolens, multos resistentes perimit.

438

438.1 Diabolus in specie Moysi Iudeis in Creta apprensus per mare ad terram promissionis eos ducere pollicitus, multos submersit. Qui autem evaserunt, conversi sunt ad Christum. Secundus francorum rex Clodio tertius Merovens.

439

440

440.1 Sixtus papa obit. Succedit Leo, annis xxi. Gisericus Siciliam invadit.

441

441.1 Sub Theodosio revelati sunt septem dormientes.

442

442.1 Huni Tracias vastant.

443

443.1 Leo papa Manicheos in urbe Latentes de latibulis erudos, oculis tocius ecclesie turpitudines suas prodere fecit et dampnare et codices suos comburere.

444

444.1 Hoc anno ix kalendis Maii Pascha celebratum est, unde ob reverentiam Passionis Dominice Natalis urbis, xi kalendis eiusdem sine Circensibus transsiit.

445

445.1 Leo instituit in canone sanctum sacrificium Immaculatam hostiam.

446

446.1 Legiones romane redio tociens succurrendi primo murum de cespite inter Britones et Scottos a mari usque ad mare construunt, sed eo facile deiecto, idem vocati fugatis hostibus, lapide furmo ibidem murum faciunt, positis custodibus per turre et per pugnacula et quasi non reversuri, valefaciunt.

447

447.1 Eutices cum esset abbas in urbe Constantinopolis Theodosi fretus auxilio heresim inducere conatur, contra quem Flavianus eiusdem urbis episcopus cum legatis papa insurgit.

448

449

450

450.1 Theodosius obit. Succedit Romanorum quinquagesimus tertius Marcinianus, annis vii mensibus ii.

450.2 Huius tempore Angli in Britannias ducibus Hors et Hengest quia stipendarii contra Scottos et Pictos, conducti venere.

450.3 Chidericus Francorum quartus.

451

452

452.1 Inventis capitis Iohannis Baptiste

453

453.1 Eutices in synodo Calcedonensi dampnatur cum complicibus.

454

455

455.1 Valentiniano Augusto ab Ethii amicis quas ipse occiderat, occiso. Maximus regnum adiit. Sed cum audito Giserici ex Africa adventu fugere disponderet, occiditur et frustatim in Tiberim proiectus, sepultura caruit. Gisericus urbem romanam omni presidio destitutam obsidet. Ad quem Leo papa egrediens Deo favente optinuit, ut cuncti omnia licerent ad libitum, igni et cedi parceret et abducta sunt ad Kartaginem multa milia captivorum cum regina et filiabus.

456

457

457.1 Martianus imperator obit. Succedit Leo annis xvii. Hengest et Esc, in loco qui dicitur Crastanfordia, multis Britonibus peremptis de Cantia eos eiecerunt.

458

459

460

460.1 Heresis Acephalorum oritur.

461

461.1 Leo papa obit. Succedit Hyllarius quadragesimus quintus, annis vii mensibus vi.

462

463

463.1 Plures pugne inter Anglos et Britones.

464

465

465.1 Sidonius Antemio panagircum fecit.

466

466.1 Antemius a Leone imperatore Italiam missus, imperium sumit.

467

467.1 Victorius iussu Hyllarii papa pape paschalem cyclum d xxxii annorum scribit.

468

469

469.1 Hyllarius papa obit. Succedit Simplicius quadragesimus sextus, annis xv.

470

471

471.1 Richimer patricius Olibrium imperatorem faciens Antemius, cum gravi urbem clade occidit, defunctusque est die quadragesimo, Olibrius vero mense imperii septimo. Cui succedit Glicerius.

472

473

473.1 Leo senior obit. Succedit Leo iunior.

474

474.1 Leo iunior Zenonem socerum suum manu propria coronans, vita discessit.

474.2 Successit Zeno, annis xvii.

474.3 Childericus rex Francorum obit, cui succedit Clodovens rex Francorum quinto. Hic primo regnum suum usque Sequanam. Deinde ad Ligerim dilatavit. Postmodum Alemannorum rege victo, sibi eos subiugavit. Hic primus regum Francorum cum sororibus duabus et tribus milibus virorum a beato Remigio die Pasche baptizatus est. Hic Alarico devicto, ab Anastasio primo coronam auream deinde diadema aureum et purpuram acceptusque est, regie celsitudinis insigne, sepultus est Parisius.

475

476

477

477.1 Odoacer regnum occidentis occupat. Zeno Leonem Leonis filium occidere querit sed mater alio pro illo substituto, eum in clericatu multo tempore occuluit. Elle cum tribus filiis adiens Britannias, cesis incolis Andredelage optinuit.

478

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484

485

485.1 Corpus Sancti Barnabe apostoli revelatur et ewangelium Mathei ipso revelante invenitur.

Simplicius papa obit, succedit Felix, quadragesimus septimus, annis viii. Honoricus rex

Wandalorum Arrianis exulatis cccxxxiiii episcopis catholicis, linguas vel manus multorum

abscidit, nec tamen loquelam catholice fidei eripere potuit. Ecclesias clausit. Elle Britones apud

Mercredesburnam vicit.

486

487

488

488.1 Theodoricus Italiam visso Zenonis adiens Odoacrum vicit. Hengest obit,

succedit Esc filius eius in regno Cantuariorum, annis xxiiii.

489

490

491

491.1 Sanctus Mamertus Viennensis episcopus letanias sollempnes Ascensionem Domini ob imminentem cladem instituit. Sanctus Patricius obit. Zeno imperator obit, succedit Anastasius, annis xxvii.

491.2 Hic mendicii dogma declinavit.

492

493

493.1 Felix papa obit.

493.2 Succedit Gelasius xlviii annis iiii mensibus x. Francorum septimus Theodricus.

494

495

496

497

497.1 Gelasius papa obit. Succedit Anastasius quadragesimus nonus.

498

498.1 Anastasius papa obit. Succedit Simachus i annis xv Antipapa Laurentius.

499

500

501

501.1 Theodoricus Romama veniens, senatum affabiliter tractat.

502

503

503.1 Port et duo filii eius in Britanniis applicant, in loco qui dicitur Portesmuthe.

504

505

506

506.1 Simacus papa multa in exules episcopos et pauperes erogat.

507

508

508.1 Theodoricus contra Francos exercitus dirigens Gallias ab eis liberat.

509

510

511

511.1 Arrianus quidam Olimpius nomine, cum Christum in balneis blasphemaret Cartagine, ignis iaculo visibiliter combustus est. Idem episcopus Arrianus, Barnabas nomine, cum quendam baptizans diceret: In nomine Patris per Filium in Spiritu Sancto baptizo te. Aqua que in fonte erat, nusquam comparuit.

512

513

513.1 Simacus papa obit. Succedit Ormisda, quinquagesimus primus, annis viii.

514

514.1 Cassiodorus consul.

515

516

516.1 Fulgencius Leonardus Boetius Sidonius hiis temporibus claruerunt.

517

518

518.1 Anastasius imperator, fulmine combustus est. Hic numquam hostes subegit que numquam recte fidei consensusit. Ormisda papa clerum composuit psalmisque erudit.

518.2 Francorum septimus Theodebertus.

518.3 Romanorum quinquagesimus octavus Iustinus senior, annis viii. Hic nomen hereticorum cepit extinguere et ecclesias catholicas instaurare.

519

520

521

521.1 Ormisda papa obit. Succedit Iohannes, annis ii.

522

523

523.1 Theodoricus cum Arrianus esset, Iohannem papam cum aliis ad Iustinum misit, ut ab hereticos persecutione desisteret; alioquin ipse omnis Italie catholicos interficeret. Iohannes papa videntibus cunctis, ceco lumen in porta Constantinopolitana restituit. Theodoricus Iohannem papam legionem peracta fame peremit, invidens ei qui ab imperatore honorabatur Simacum etiam patricium virum nobilem et Boetium generum eius, in exilio interfecit.

524

524.1 Iohannes papa obit. Succedit Felix quartus, annis iii mensibus ii.

525

525.1 Theodoricus subita morte obit.

525.2 Gothi Athalaricum filium eius cum matre sua loco eius substituunt.

525.3 Catholici in Affrica post lxxiiii annos ab Hilderico rege pacem accipiunt et ab exilio revocantur.

526

526.1 Hoc anno Dionisius Exiguus compotum suum composuit. Sanctus Benedictus abbas virtutum gloria insignis heretur. Iustinus imperator obit. Succedit Iustinianus filius sororis eius, annis xxxviii.

527

528

529

529.1 Corpus Sancti Antonii revelatur.

530

530.1 Felix papa obit. Succedit Bonifacius quinquagesimus quartus annis ii.

531

531.1 Bonifacius papa obit. Succedit Iohannes, annis ii.

532

532.1 Iustinianus leges Romanorum quas in unum redegerat, promulgavit.

532.2 Erat idem princeps fide catholicus in operibus rectus in iudiciis iterus. Illoque omnia concurrebant ei in bonum.

532.3 Hoc anno Dionisius Exiguus circulos paschales computit.

533

533.1 Iohannes papa obit. Succedit Agapitius, quinquagesimus sextus. Athalaricus cum matre Amalwitha annis viii. Amalwitha autem filio suo defuncto, fratrem Teodadum in regnum assumit qua ipse in balneo strangulavit. Unde ut Iustinianus placaret. Agapitum papam ad eum Constantinopolis misit, qui ibi defunctus est.

534

534.1 Succedit Silverius papa. Wandalis devictis, Affrica ad Romanum imperatorem redit. Primus occidentalum Saxonum regum Cerdic obit, cui succedit Kinric filius eius.

535

535.1 Silverio papa in exilium truso, succedit Vigilus quinquagesimus octavus, annis xviii.

536

537

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541

541.1 David qui et Dewi in Walliis episcopatus accipit.

542

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548

548.1 Beatus Benedictus migravit ad Dominum hiis temporibus scilicet dubium quo anno.

548.2 Constantinopolis mortalitas hominum, unde et purificationem beate Marie ceperunt celebrare et cessavit mortalitas.

549

550

550.1 In provincia Berniciorum regnavit Ida.

551

552

552.1 Totila cum Gothis, Italiam invadit.

553

553.1 Vigilius papa obit. Huic Arator librum optulit. Succesit Pelagius quinquagesimus nonus, annis xi mensibus xi.

554

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556

556.1 Totila capta Roma, diu cum eius pacifice se habuit, cum ante crudelitatis fuisset, immense monitis, ut creditur Beati Benedicti, mitigatus.

557

557.1 Sigebertus rex Francorum fraude Helperici fratris sui occiditur. Cui successit Childericus parvulus, cum matre Brunchilda.

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561

561.1 Alle rex Devorum, annis xxx, ad cuius nostri beatus Gregorius allusit.

562

563

563.1 Priscianus Gramaticus Constantinopoli clarus.

564

564.1 Iustinianus obit. Succedit Iustinianus iunior, annis xi.

565

565.1 Pelagio successit, Iohannes papa sexagesimus, annis xiii. Columba presbiter de Scotia Britanniam veniens, Pictos convertit ad Christum.

566

566.1 Narsis Patricius missus Italiam. Totilam occiit, qui a Romanis acceratus quibus, multa bona tribuit. Neapolim recessit et Longobardos in Italiam duxit.

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571.1 Sanctus Germanus Parisiorum episcopus obit.

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574

574.1 Fortunatus poeta in Galiis.

575

575.1 Iustinus obit. Succedit Romanorum sexagesimus primus Tiberius, annis septem.

576

576.1 Gregorius Apocrisarius Constantinopoli; postea Romanus papa.

577.1 Iohannes papa obit. Succedit Benedictus sexagesimus primus, annis quatuor mensibus ii.

Sanctus Maurus obit.

578

578.1 Gregorius Euticium Constantinopolitanum episcopum presente, Tiberio ita convicit, ut librum, quem de resurrectione scripserat, cremandum indicaret.

579

579.1 Longobardi Italiam vastant, Romam obsident, a quibus monasterium sancti Benedicti xiiii anno Mauricii evertitur.

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582

582.1 Romanorum lxii^{us} Mauricius annis xxi mensibus quatuor. Benedictus papa obit. Succedit Pelagius, annis x; Francorum quintus decimus Hilpericus. Pelagius papa sine scitu Mauricii ordinatur eo quo urbem ingredi vel egredi nemo posset, obsidentibus Longobardis. Erminigiloris a patre Livigildo Gothorum rege Arriano ob catholice fidei confessionem occiditur, cuius frater Recareodus cum patri in regno successisset, omne regnum suum ad fidem convertit catholicam.

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587.1 Childebertus Francorum decimus.

588

588.1 Sanctus Colombanus Hibernensis Luxovium in Burgundia fundat. Deinde in Italia Bovium.

589

590

591

591.1 Francorum xvii Lotharius.

592

592.1 Rome inundatio tanta, ut Tiberis muros civitatis transcenderet. Ferebantur serpentes innumeri in mare cum dracone mire magnitudinis, quibus ad litus reiectis ex corruptione, ut putatur aeris, secuta est illa Perscis imaginaria, qua cum primis Pelagius papa occiditur. Succedit Gregorius papa sexagesimus tertius, annis xiii mensibus sex. Hic cum ante

consecrationem septiformi Letania instituta, sermonem faceret ad populum; subito, lxxx hominem corruerunt cessavitque quassatio. Letania autem septiformis papa vii ordines dicebatur, primo clerus, secundo abbates cum monachis, tercio abbatisse cum virginibus, quarto infantes, quinto laici mares, sexto vidue, septimo coniugate.

593

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595

595.1 Gregorius congregata synodo xxiiii episcoporum ad corpus beati Petri, inter alia statuit, ut diaconi divinis et ministerio altaris non vocis modulationi serviant; monachi subverso monasterio sancti Benedicti Romam cum regula magistri adeunt. Sanctus Gregorius divino admonitus instinctu, servuum Dei Augustinum cum pluribus aliis monachis in Angliam misit.

596

596.1 Beatus Augustinus anno ab adventu Anglorum cento quadragesimo septimo venit in Angliam, regemque Cantuariorum convertit.

597

597.1 Beatus Augustinus regio fretus auxilio ecclesiam antiquo Romanorum opere constructam in Dorverni metropoli resarcivit et in nomine salvatoris consecravit.

598

599

599.1 Ceolwis filius Cute rex Westsaxonium.

600

601

601.1 Sanctus Yvo in Angliam obit.

602

602.1 Francorum xviii Theodebertus. Beatus Gregorius Augustino Londoniensi et Eboracensi scribens missis a sede apostolica palliis metropolitans esse decrevit.

603

603.1 Mauricius imperator cum filiis a Foca qui fuit strator Prisci patricii occiditur, succedit Focas, annis viii.

603.2 Mauricius imperator primus fuit Grecorum. Huic Tiberius imminente die obitus, filiam regis ornatam dedit insignibus dicens: Sit tibi imperium meum cum hac puella concessum. Huic sanctus Gregorius tam amicus fuisse dicitur, ut filium eius fonte sacro susciperet. Hic affinitate coniunctus est persarum principi Cosdroe nomine. Filiam enim suam Mariam nomine eidem dedit in uxorem, cuius occasione baptizatus dicitur Cosdroe, et fidem cum Romanis servasse inviolatam. Verum ut audivit Mauricium cum filiis a Foca crudeliter trucidatum Focamque, imperium optinuisse, detestatus et celum et gentem que talem sibi regem assumpsit, in soceri ultionem fines Romanorum invadit; depopulatur provincias; Siriam occupat.

604

604.1 Ymago Foce Romam defertur, ei que a clero et senatu conclamatum est.

Sanctus Augustinus ordinatis episcopis Mellito et Beato Laurentio loco suo substituto, non multo post tempore migravit ad Dominum.

605

605.1 Sanctus Gregorius obit. Succesit Sabinianus sexagesimus quartus.

606

607

607.1 Sabinianus papa obit. Succedit Bonifacius. Hic impetravit Pantheon a Foca ut in omnium sanctorum templum verteretur, sedit annis vi.

608

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611

611.1 Perse Romanis multas provincias inter quas et Ierosolimam abstulerunt et vexillum sancte crucis asportaverunt. Sanctus Dewi in Wallis migravit ad Dominum.

611.2 Heraclius qui Affrice preerat, occiso Foca, regnavit pro eo annis xxvii. Hic terras et provincias quas perse Romanis abstulerant recuperavit et fines persarum ingressus singulare cum filio Cosdroe ecclesiam commissit ipsoque superato Persas sibi subiugavit et crucem

sanctam quam Cosdroe asportaverat, Ierosolimam reportavit. Quo adhuc in Cilicia existente, cum victor cum cruce Domini remearet de Perside, Homar filius Tabath, a Macumeto tertius cum infinita arabum multitudine Siriam ingreditur cumque imperator quia impar tante multitudi-
cessisset, omnes regiones a Laodicia Sirie usque in Egyptum occupavit. Ierosolimam ingressus, non multo post templum, qui nunc usque cernitur, edificavit, possessiones et facultates innumeras ad sarta tecta reficienda et luminaria concinnanda statuit.

612

612.1 Bonifacius papa obit. Succedit Deusdedit, annis quatuor. Hic constituit secundam missam in clero. Terremotus magnus et lues post terremotus.

613

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617.1 Dagobertus rex Francorum decimus nonus

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619.1 Deusdedit papa obit. Succedit Bonifacius. Hic constituit, ut nullus de ecclesia vinculis abstrahatur.

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623.1 Bonifacius papa obit. Succedit Honorius.

624

625

625.1 Laurentius Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obit. Succedit Mellitus Londoniensis, cui Iustus Rofensis.

626

626.1 Paulinus episcopus Northambrorum.

627

627.1 Penda rex Merciorum.

628

628.1 Paulinus Edwinum regem Northambrorum convertit.

629

629.1 Honorius papa pallium Paulino misit.

630

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632

632.1 Edwino occiso, Paulinus episcopus cum regina Cantiam adit et episcopatum Rofensem regit.

633

634

634.1 Clodoveus filius Dagoberti francorum vicesimus in Neustria.

634.2 Frater autem eius Sigebertus regnavit in Austria.

635

635.1 Westsaxones regnante rege eorum Cinisgilo fidem Christi susceperunt per beatum Birinum et rex ipse baptizatus est. Rex Oswaldus misit in Scotiam, ut antistitem modo acciperet, missoque ad eum sancto Aidano ecclesiastice institutiones ab eodem in Bernitorum regione ceperunt. Honorius papa obit et cessavit sedes, anno uno mensibus septem.

636

636.1 Felix nascione Burgundus Estanglorum episcopus Furseus de Hybernia veniens, Estanglis predicat.

636.2 Sanctus Ricarius obit.

637

637.1 Iudei in Hispania baptizantur. Severinus papa obit. Succedit Iohannes, anno uno mensibus decem.

638

638.1 Heraclius obit.

638.2 Succedit filius Constantinus quem noverca eius Martina post tres menses veneno interficiens promovet in regnum Heraclonem filium suum, annis ii.

639

639.1 Ysidor Hispaniensis episcopus. Erconbert rex Cantuariorum cuius uxor sancta Sexburga.

639.2 Senatus Martinam lingua abscisa cum filio naso privato expellens, Constantinum filium Heraclii in imperium sublimavit. Quo post sex menses defuncto succedit filius eius Constantinus , annis viginti et septem. Hic ab hereticis monoscelitis deceptus est sicut et avus eius Heraclius.

640

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643.1 Oswaldus rex Deirorum in prelio occiditur. Succedit frater eius Oswinus. Kinewale rex Westsaxonum hinc ecclesiam Wintonie episcopalem construxit. Theodorus papa obit. Succedit Martinus octogesimus tertius, annis vi mensibus ii.

644

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646.1 Kenwald rex Estanglorum baptizatur a Felice. Felix episcopus obit.

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651.1 Eugenius papa Martino in exilio mortuo succedit. Oswino rege occiso, succedit Oswaldus. Vitalianus papa lxxv. Aidanus episcopus obit. Honorio archiepiscopo Doroberine defuncto,

succedit Deusdedit. Mediterranei Angli sub Peada principe filio Pende regis Merciorum convertuntur ad Christum. Baptizato ipso principe a Finano Northanimbrorum episcopo. Constantinus imperator misit Vitaliano ewangelia aurea gemmis mire magnitudinis ornata. Sanctus Botulfus in loco qui dicitur Hicanho monasterium construxit.

652

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655

655.1 Oswius rex, devicto rege Merciorum Penda, Merciorum ad Christum converti fecit et episcopum de Scottorum gente constituit.

656

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658

658.1 Hilda abbatissa in loco qui dicitur Streoneshal.

659

660

660.1 Egfrid filius Oswii Edreldredam Anne orientalium Anglorum regis filiam coniugens accepit.

660.2 *Clodovens filius Daguberti diros filius reges reliquit. Childericum in Austria. Clotarium vero in Neustria. Inter Renium et Mosam est Austria. Inter mosam et Ligerim Neustria quia nova Austria qui nunc Franconia vel Francia dicitur. Wandregisilus abbas Fontanelle.*

661

662

663

663.1 *Constantinus Romam veniens muneribus preciosis ecclesiam sancti Petri ditavit.*

664

664.1 *Eclipsis solis, lues magna. Erconbertus rex obit. Deusdedit archiepiscopus obit. Ethelbarc abbatissa obit. Boisilus monachus obit.*

664.2 *Ordinatio sancti Wilfridi.*

665

666

667

667.1 *Vuiardus electus in archiepiscopatum Dorobernensem Romam ad consecrandum missus, ibi obit. Romanus autem pontifex Theodorum monachum moribus et scientia clarum ordinans in archiepiscopatum eum cum abbate Adriano in Angliam missit, duce Benedicto Biscop nomine.*

Constantinus in balneo occiditur. Succedit filius eius Constantinus annis xvii. Vitalianus papa obit. Succedit a Deodatus sexagesimus septimus, annis quattuor mensibus ii.

668

669

669.1 *Theodorus archiepiscopus Ceddam episcopum Merciorum ordinat. Puttam Rofensem Benedictum Biscop abbatem beati Petri Cantuarie.*

670

670.1 *Oswinus rex obit. Succedit Egfridus. Saraceni Siciliam depopulantur.*

671

671.1 *Benedictus Biscop Adriano cedens monasterium ad hostium Wiri fluminis fundat.*

672

672.1 *Etheldreda regina velamen accipit a Wilfrido episcopo. Cedde Merciorum episcopus obit.*

673

673.1 *Conus papa sexagesimus septimus anno uno mensibus sex. Theodorus archiepiscopus Dorvernensis concilium apud Hoerreford cogit. Sancta Etheldreda abbatissa fit apud Elye constructo ibi virginum monasterio.*

674

674.1 *Hoc anno translatum est corpus sancti Benedicti in Gallias.*

674.2 *Sanctus Guthlacus nascitur.*

675

675.1 Agatho papa sexagesimus octavus, annis ii mensibus septem. *Wlfere rex Merciorum omnem Ydolorum cultum a regione extirpavit. Cuius uxor sancta Ermenilda sancte Sexburge filia et sancte Etheldrede neptis peperit ei sanctam Werbingam.*

676

676.1 Agatho papa rogatu Constantini legatos Constantinopolim misit qui tanto favore suscepti sunt, ut unus eorum Iohannes Portuensis episcopus in octavis Pasche publice missas latine celebraret, presentibus imperatore et patriarcha. *Celebrata est Constantinopoli in palatio Constantini legatis Romani pontificis assidentibus cum imperatore synodiis et episcoporum dampnati que sunt et anathematizati omnes qui unam in Christo operationem astruehant. Et hoc est sexta universalis Synodus.* Prima in Nicena ecclesiarum trescentorum xviii patrum sub Constantino magno tempore Silvestri. Secunda Constantinopolis contra Macedonium et suos sub Gratiano tempore Damasi, centum quinquaginta patrum. Tercia Ephesi contra Nestorium ducentorum patrum sub Theodosio Magno, tempore Celestini. Quarta Calcedone sexcentorum xxx patrum sub Marciano principe temporibus Leonis papa. Quinta Constantinopolis contra Theodoum et omnes hereticos sub Iustiniano tempore Vigilius papa. Sexta hec de qua nunc agimus sub Constantino Heraclio et Tiberio principibus tempore Agathonis papa.

676.2 Benedictus Biscop quarto Romam adiens monasterio quod fundaverat privilegiato, Iohannem archicantorem Beati Petri secum Britanniam ducit, ut cursus cantandi annum secundum morem Romanum Britannos duceret. *Ethelred rex Merciorum Cantiam vastat.*

677

677.1 Leo papa sexagesimus nonus. *Beda nascitur. Wilfridus Fresie* verbum Dei predicat, *Roma tendens illuc iactatur, maris sevitia et ventorum.*

678

679

679.1 *Benedictus papa octogesimus.* Iste ab infantia in ecclesia militavit et *paupertatis amator* pro Christo semper fuit. Wilfridus de Fresia Romam proficiscitur et a Roma purgatus a crimine redit in iecto cum benedictione apostolica redit et Suthsaxones ad Christum convertit. *Beata Etheldreda obit, cui succedit Sexberga* soror eius.

680

680.1 *Hilda abbatissa obit.* Tempore *Atheldredi Merciorum regis* provincia *Merciorum* in *v* *parochias est divisa, Theodoro archiepiscopo cooperante cum Iohanne archicantore legato Romano.*

681

682

682.1 *Ansbertus archiepiscopus Rotomagi.*

683

684

684.1 *Benedictus papa obit. Egfridus rex Hibernam vastat.*

685

685.1 *Iohannes papa octogesimus primus. Constantinus obit, succedit filius eius Iustinianus, annis x. Egfridus rex Northanimbrorum obit, succedit filius eius Alfridus. Lutherius Cantuariorum rex obit. Pestilentia in Britannia. Ordinatio sancti Cuthberti.*

686

686.1 *Conon papa octogesimus secundus. Wilfridus post longum exilium ecclesie sue scilicet Augustaldunis restituitur. Iohanne ad Eboracum translato, qui eo expulso, eam rexerat. Cedwalla rex Gewisorum susexiam et Cantiam vastat.*

687

687.1 *Sanctus Cuthbertus obit, Kilianus Wirzeburnensis episcopus clarus habetur.*

688

688.1 *Sergius papa octogesimus tertius, annis xiii mensibus ix. Pippinus Angisi filius Francos regis, nepos Sancti Arnulfi maior scilicet domus regie.*

689

689.1 *Cedwala rex Abendoniam incepit. Idem rex Romam adiens, a papa Sergio vigilia Pasche baptizatus est, ibique defunctus, cui succedit Ine qui Glastingebir fundavit. Iustinianus pacem cum Saracenis fecit, annis x. Benedictus Biscop Wirensis abbas obit.*

690

690.1 *Theodorus archiepiscopus obit. Huiusque fuerunt archiepiscopi Cantuarienses Romani.*

691

691.1 *Sergius papa instituit, ut in fractione dominici corporis Agnus Dei cantetur a clero, Wilfridus denuo accusatus ab episcopatu pellitur. Victredus rex Cantuariorum.*

692

692.1 *Wilebrodus Fresie predicat. Sanctus Ecgwindus Wictoriorum episcopatum Osforo defuncto suspicit paucis inde elabentibus annis, auxilio Ethelredi et Kenredi regum monasterium Eovesham construit.*

693

693.1 *Briethwaldus archiepiscopus Dovernensis.*

693.2 *Sanctus Anbertus obit.*

694

694.1 *Iustinianus ob culpam perfidie regno pellitur.*

695

695.1 *Romanorum septuagesimus. Leo regnavit annis iii. Translatio sancte Etheldride.*

696

696.1 *Sergius papa capsellam in sacratio beati Petri evenit, et in ea crucem argenteam in qua porcionem magnam sancte crucis que in die Exaltationis deoscolatur. Wilebrordus archiepiscopus Fresie ordinatur.*

697

697.1 *Beatus Guthlacus tonsuram dominicale accipit.*

698

698.1 Tyberius contra Leonem insurgens, captum includit et pro ea regnat annis septem.

698.2 Hic Philippi, cum filium suum Necaphori in exilium trusit, eoque ex sompnoque vidit se imperatorem futurum presumpsit. Vidit enim aquilam capud sibi obumbrare. Constantinus ad Caganum turcorum regem devertens, sororem eius accepit in coniugem. *Sanctus Bertinus obit.*

699

699.1 *Beatus Guthlacus Croilandiam veniens anno vite sue xxvi, vitam ibidem duxit anachoreticam.*

700

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704

704.1 Gisulfus rex Longobardorum campania vastat et cum non esset qui ei resisteret, Iohannes papa cum donis sacerdotes ad eum mittens, eum redire facit. Iohannes papa obit. Succedit Johannes octogesimus quintus, annis ii mensibus septem. *Etheldredus rex monachus apud Bardeneiam factus. Kenredo fratri suo regum reliquit. Aldelmus episcopus.*

705

705.1 *Herebertus rex Longobardorum multa patrimonia a predecesoribus suis ablata, sedi apostolice restituit et donationem istam aureis litteris notavit. Alfridus Northanimbrorum rex obit.*

705.2 *Ordinatio beati Guthlaci.*

705.3 Cedda episcopus Merciorum Lichefeldensem ecclesiam et Legerencestre simul rexit. Postquam Wilfridus Aleicestrie ad sedem propriam reconciliatus rediit, hoc est Augustaldun. *Iustinianus auxilio regis Vulgarorum regnum recepit regnavitque annis sex. Leonem et Tiberium occidit, aliosque expulsionis sue cooperatores. Gallicano etiam patriarcha exoculato loco eius substituit Cyrum.*

706

707

708

708.1 *Sisinnius papa octogesimus sextus mense uno. Constantinus papa octogesimus septimus, annis septem mense uno quem Iustinianus ad se vocans, missas in eorum celebrare facit coronemque de Manuelus accepit pedibusque eius advolutus omnia privilegia ecclesie romane renovavit. Kinredus rex Merciorum et Offa orientalium Saxonum Romam adeuntes monachatum ibi susceperunt cum quibus et sanctus Rogwinus illuc veniens monasterium suum quod fundaverat apostolicis privilegiis munivit.*

709

709.1 *Sanctus Aldelmus obit. Sanctus Wilfridus obit.*

710

711

711.1 *Philippus a populo in imperatore electus, Iustinianum occidit, pro eo regnans anno uno mensibus sex. Hic Cyrum eiecit et pape Constantino pravi dogmatis litteras missit statuitque populus Romanus ne heretici hominis aut nominem aut figuram susciperent.*

712

713

713.1 *Anastasius Philippicum oculis privans, regnavit annos iii. Hic litteras Romam Constantino papa dirigens se catholica fidei pro pugnatorem et fautorem testatur.*

714

714.1 *Depositio beati Guthlaci quarto lumine festi Paschalis.*

715

715.1 *Constantinus papa obit. Succedit Gregorius annis xviii mensibus x. Pippinus Ansgisi filius obit cum succedit filius eius Karolus qui et ipse maior domus annis xxvii.*

716

716.1 *Ceolredus rex Merciorum obit. Succedit Ethelbaldus* sicut ei a beato Guthlaco predictum erat.

716.2 Hic insulam *Croilandie*, palis quercinis, quindecim vel eo amplius pedum, in paludem defixit et terra desuper congesta exaltavit fratribus Deo et sancto Guthlaco ibidem servitutis locum illum, sicut finibus distinguitur, cum aliis donavit.

716.3 *Ethelredus quondam rex. Abbas Bardeneie obit. Anastasius obit. Succedit Theodosius* anno uno.

717

717.1 Theodosio expulso, succedit Leo Romanorum septuagesimus sextus annis xxiii. Thiberis aluens suus cum magno Romanorum dampno egreditur diebus septem. *Sanctus Eogwinus obit. Succedit Wilfridus adhuc eo vivente et volente electus.*

718

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720

720.1 *Saraceni Constantinopolim obsident.*

721

722

722.1 *Sanctus Johannes Eboracensis apud Beverlacum ordinato, loco suo Wilfrido obit.*

723

723.1 *Saraceni confusi ad naves suas redeunt.*

724

725

725.1 *Hoc anno composuit Beda compotum suum. Withredus rex Cantuariorum obit.*

726

727

728

728.1 *Ine rex relicto regno suo, Athelando Romani proficiscitur.*

729

729.1 *Due comete prope solem mense apparuerunt Ianuario. Vir Domini Egbertus, Anglicus nascione a quo sanctus Wilebrordus Fresiam missus est in Hibernia obit. Osticus rex Northanbimbrorum obit.*

730

731

731.1 *Birchwaldus archiepiscopus obit. Succedit Tadwinus. Gregorius papa obit. Succedit Gregorius octogesimus nonus.*

732

733

733.1 Eclipsis solis. *Liwithprandus rex Longobardorum Sarracenorum irruptionem timens, reliqui ac santi Augustini Ticinis transtulit.*

734

734.1 *Tatwinus archiepiscopus obit. Succedit Nothelmus Londoniensis episcopus.*

735

735.1 *Sanctus Beda obit.*

736

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741

741.1 Hoc anno Leo imperator obit. Succedit Constantinus filius eius. Karolus filius Pippini obit.

741.2 Hic Martellus dictus est sive Tudites, eo quod Sarracenos tempore Dagoberti Aquitanniam invadentes contuderit et effregerit.

741.3 Cuius corpus apud sanctum Dionisium humatum abstractum dicitur a sacro loco et inferis ante diem Iuditii traditum, eo quod res ecclesiasticas et monachorum sub nomine bellicarum expensarum alienaverit. Que cum in visione sancto ostensum esset Eucherio, missis cum sancti Dionisii abate qui experirentur repertum est sepulcrum vacuum et quia intus exustum. Draco etiam aperto sepulcro, prodire visus est. *Succedit Pippinus*, annis xxvii. Hic primus Francorum Romanorum imperator dictus est. *Defuncto Nothelmo archiepiscopo Dovernensi, succedit Cuthbertus episcopus Herefordensis.*

742

742.1 *Gregorius papa obit.* Hic in canone misse addidit, quorum sollempnitas etcetera. *Succedit Zacharias nonagesimus.*

743

744

745

745.1 *Karolomanus Pippini frater, regni fratri relicto, Romam adit. Vitam ibi monasticam in monte Seracte egit.*

745.2 *Pippinus per legatum a Zacharia papa; que sunt utrum rex dicendus esset qui otio deditus, solum nomen eius regis tenet, vir inutilis et remissus an qui strenue pro regno die et nocte decertaret.* Cumque apostolicus illum regem dici debere respondisset qui bene rem publicam gereret. Franci hac responsione animati, Hilderico in monasterium truso, Pippinum regem statuunt et translatum est regnum.

746

747

748

748.1 Rex Aldebaldus a Bonifacio Magnuntiacensi episcopo, nascione Anglo ammonitus, concilium presidente Cuthberto archiepiscopo cogi fecit ad cleri et monachorum correptionem, in quo et ipse libertates ecclesie et religiosarum congregati onum scripto regio confirmavit.

749

750

750.1 *Pippinus, decreto Zacharie papa, in imperatorem ungitur a Bonifacio archiepiscopo Maguntino. Unde secundus locum post dominum Papam obtinet Maguntinus.*

751

752

752.1 *Zacharias papa obit. Succedit Stephanus nonagesimus primus.*

753

753.1 *Steffanus papa cum Karolomanno monacho Pippini fratre in Franciam veniens, auxilium contra Astulphum regem Longobardorum implorat.*

754

754.1 *Idem papa unxit duos filios Pippini in imperatorem Karolomannus et Magnum Karolum Parisius v kalendis Augusti. Cutbredus rex Westsaxonum obit.*

755

755.1 *Bonifacius archiepiscopus Magontinus in Fresia predicans martirizatur. Ethelbaldus rex Merciorum in Segeswald occiditur. Succedit Offa.*

756

757

757.1 *Steffanus papa obit. Succedit eius Germanus Paulus nonagesimus secundus, annis x mense una. Ethbertus Northanimbrorum rex filio suo regno relicto, tonsuram suscepit monachilem.*

758

758.1 *Cuthbertus Doavernensis archiepiscopus obit. Succedit Brigwinus.*

759

759.1 *Pippinus Saxoniam ingreditur.*

760

760.1 *Pippinus Wasconiam ingreditur.*

761

761.1 *Ethelbertus Cantuariorum rex obit.*

762.1 *Pippinus Italiam intrat, bellum contra Haistulsum init.*

763

763.1 *Pippinus Haistulphum apud Ticinum obsidet, receptisque castellis et oppidis que ipse Romanis abstulerat, obsides de non repetendo cum sacramento accepit. Brigwinus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis obit. Succedit Lambertus abbas sancti Augustini.*

764

765

766

766.1 *Translatio sanctorum Gorgonii et Nazarii in Francia. Egbertus archiepiscopus Eboraci obit. Succedit Ethelbertus.*

767

767.1 *Pippinus, finito bello Aquitannico, annis x contra Waifarium ducem Turonis orationis causa divertens indeque ad sanctum Dionisium ubi morbo intercutaneo diem clausit extremum.*

768

768.1 *Paulus papa obit. Succedit Steffanus nonagesimus tertius, annis iii. Mortuo Pippino, Karolomanus partem illam que patri sui Karolomanni postea monachi fuit, generali Francorum consensu optinuit. Karolus vero partem que patris Pippini fuit.*

768.2 Tenuit huic Romanorum imperatores a Constantinopolitanis divisi sunt.

Unterque tamen se imperatorem Romanum nominat et semper Augustum Karolus Romanorum octogesimus octavus regnavit, annis xlvi.

769

770

771

772

772.1 Karolomannus obit, totumque regnum ad Karolum Magnum devenit. Steffanus papa obit. Succedit Adrianus nonagesimus quartus, annis xxiii.

773

773.1 *Karolus Hunoldo qui post Waifarium Aquitanniam invaserat devicto, a papa Adriano contra Desiderium Longobardorum regem vocatus, illum longa obsidione papie cepit, in exilium depulit et stabilitis omnibus, Romam sancto sabbato Pasche veniens, ablata ecclesie romane et Romanis restituit. Deinde desiderio exulante et omni Italia sedata Adrianus papa convocata generali Synodo in palatio Lateranensi centum quinquaginta sex patrum et ius et potestatem ordinandi sedem apostolicam et eligendi pontificem summum, dignitatem quoque patriciatu concessit. Insuper ut episcopi ab eo investitura acciperent nec consecratur quisquam ni ab eo approbatus et investitus.*

774

775

776

776.1 *Karolus longo marte Saxones domat quoque decem milia captivorum cum uxoribus et liberis dispersit.*

777

778

778.1 *Karolus Hispaniis subactis, Britones in littore maris Gallici residentes domat. Alwoldus rex Northanimbrorum.*

779

779.1 *Offa Merciorum rex archiepiscopatum Dovernensem Lichelfeld transferre gentiens, lambriatum archiepiscopum crebris sudoribus et multis iniuriis fatigatum omnibus possessionibus et episcopatum subrektionibus qui in sua iurisdictionem erant, privavit. Optinuitque a papa Adriano ut Merciorum metropolis Lichelfeldis esset, residente ibidem archiepiscopo *Adulfo* cui et pallium impetravit, essentque eius suffraganei episcopi *Merciorum, Wigornensis, Legescenstrensis, Sindacensis, Herefordensis, Elinamensis, Dumocensis, allique orientalium Anglorum.* Remanseruntque *Cantuariensi quatuor Londoniensis, Rofensis, Wintoniensis et Sarisbiriensis.* Idem *Offa* licet quorundam monasteriorum invasor esset inter que et *Malmesbiri*am diripuit, reliquias tamen sancti *Albani* cum summo honore condens basilicam regiis expensis *edificans* adunata ibi monachorum congregatione *variis* eam *possessionibus ditavit.* Idem in amicitiam Karoli admissus, per legatum pacis*

Alquinum monachum donaria sibi et episcopalibus sedibus Anglie accepit. Hic erat Aliquinius qui pro pace in Franciam missus, captus humanitate ut creditur imperatoris ibidem resedit. Imperatore in quantum negocia permittebant publica liberalibus instituens disciplinis.

780

780.1 *Karolus iterum Saxoniam adit et eam capit.*

781

781.1 *Ethelbertus Eboracensis episcopus obit. Succedit Eambladus.*

782

782.1 *Karolus Romam adit, ibique baptizatus est filius eius Karolomannus a papa Adriano et Pipinus vocatus.*

783

783.1 *Hildegardis regina obit, pro qua Karolus aliam ducit Fastradam nomine.*

784

784.1 *Kenulfus Westsaxonum rex occiditur.*

785

785.1 *Karolus, matre sua Bertreda iuxta patrem apud sanctum Dionisium honorifice sepulta, Italiam adit.*

786

786.1 *Signum crucis in vestibus hominum apparuit.*

787

787.1 *Karolus Alemanniam a Roma adit. Danici pirate Angliam cum tribus navibus primo adiere, multarum seminarium calamitatum.*

788

789

789.1 *Karolus Sclavos qui Wlgi dicuntur, subegit. Adwoldus Northanimbrorum rex occiditur. Succedit Osredus.*

790

790.1 *Iambriccus Dorvernensis archiepiscopus obit. Eligitur Athelardus. Osredus Northanimbrorum rex occiditur. Succedit Athelred.*

791

791.1 *Karolus Pannoniam adit, Avaros et Hunos vastat.*

792

793

793.1 *Pippinus filius Karoli tonsoratur, in monasterium pulsus eoque contra patrem coniurationem fecerit, socus coniurationis occisis. Ethelbertus Estanglorum rex martirizatur.*

794

794.1 *Heresis Feliciana dampnatur. Fastrada defuncta, Karolus Liutgardam ducit. Ethelredus Northanimbrorum rex occiditur. Offa rex Merciorum obit. Succedit Egbertus, quo post paululum defuncto, succedit Kenulfus.*

795

795.1 *Adrianus papa obit. Succedit Leo nonagesimus quintus, annis xx mensibus sex.*

796

796.1 *Romani in Letania maiori, Leonem papam capiunt et erutis oculis, linguaque abscissa recludunt, qui nocte per murum evadens. Karolum adit eumque in imperatorem mungit.*

797

798

799

800

800.1 *Karolus quarta vice Romam cum Leone papa adit, multaque in curia eius et republica stabilita eumque clare videntem et plane loquentem sedi sue restituit.*

Ibique hiemans a populo Romano Augustus in Natali Domini acclamatur. Karolus ab omnibus omnium terrarum principibus honoratur.

800.2 Aalun Persarum rex inter omnes orientales potentissimus et preclarissimus ei elephantem cum donariis transmisit, sepe legatos eius suscipiens honorifice liberum ad Sepulcrum Domini accessum illi et suis concessit. Inde ergo meliorata est condicio fidelium in Ierosolimis et Siria commorantium vivente Aarun, scilicet eodem mortuo, nunc Persarum nu[n]c Egyptiorum iugo gravantur.

801

801.1 *Defuncto Brictrico, succedit Egbrictus in occidentalium Saxonum regnum.*

802

802.1 *Kenulfus pape Leonis consilio Athelardo archiepiscopo cunctaque Offa sedi Dorvernensi abstulerat, unacum dignitate metropolitani restituit.*

803

803.1 *Karolus pontem apud Magonciam ultra Renum construxit quingentorum passuum. Athelardus archiepiscopus obit. Succesit Wulfradus. Sanctus Egidius floret.*

804

805

805.1 *Leo papa in Franciam venit, a quo Wulfredus pallium suscepit. Karolus filius Karoli Boemias vastat, rege eorum Leone occiso.*

806

807

807.1 *Cuthredus Cantuariorum rex obit.*

808

808.1 *Karolus in Elemosinis et omnibus virtutibus se exerceret.*

809

810

810.1 *Reliquie beati Bartholomei a Lippare Beneventum transferuntur. Pippinus Karoli filius obit.*

Karolus multis febribus quadriennio ante mortem suam vexatur.

811

811.1 *Karolus primogenitus imperatoris obit. Ipse autem imperator vestes et thesauros omnes in tres partes divisit, duas partes per xx metropolitanas imperii sui ecclesias dispertiens. Ita ut unusquisque ex metropolitanis portionem suam in tres partes dividens, unam ecclesie sue, duas autem reliquas suffraganeis daret, capellam autem que ei quasi iure hereditario obvenit, integram successori reliquit, excepta bibliotheca et siqua erant que ipse addiderat. Ea enim omnia postmodum in precium redigens, cum omnibus etiam domus sue vasis et diversi generis utensilibus, a si obitum cuncta in servos et ancillas palatii et pauperes erogavit.*

812

812.1 *Kenulfus inter cetera que gloriose egit in dedicatione ecclesie de Winhecumbe Adbrictum Wren Cantuariorum regem in bello dudum captum sollempniter manumisit, donaria in omnes copiose effudit.*

813

813.1 Pons apud Mogontiatum conburitur, ut quidam volunt causa iuxta alios agente id consulto archiepiscopo Riculfo, propter nocturna que in eo fiebant latrocinia spoliatis in aqua proiectis.

Karolus habito conventu generali, Ludovicum de Aquitannia vocat et post publicam commonitionem omnium consensu diadema regni de altari magno Aquisgravi sumptum manibus propriis capiti suo imponere fecit, nec multo post ipse in senectute bona et devotione magna ad patres suos appositus, Aquisgravi sepelitur. Lodowicus Romanorum septuagesimus nonus regnavit annis xxvi mensibus ix.

814

815

815.1 *Lodowicus patrem imitari studet in bonis.*

816

817

817.1 *Defuncto Leone, succedit Stephanus papa vicesimus sextus, annis tribus mensibus novem. Hic in Francia veniens, imperatorem publice inungens, mire pulcritudinis coronam fecit allatam ei imposuit, aliamque regine Ermeniarde Augustas eam cognominans.*

818

819

819.1 *Kenulfus rex Merciorum obit, relicto filio septenni Kenelmo qui paucis ab hinc mensibus evolutis, insidus proprie sororis et dolo nutricii sui in silva martirizatur.*

820

820.1 *Paschalis papa nonagesimus septimus Steffano successit.*

820.2 *Ludowicus, mortua Emeniarda, ludith sibi copulat filiam Welfi ducis Bavarie. Ex Ermeniarda tres filios habuit: Lotharum, Pippinum, Lodowicum.*

821

822

823

823.1 *Egbrictus omnes regulos Anglie aut conterit aut sibi subicit. Hoc ipse primus aggressus est.*

824

824.1 *Eugenius papa nonagesimus octavus.*

825

826

826.1 *Hiis temporibus nascitur sanctus Swithunus.*

827

827.1 *Valentinianus papa nonagesimus nonus. Hic Baroldus regem Danorum de fonte levavit, uxoremque eius ludith regina suscepit.*

828

829

829.1 *Lodowicus filio Karolo ex Judith Alemanniam terram partemque Burgundie presentibus filiis ex Ermeniarda Lothario Lodowico et Pippino graviterque ferentibus concessit. Vlfredus Doruernensis archiepiscopus obit. Succedit Celnothus.*

830

830.1 *Gregorius papa centesimus.*

831

831.1 *Pippinus patrem suum regno privare nititur eo quod Karolum filium Iudit dilexit ipsam Iudith tancquam adulterii ream imacum duobus fratribus suis in monasterio recludit sed imperator mendacio deprehenso, uxorem suam precepto Gregorii papa recepit.*

832

832.1 *Bernardus dux, se coram imperatore et duobus filiis eius Lothario et Lodowico, privavit de sibi obiecto crimine adulterii.*

833

833.1 *Filii imperatoris patre capto et incluso regnum inter se partiuntur.*

834

834.1 *Egbrictus cum xxxv navibus piratarum Danensium conflagens vincitur.*

835

835.1 *Lodowicus patrem liberat Lothario qui eum tenuerat fugato. Dani cum magna classe in Cornubiam applicant, initoque cum Britonibus fedem et confortio, partes Agbruti invadunt. Egbrictus eos magna strage conterens, in fugam compellit.*

836

836.1 *Egbrictus obit. Succedit Athulfus qui et Ethelwulfus. Hunc dicunt quidam episcopum fuisse Wintonie sed urgente necessitate, regnum pro episcopatu mutasse.*

837

837.1 *Dani frequentibus irruptionibus Angliam infestant.*

838

839

839.1 *Rabanus floret. Eclipsis solis. Dani passim per Angliam cedes multas faciunt.*

840

840.1 *Lodowicus imperator obit. Hic Aliquis Theodulfum episcopum Aurelianensium quondam abbatem Floriacensem multis criminibus insimulatum Andegavis reclusit. Cumque die Palmarie presente imperatore precessio secus domini ubi servabatur transsiret, ipse voce clara et magna versus illos qui hodie in ecclesia canuntur, a se compositos modulatus est, qui sic incipiunt, Gloria laus quibus emolitus imperator et gratie et sedi pristinae eum restituit. Lotharius annis xv Romanorum septuagesimus.*

841

842

842.1 *Karolus et Lodowicus Lothario qui solus regnum et imperium arripuit victo, regni portione suscipiunt.*

842.2 *Pippinus ergo Aquitanniam optinuit.*

842.3 *Karolus Calvus a Britannico oceano usque ad Mosam. Lodowicus Germaniam et Saxoniam usque Renum. Lotharius imperator cum Roma et Italia in quod inter Iberum et Mosam iacet qui et hodie a Lothario dicitur Lotharingia.*

843

844

844.1 *Sergius papa centesimus primus.*

845

846

847

848

848.1 *Rabanus Fuldensis abbas obit.*

849

849.1 *Wlfstanus filius Wimundi filii Wiglavi regis a Berfredo Berewulfi regis Merciorum filio cognato suo in vigilia Pentecostes martirizatur.*

850

851

851.1 Ermengardis uxor Lotharii obit, tribus filiis relictis Lothario scilicet Lodowico et Karolo. *Ingens paganorum exercitus cum trecentis quinquaginta navibus Tamensem intrans, Cantuariam et Londoniam depredati sunt, regem Merciorum Bertulfum in fugam vertens, sed postea a rege Westsaxonum Athelwulpho filioque eius Athelredo post diras et duras congressiones victi et effugati sunt.*

852

852.1 *Leo papa centesimus secundus.* Iam regna particularia partim defecerunt, partim declinare ceperunt et subdicionem Westsaxonici regis insula fere tota devenire.

852.2 Egbrictus enim pater Ethelwulfi tum armis tum favore hoc primo aggressus est. Erat hic Yne de fratre Inegildo ab nepos et quia suspectus a rege Brictrico eiectus, primo apud Offam Merciorum regem commoratus indeque disturbatus apud Francos exulabat ubi et gentis illius urbanitate et armorum exercitatione informatus. Post multum temporis, Brictrico mortuo, crebro vocatus venit in Angliam, regnum suscepit et strenuissime ut dictum est ampliavit et in posteros quia monarchiam transmisit. Erant siquidem particularia Anglie regna sex preter regulos Britonum qui residui erant qui hodie Cornewalenses et Walenses dicitur.

De regibus Cantuarie.

Reges Cantuariorum in Cantia dominabantur, sub quibus erant archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et episcopus Rofensis.

De regibus Westsaxonum.

Reges Westsaxonum dominabantur Wiltesire, Berkesyre, Dorseth, quibus preest episcopus modo Sarisbirie quondam ut Ramesbirie vel Sireburnie et in Sussexia qui etiam *aliquin* habet regem proprium. Episcopus nunc est apud Cicestriam, quondam in Selesio insula ubi est monasterium sancti Wilfridi et in Cuthhamdesyre et in Suthereia quibus preest episcopus Wintoniensis et in Sumerseth habente quondam episcopum apud Wellam, modo Bathonie et in Devoniam quam Devenisyre dicimus, et in Cornubia vel Cornewallia, quibus preest episcopus Exonie, quondam duo erant ibi episcopi, unus apud Cridendonia, alterus apud Sanctum Germanum.

De regibus Merciorum.

Reges Merciorum dominabantur in Gloucestresyre et Wigornensi et Warewicensi, quibus preest episcopus apud Wigorniam et in Cestrensi, Stafordensi et Derbiensi, quibus preest episcopus Cestrie vel Conventreie quondam Lichefeldie habetque partem Warewicsyre et Scrobesoyre; et in Herefordensi habet autem episcopum apud Herefordiam qui partem Warwicsyre et Scrobessyre. Partem Glocestresyre in dyocese sua habet. Et in Oxenefordsyre, Bukingehamsyr, dimidia Hertforden, Huntedonsyre, Bedefordsyre, Norwantonsyre, Leicestresyre, Lincolnesyre, quibus preest episcopus Lincolniensis, quondam sedem habens apud Dorkecestre. Et in

Notinghamsyre cui quondam preerat Legecestrie et nunc ad archiepiscopum Eboracensem pertinet.

De regibus Estanglorum.

Reges Estanglorum in Grunthebrugensis provincia quondam de Lincolniensi dyocensis nunc habet episcopum apud Hely. Et in Northafolch et in Suthfolch, episcopatus apud Norwic, quondam apud Elmha. vel Theford fuit.

De regibus Estsaxonum.

Reges Estsaxonum in Estsexe et dimidia Herefordsyr episcopus apud Londoniam.

De regibus Northanimbrorum.

Reges Northanimbrorum in tota terra trans Humbrum fluminem usque in Scotiam ubi est archiepiscopus Eboracensis et quondam fuerunt episcopi Augustaldensis, Ripensis, Lindisfarnensis, de Candida casa, Augustasdensis et Rupensis defecerunt, Lindisfarnensis translatus est in Dunelmum. Hee erant partitiones regum et regnorum. Licet pro rerum vicissitudine, hii nunc terminos suos transgrederentur, nunc illi coartarent, usque ad Egbertum quia ex tunc Westsaxones capud extulerunt. *Aethelwulfus rex filius Egbricti filium Alfredum Romam cum magno mittit apparatu.* Hic per sanctum Grimbladum transfuit apud sanctum Bertinum quem Leo *papa in regem ungens in filium adoptivum confirmavit.*

852.3 *Contra Danos magno pugnatur dispendio in insula Thaneth.*

853

854

855

855.1 *Lotharius convocatis regni primoribus, inter tres filios regnum partitur: Lodowico Italiam quem et imperatorem nominat, Lothario regnumque ex suo nomine Lotharingia vocatur concessit, Karolo vero, Hessorum provinciam. Et hoc facto Prumiam monasterium ingreditur, et eodem anno obit. Romanorum octogesimus primus Lodowicus qui et Lotharius annis xv. Magnus paganorum exercitus Anglia vastata in insula que Sepeya dicitur hiemavit. Ethelwulfus rex decimam partem totius terre sue a tributis et exactionibus regiis liberam dono donat et eodem anno Romam adiens filium suum Elfredum secum duxit. Unde rediens postquam ibi annum fecit filiam Karoli Calvi ferentes proceres regni filium eius Ethelbaldum in regnum eius sublimant, qui tunc cum patre regnum precians, idem postea cum fratre Athelberto partitus est.*

856

857

857.1 *Mortuo Ethelwulfo, filii eius Aethelbaldus et Athelbertus regnum partiuntur.*

858

859

860

860.1 Benedictus papa centesimus tertius.

861

861.1 Pagani Angliam undique infestant.

862

862.1 Ethelbaldo defuncto, regnum totum ad fratrem Athelbertum devenit. Ethelbaldus iste Iudithe Thorum infestant, que patris eius uxor erat.

863

864

864.1 *Sanctus Swithunus obit. Sanctus Nicholaus papa centesimus quartus. Hic Clotharium imperatorem papam quandam adulteram uxorem repudiare molientem coacto concilio, legitimum coegit servare coniugum sed cum imperator non multo post concubina frueretur in publico, eam sollempniter anathemate perculit. Pagani in Thaneth hiemant, pacto cum Cantuaritis qui ipsi crebro ruperunt.*

865

866

866.1 *Defuncto Ethelberto, succedit frater eius Athelredus. Erant hiis temporibus gravissime afflictiones paganis undique irrumpentibus, qui et Northanimbrorum partes inuadentes Eboracum occupant, Estangliam depopulantur, Merciam intrant, insulam subingantes, ut apud Snotingeham hiemarent.*

867

868

869

870

870.1 Adrianus papa centesimus quintus. Lotharius Adriano amice scribit ut eum in gratiam receperet invitatusque ut Romam veniret se innumere asseruit criminis obiecti scilicet adulterii. Papa ergo, missa celebrata, eum ad Communionem invitavit si sanam super obiecto crimine sentiret conscientiam, similiter et alios omnes ei adherentes si adulterio non consensissent. At illi infrunita mente ad Sancta accedentes. Ante annum finitum omnes mortui sunt. Succesit filius eius Lodowicus Romanorum lxxxii sepe dictus. Paganorum exercitus Merciam depopulans pertransiens Estangliam adiit et apud Theford hiemavit. Occisus est eo anno Deo dilectus Estanglorum rex Edmundus.

870.2 Monasteria direpta, ecclesie dirute, loca religiosa sunt conculcata sub Hingwar et Hubba.

870.3 Ceolnodus Dorvernensis archiepiscopus obit. Succesit Atheredus.

870.4 Sanctus Neotus floret.

871

871.1 Exosus paganorum exercitus Westsaxoniam adiens apud Radingum villam sibi construit pugnatumque est contra eos una anno novies a rege Atheredo cum suis dubiis quidem belli casibus sed tempore rege potiores partes deliente famosum fuit illud apud Assendun proelium ubi paganorum rex unus comites quinta populus innumerus ceciderunt reliquis fuga vitam servantibus. Obiit eo anno Aethedredus regno magnis sudoribus quinquennio administrato.

872

872.1 *Alfredus quartus et minimus Athelwulfi filius, qui a papa Leone regni coronam acceperat, fratri succedit. Hic est Alfredus qui sapientie sue tanta reliquit monumenta qui licet bello et variis carnis infirmitatibus vexaretur animo tamen semper potioribus inhiabat. Adriano papa defuncto succedit Iohannes cxi. Alfredus sanctum Grimaldum aliosque cum illo per legatos ascivit plures de Mercia et ultimis terre finibus quos scientia pollere novit in regnum suum alliciens honoribus ampliavit: inter quos et Wenefridus quem Wicciorum ecclesie prefecerat. Dialogum Gregorii in linguam Saxoniam transtulit, talium ergo virorum doctrina et collatione in dies sapientia crescebat in tantum ut in brevi omnium librorum noticiam haberet nonnullos etiam ipse in Saxoniam transferret. Paganorum exercitus Londoniis hiemat.*

873

873.1 *Warmacia fulmine comburitur. Lodowico imperatore Rome presente Iohanne papa conventum habente Athalgisus dux Beneventanus qui manum contra imperatorem levaverat hostis publicus a senatu condemnatus est. Pagani in Lindesi hiemant.*

874

874.1 *Lodowicus imperator obit. Karolus Calvus filius Lodowici Pii Romam adiens muneribus habundantissime apostolico et Romanis datis imperator ex rege Francie factus. Pagani apud Reperdunum hiemant.*

875

875.1 *Karolus Romanorum octogesimus tertius regnavit annos ii. Lodwicus frater Karoli relictis filiis tribus obit cuius regnum dum imperator ingrederetur quasi obtenturus a Lodwico Lodowici filio in proelio superatus filiis fratris regnum patris sui reliquit inter se partiendum. Karolomanus pater Arnulfi Bavariam Pannoniam Coriniam Slavoniam optinuit. Lodowicus orientalem Franciam*

Thuringiam Saxoniam Fresiam; Karolus Iunior Alemanniam. Hic postmodus imperator fuit.

Pagani omni subiecta sibi Mercia ut duas partes sunt divisi. Una duce Haldene Norhanhimbriam adiens eam sibi subegit reliqua cum Guthrum Oskeitel et Hamundus apud Granthebregiam hiemat. Buthredus Merciorum rex a regno expulsus Rome obit.

876

876.1 Karolus secundo Romam adiens Ermenierdam filiam Lodowici imperatoris germano suo Bosoni cum gloria magna copulavit. Dataque etcetera provincia coronam ei imposuit. Alfredus paganos datis obsidibus iurare coegit quod eius regnum exirent. At illi sedere primo rupto iterum idem iuraverunt datis itidem obsidibus. *Halfdene autem Northanhimbriam sibi et suis partiens eam incolere cepit. Rollo cum suis Normanniam penetrat et totam terram perturbat. Karolus in Italia obit. Succesit filius eius Lodowicus qui Balbus dicitur Romanorum lxxxiiii annis duobus.*

877

877.1 *Pagani, centum viginti navibus tempestate submersis apud Exencenstrie partim resederunt, partem Merciam adeuntes disper[s]atam eam incoluerunt.*

878

878.1 Lodowicus Balbus obit. Relictis filiis scilicet duobus Lodowicis et Karlomanno. Paganorum exercitus ab Exencestre Thipenham in Wildesyre adeuntes accolat vel necavit vel subegit vel mare transsire coegit. Unde ad id perductus est *Alfredus rex* ut cum paucis inter invia et montuosa in Sumersete latitans victui etiam necessaria aliunde non haberet quam si nocturnis aut clam destinis irruptionibus ea predaretur.

878.2 Explorato tamen hostium otio sub inimici specie congregatis reliquiis suorum inde, cumque auxilio Sancti Cuthberti et sancti Neoti ex insperato sic eos contudit *ut datis ad libitum obsidibus* alii terram eius exirent.

878

878.3 Guthrum autem cum suorum plurimis baptisma susceptus ab Alfredo in filium adoptatus. Karolus Minor Romanorum octogesimus quintus post primum introitum suum in Italiam regnavit annis deces. Hic filius erat Lodowici filii Lodowici Pii.

879

879.1 *Pagani Cirencestre adeunt. Exercitus ingens de transmarinis partibus in Tamense applicans sepe dictis paganis se iungit. Eclipsis solis.*

880

880.1 *Pagani Estangliam adeuntes eam inhabitare ceperunt. Reliqua multitudo Franciam navigat ubi conserto prelio omnes equites facti sunt.*

881

881.1 *Karlomanus rex Bawarie pater Arnulfi obit. Cuius regnum Lodowicus frater eius occupans, Arnulfo Carinthiam concedit.*

882

882.1 *Karolus Longobardiam et Italiam totam sibi subiciens Romamque veniens a papa Leone Johanne et senatu favorabiliter susceptus in imperatorem ungitur.*

883

883.1 *Lodowicus frater imperatoris obit.*

884

884.1 *Lodowicus filius Balbi obit. Cuius regnum frater eius Karolomannus tenuit. Marinus papa centesimus septimus. Hic partem crucis Alfredo cum diversis muneribus misit.*

885

885.1 *Agapitus papa centesimus octavus. Pagani, relicta Francia, Angliam adeunt; sed urgente Alfredo, Franciam redire compelluntur. Karolomannus dum venationem exercet, scilicet filius Lodowici a ferro singulari miserabiliter discreptus est. Unde Karolus filius Lodowici fratris Karoli patris Iudith Alemannorum rex totam sibi Franciam subicit. Pagani in Estanglia, Alfredo se subdunt.*

886

886.1 *Karolomannus filius Balbi obit. Pagani Franciam undique impugnant per Sequenam et Ligerim ascendentes. Translata sunt multa corpora sanctorum a sedibus propriis metu istorum crudelium tam in Francia quam in Anglia, unde et corpus sancti Martini ad Autisiabrum delatum est. Alfredus Londonias restaurat.*

887

887.1 Adrianus papa centesimus nonus. Karolo Iuniori propter infirmitatem a regno expulso, succedit Arnulfus Romanorum octogesimus sextus, annis xii. Karolo etiam rege Francorum mortuo, idem *Arnulfus succedit*. Erant quidem alii quatuor licet alieni regni partem habentes et reges dicti Arnulfo tamen ut equum erat subiecti.

887.2 Alfredus magnas elemosinas et crebro Romam mittit. Hic non solum in Europam elemosinas suas erogavit, *sed etiam ad sanctum Thomam in Indiam*. Legatus erat huius magnifice elemosine Sigelinus episcopus Sciresburnensis qui prospere inde regressus, gemmas incognitas et aromata attulit in partibus illis anima non visa.

887.3 Hic etiam licet infirmitate dimissima continue laborans, hostibus barbaris tam frequentis vexaretur libros tamen in linguam transtulit saxoniam. In tantum que lectioni vacabat et scripturis ut xxiiii diei horas in tres divideret partes: octo in lectione divina et scripturis sanctis, octo in regni negociis, octo in corporis cura expendens habebat in capella sua qui has horas incessanter custodirent candelarumque quas ad hoc paraverat, arsione investigantes regi nunciarent. Hic preterea centuriis et decanis quas hundredis vocavit et tieches per universam ditionem suam constitutis, tantam tamque firmam reformavit pacem, ut suspensis per compita armillis, nullos vel fures vel predatores haberet.

888

888.1 *Karolus imperator obit.*

889

889.1 Basilius papa centesimus decimus. Italici Karolo mortuo quidam Berengarum quidam Gwidonem regem faciunt sed post strages ingentes Gwido Berengarium expulit. *Ethelredus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus obit, succedit Pleimundus.*

890

891

891.1 Stephanus papa centesimus undecimus. Guthrum rex Normannicus filius Alfredi adoptivus obit. Hic in fonte dictus est Ethelstanus. *Northmanni Warmatie, archiepiscopum Maguntum Sumerodum nomine interficiunt.*

891.2 *Iohannes Scottus monachus Malmisbirie obit.* Hic ob bellorum tumultum diu apud Karolum Caluum conversatus est ubi et Ierarchiam Dyonisii eiusdem rogatu in Latinam linguam transtulit aliaque opuscula composuit qui Alfredi illectus beneficentia *magistrum puerorum* apud Malmesbiriā fratres *grafiis*, ut *dicitur*, orum *confossus* est.

892

892.1 *Arnulfus Normannos a sedibus suis fugavit.*

893

893.1 *Arnulfus Longobardiam intrat. Paganorum Normannorum exercitus Francia relicta, Cantiam duce Hasten adit qui sibi munitionem in villa Mideldun construit.*

894

894.1 Formosus papa centesimus duodecimus. *Alfredus* gravibus *cum paganis* confligit preliis, in Cantumque eos domuit, ut Hasten regis duos filios sacro forme ablui faceret, eosque fedus rumpentes fines suos exire compelleret.

895

895.1 *Gwido* qui se *imperatorem* dixerat, *obit*. *Succedit filius eius Lambertus*. Hic sibi diadema a papa imponi fecit. *Pagani* a predatione Britonum *iterum Cantiam repetunt*.

896

896.1 Arnulfus Italia subiugata, Rome cum magna favore excipitur et a Formoso papa in imperatorem iunungitur et consecratur. *Lambertus dictus imperator obit*. Unde Longobardi Bosonis filium Lodowicum a provincia vocatum sibi perficiunt.

897

897.1 *Pagani iterum ab Anglia Sequananam adeunt*.

898

898.1 Lodowicus post plues conflictus Berengario qui imperium invaserat effligato, Romam ingreditur et imperator dicitur. *Rollo cum suis Carnothum obsidet, sed sancte Dei genetricis virtute excecatus, vix evasit*. Stephanus papa centesimus tertius decimus.

899

899.1 *Arnulfus imperator obit*. *Lodowicus filius eius succedit Romanorum octogesimus septimus, regnat annis xii*. *Ungarii Italiam vastant*. Romanus papa.

900

900.1 Theodorus papa. Iohannes papa centesimus septimus decimus. Lodowicus filius Arnulfi a proceribus rex constituitur.

900.2 *Plurimi episcopi et primates Anglie mortui sunt.*

901

901.1 Inclitus Anglorum rex *Alfredus* inani *universe carnia ingressus* est et Wintonia sepultus est.

901.2 Primo ut aiunt in ecclesia episcopali, sed postmodum clericis regias infamantibus umbras, tancquam noctu eos inquietaret, in monasterio monachorum quod ipse ibidem construxerat.

901.3 *Succedit filius eius Aedwardus cognomento Senior. Hic patre litterarum provincia inferior, sed dignitate potentia gloriaque erat superior. Contra hinc primo clito Ethelwoldus patruelis eiusdem, quibusdam urbibus invasis, manum levavit.* Kindiboldus filius Arnulfi occiditur.

902

903

903.1 Benedictus papa centesimus duodevicesimus. *Sanctus Grimboldus obit.*

904

904.1 *Clito Ethelwoldus ad Edwardo fugatus cum copia navium in Angliam redit.*

905

905.1 *Berengarius* post multas exulans, congressiones dolo Veronensum Lodowico capto et exoculato, regno *Italiae potitur*. Leo papa centesimus undevicesimus commisso gravi prelio, clito predictus cum Danorum rege Eohrich occiditur.

906

906.1 *Cometa visa est. Cristophorus papa centesimus vicesimus. Conradus pater Conradi iunioris Abathalberto in bello occiditur. Lodowicus Athelbertum occidit. Pagani de Estanglia et Norhthimbria Edwardo se sponte subdiciunt.*

907

908

908.1 *Sergius papa centesimus vicesimus primus*

909

910

910.1 *Prevalentibus contra Persias Egyptiis, sub ditione Egyptii Caliphe cum multis regionibus Ierosolima devenit. Surrexit inter eos Calipha quidam Equem nomine, matre Christiana. Hic supra omnes alios Christianos depressit, ut se a titulo Christiano nominis crimine obiecto purgaret. Hic etiam ecclesiam dominice resurrectionis a Constantino edificatam cum aliis dirui iussit. Horestem etiam patriarcham matris sue fratrem, ut dicunt, peremit Christianos angariis et iniuriis intolerabiliter afflixit.*

911

911.1 *Pleimundus archiepiscopus uno die in civitate Cantuaria vii episcopos ordinavit.*

911.2 *Vacantibus* enim per multum tempus sedibus episcopalibus, papa in ipsam regem sententiam anathematis et in regnum interdicti vibravit, donec Pleimundus Romam mediator adiens, domino papa placato, omnibus *sedibus* vacantibus pastores ex regis consensu ordinat.

911.3 Lodowicus obit, succedit Conradus Romanorum octogesimus octavus.

912

912.1 *Ethelredo Merciorum rege defuncto, uxor eius Athelfleda* Alfredi regis filia, Merciam egregie regens fratri auxilio fuit.

912.2 Hec, primo partu periclitata, ab opere deinceps nuptiali abstinuit, indignum asserens regie mulieri talibus spurciciis implicari.

912.3 *Hec, ut dicitur, ossa sancti Oswaldi Gloucestriam a Bardeneia transtulit.*

913

913.1 *Ungari Alemanniam vastant.*

914

914.1 Athelinus Dorovernensis archiepiscopus.

915

915.1 *Frequentes et dire pugne adversum paganos ab Edwardo et Athelfleda geruntur, rege semper prevalente et urbes olim dirutas auxiliorum consilio sororis edificante.* Anastasius papa centesimus vicesimus secundus.

916

916.1 Lando papa centesimus vicesimus tertius.

916.2 *Rollo* more Danico *Popam* filiam comitis *Silvanenctensis* in uxorem accipit, de qua *Willelmum* genat qui ei succedit. Ex filia autem Karoli non tulit sobolem.

917

917.1 Iohannes papa centesimus vicesimus quartus. *Rollo* obit. Succedit *Willelmus* filius eius.

918

918.1 *Conradus* obit. Succedit Romanorum octogesimus ix *Henricus* annis xvii. *Edwardus* Derbi et *Legecestriam* et *Notingeham* et *Stanford* cum multis aliis a Danis tum per se tum per sororem ablatis reedificat et restaurat.

919

919.1 *Edwardus* plurimos ex duabus uxoribus liberos habuit, quorum tres post eum succesive regnaverunt. *Edgitham* autem filiam *Karolo* regi *Francorum* filio *Lodowici* filii *Karoli* *Calvi* iunxit. Alteram *Hugoni* *Parisiorum* duci *Athelstanus* uxorem dedit. Terciam idem *Lodowico* *Aquitannorum* duci. Item duas imperatori *Henrico* transmisit quarum ipse unam filio suo *Otono*, alteram duci cuidam iuxta *Alpes* sociavit.

Karolus iste gener *Edwardi* pacem cum *Normannis* fecit, data filia sua *Gilla* cum omni *Normannia* et *Britannia* *Rolloni* eorum duci qui a *Francone* archiepiscopo ex condicto baptizatus, *Robertus* vocatus est. Hic cum propter tam eximia munera pedem *Karoli* osculari a circumstantibus cogeretur. Inclinare se nolens, sic stantis

pedem ad os levavit, ut regem non sine Normannorum risu in terram ruere compelleret.

920

920.1 *Danorum rex Remaldus se Edwardo subicit.*

921

922

923

923.1 *Sanguis ex ymagine quam Iudei in oproprium Christi crucifixerunt fluxit.*

924

924.1 *Edwardus rex obit. Succedit filius eius Athelstanus. Ungari Franciam, Galliam, Alemmaniam vastant. Willelmus archiepiscopus Dorvernensis.*

925

926

926.1 *Athelstanus sorore sua Sicthrico Northanimbrorum regi data, eum in ditione cum omnibus Pictorum, Scotorum, Britonum regibus accepit.*

927

928

929

930

931

932

932.1 *Athelstanus ore omnium laudatur; felicem se credebat quisquis regum exterorum ei vel affinitate vel federe sociari posset.*

932.2 Hiis diebus vir sanctus Birustanus Wintoniensis episcopus cotidie missas pro defunctis celebravit, noctu cimiteria circumiens, psalmos et orationes pro defunctis decantavit. Dum autem omnibus expletis vice quamdam 'requiescant in pace' subiungeret, facta est vox quasi exercitus grandis ex sepulcris dicentium Amen.

933

933.1 *Henricus imperator Wlgaros perimit.*

934

934.1 Stephanus papa centesimus vicesimus sextus.

935

935.1 Iohannes papa.

936

936.1 Leo papa centesimus vicesimus octavus. Henricus imperator obit. Succedit filius eius Oto, annis xxxvi mensibus x Romanorum nonagesimus. Hic sororem Athelstani duxit.

936.2 Temporibus Karoli Simplicis fundatum est monasterium Cluniacense a Willelmo Pio duce Aquitannorum. Karolo autem Simplici succedit Robertus alienus, annis ii. Eique Radulfus etiam alienus annis xiii. Et post hec reductum est regnum ad Lodowicum filium Karoli qui in Normannia captus est.

937

937.1 *Analaphus frecus auxilio Constantini Scotorum regis, Adelstano molesto erat sed sepe cum omnibus suis a rege contunditur et confunditur.*

938

938.1 *Oto Ungarios et Bawarios vastat.*

939

939.1 *Oto Lotharingiam intrat. Stephanus papa. Odo archiepiscopus Dorvernensis. Hic diu reluctatus eo quod habitum non haberet monachilem tandem tunc habentem apud Floriacum suscepto, archiepiscopus factus est.*

940

940.1 *Athelstanus rex obit. Succedit frater eiusdem Edmundus.*

941

941.1 *Analafus contra Edmundum se erigit.*

942

942.1 Marinus papa centesimus tricesimus. *Dunstanus abbas Glastonie efficitur. Willelmus filius Rollonis Normannorum dux occiditur. Succedit filius eius Ricardus Senior cognomine.*

943

943.1 *Edmundus rex Analaphum a sacro lavacro suscepit et munere regio donavit. Reinaldum etiam Northanimbrorum regem in confirmationem tenuit et in filium adoptavit.* Sanctus Dunstanus adhuc abbas audivit voces quia in excelsis dicentium: Pax Anglorum ecclesie nati nec regis et nostri Dunstani tempore.

943.2 Peperat autem Eluiua regina Edmundo filium Edgar.

944

945

946

946.1 Agapitus papa centesimus tricesimus primus. *Edmundus rex occiditur, succedit frater eiusdem Ethredus ab Odone invictus apud Kingestuniam.* Hic Northanimbrorum et Scotiam sibi sicut predecessores sui subegit.

947

948

949

949.1 *Vulstanus Eboracensis ab Edredo incarceratus sed postea accepto sacramento fidelitatis, dimittur. Henricus Otoni fratri suo se tradit.*

949.2 *Thurketellus clericus Lundoniensis in maneriis et prediis predives ab Edredo rege Croilandiam impetravit. Eidemque loco vi maneria conferens monasticam ibidem vitam suscepit. Ubi et postmodum ad abbatem promotus donationes suas quas Croilandie fecerat privilegiis regiis et archiepiscoporum Dunstani et Oswaldi eorumque suffraganeorum subscriptionibus corroborari fecit. Succedit ei nepos eius Egelricus et ei alter de eadem stirpe Egelricus.*

Erat autem tunc temporis apud Pegelandiam monasterium proprium habens abbatem. Egelrico succesit Oscitellus. Huius soror Leviva femina nobilis corporis sancti Neoti quod in una villarum suarum Enolvesbirium nomine non ut decebat sepultum erat. Croilandie transferri fecit Oschetello. Succesit Godricus. Godrico Bricimerus. Bricimerus Wlgatus. Hic primo abbas Pegelandie deinde ad Croilandiam translatus duo monasteria in unum coniunxit.

950

950.1 *Northanimbri regem sibi Yrcum creantes, Edredo rebellant sed ab eo graviter contriti, abiecto Yrco muneribus et obsidibus regi satisfecerunt.*

951

951.1 *Terre motus per Galliam et Germaniam.*

952

952.1 *Magontia ab Othone obsidetur.*

953

953.1 *Willelmus Otonis filius Magontie episcopatur.*

954

955

955.1 *Edredus rex obit*, ad quem in extremum agentem cum Sanctus Dunstanus festinaret, in medio termine audivit a sublimi. Rex Edredus in pace quiescit et statim equus quem supersedebit, in terram ruit mortuus.

955

955.2 *Succedit Edwi filius Edmundi iuvenis petulans et a regiis moribus alienus*. Denique ipso die unctionis regie cum inter proceres sederet de regni seriis tractantes quasi ludibundus exiliens, in muliercule amplexus devoluitur. Frementibus cunctis, solus Dunstanus libere increpatum e cubiculo extraxit. Hic mox post promotionem monasteria diripuit. *Dunstanum a regno expulit et insurgentibus in eum* indique hostibus *magna regni sui parte fraudatus est*.

955.3 *Lodowicus filius Karoli rex Francie obit.*

955.4 Hic a quodam perfuga Isimbardo nomine qui etiam a Christiana fide apostaverat irritatus et ad singulare certamen provocatus cum frustra a proceribus auxilium flagitaret, Hugo Capet cognomine filius Roberti comitis Montis Desiderii pro rege se opponens, provocatorem interemit. Unde et eum regni successorem reliquit et translatum est regnum a Karoli successione. Hic filiam Edwardi uxorem habuit.

956

957

957.1 Iohannes papa centesimus tricesimus secundus. Edgarus filius Edmundi propter Edwini insolentiam in regem a multis eligitur, regnumque Merciorum accipit. Hic sanctum Dunstanum revocans, Londoniensis episcopum facit tandem victiorum presulatum eidem contulisset.

958

958.1 *Odo archiepiscopus Dorvermensis obit. Eligitur Elfius Wintoniensis episcopus. Hic cum Romam papa pallium adiret in Alpibus obit.*

959

959.1 *Edwi obit. Succedit Edgarus in totum regium. Hic virtutibus pluribus ornatus regnum strenue et pacifice rexit. Malis terrore modestis bonitate pacatis. Monasteria a clericis invasa aut deleta, reparavit usque ad xlvi. Bricthelmus Sumersedensis episcopus ad archiepiscopatum electus, eoque minus utilis videretur communi conflictu sedi proprie restituitur, Dunstano ad illum vocato.*

960

960.1 *Sanctus Dunstanus a Roma pallium ipse reportat. Sanctus Oswaldus Victiorum episcopus vir magne sanctitatis.*

961

961.1 *Tempore Edgari Lessius Legerensem et Dorcensem episcopatum iunxit in unum.*

962

963

963.1 *Oto in imperatorem iungitur a Iohanne papa.*

964

965

966

967

967.1 Iohannes papa centesimus tricesimus tertius.

968

968.1 *Oto filius Otonis ante altare Petri a Iohanne papa una cum patre coronatur.*

969

970

970.1 *Sanctus Ethelwoldus reliquias sancti Swithuni levavit.*

970.2 Hic unacum sancto Dunstano et sancto Oswaldo ex precepto regis Edgari clericis per ecclesias maiores expulsis monachos induxit. *Hic monasteria Burgi, Torneie, Ely construxit.*

971

972

972.1 Sanctus Oswaldus, defuncto Oscitello, ad Eboracensis archiepiscopum a *Wigornensis* assumitur. *Hic monasterium Ramesey fundavit auxilio fretus comitis cuiusdam nomine Aldewino.*

973

973.1 Stephanus papa centesimus tricesimus quartus. *Edgarus rex ab archiepiscopis Dunstano et Oswaldo ceterisque eorum suffraganeis sollempniter apud Atemam die Pentecostes consecratur.* Nec multo post apud urbem Legionum octo regulis sibi subdictis cum primatibus regni concurrentibus, curiam tenuit, eisque in una navi per fluvium Dhe quasi speciantibus, ipse prorem tenuit gubernatoris functus offero, loco dicens tunc posteros suos vere Anglorum se reges dicere posse cum tot reges sibi subditos in una navi congregassent.

973.2 Erat quem stature non grandis, sed virtutis eximie, unde cum Kinnadius rex Scotorum joculariter in convivio quodam dixisset, miror cur tantulo homuntioni tot fortes subiciantur. Delatum est forte hoc ad Edgari aures, qui ille diu in pectore recondens, Kimadium in silvam venanda, *gratia* invitavit. Cumque aliis circa alia occupatis, duo reges soli simul essent, ille virum duorum quos secum portaverat gladiatorum educens Kinnadio tradit dicens, experire utrum homuntioni illi queni in convivio subsannasti subici debeas an ille tibi. At ille, pudore confusus et timore, ad pedes regios provolutus, dicti simplicis et sine malicia loci veniam precatur et impetrat.

973.3 *Oto primus obit, succedit Oto secundus, annis x mensibus septem Romanorum nonagesimus primus.*

974

974.1 *Terre motus per totam Angliam.*

975

975.1 *Edgarus obit non minus memorabilis Anglis quam Romulus Romanis, Karolus Francisc.*

Succedit filius eius Edwardus. Turbatum est unigue regnum, electis monachis inducti sunt per Merciam clerici. Cometa apparuit.

976

976.1 *Fames valida per Angliam.*

977

977.1 *Congregata synodo generali apud Kalne solarium ubi convenerant ruit, nullusque immunis preter sanctum Dunstanum evasit.*

978

978.1 *Edwardus dolo noverce sue Alfride apud Covesgate occiditur, succedit frater eius Egelredus filius Alfride. Nubes sanguinea per totam Angliam nocte videtur, quam Angli lingua sua Blodgite dicunt.*

979

980

980.1 *Dani et Norwagenses Angliam undique conturbant.*

981

981.1 *Steffanus papa centesimus tricesimus quintus.*

982

982.1 *Oto saracenos Greciam vastantes vicit.*

983

984

984.1 *Sanctus Ethelwoldus Wictiorum episcopus obit. Succedit Elfegus. Oto secundus obit, succedit filius eius Oto Romanorum nonagesimus secundus, annis xviii mensibus ii.*

985

985.1 *Egelredus Rofensem urbem obsidet et quorum potius pecunia quam precibus Sancti Dunstani obsidionem solvit, graviter increpatus cladem et regni perturbationem sibi imminere audivit.*

986

987

987.1 *Hoc anno due pestes mortifere Anglis ante incognite Angliam invadunt, febris scilicet hominum et lues animalium quam lingua sua ex effectu Scitam vocant.*

988

988.1 *Sanctus Dunstanus obit. Succedit Adelgarus Selesiensis episcopus.*

989

990

990.1 Marinus papa centesimus tricesimus sextus. *Ethelgaro Dovernensi archiepiscopo, succedit Siricius episcopus Wiltoniensis. Hic pro clericis Cantuariam monachos induxit.*

991

991.1 *Tributum decem milium librarum Danis datur. Monasterium Remesey a beato Oswaldo eiusdem fundatore dedicatur.*

991.2 *Iohannes papa hic turpiter vitam finivit. Hic est Iohannes qui et Gerebertus qui primo monachus Floriacensis, relicto monachatu, liberalibus primo studiis animum adhibuit. Deinde Hispanias adiens non solum practicas astronomie literas addidicit, sed ut animi erat nequioris, maleficiis dicitur scientias liberales fedasse demoniis hominum fecisse. Denique in Franciam rediens, artium liberalium scholas tenuit, abacum et tabulas astronomie in latinum vertit. Tandem per discipulum suum Robertum filium Hugonis Capet tunc regem Francie ad Remensem promovetur archiepiscopatum. Imperator autem Oto tertio qui et ipse discipulus eius erat, de Remensi ad Ravennam et de Ravenna ad Romanum eum transtulit presulatum. Alii maleficiis hoc attribuunt; diciturque eum capud fudisse eneam qui sciscitantem de futuris certificaret; a quo, hoc dicitur, audisse se tunc mortiturum eum apud Ierusalem missam celebravit et non prius. Deceptus vero equivocatione nominis cum in ecclesia quadam Rome que Ierusalem dicitur, divina celebrasset graviter infirmatus in Ierusalem celebrasse se comperit et moriturum cognovit. Detestatus tandem diaboli deceptoris famulatum membra quibus diabolo hominum vel famulatum prestiterat, presentibus cardinalibus veritatem confessus, amputari fecit, et foras proici, corpus asserens non animam eius pollutum obsequiis.*

992

992.1 *Sanctus Oswaldus obit.* Coadiutor etiam eius Aldwwinus obit. Alfricus perfuga Danos contra regem et regnum pro posse provehit fuerunt etiam alii magnatum qui cum eo quo de stirpe Danorum essent fide regi adherentes in cennositatibus instabiles reperiebantur, inter quos Godwinus comes erat.

993

993.1 Iam cotidie implebatur prophetia sancti Dunstani. Sic enim fertur Egelredo post fratris mortem regnum arripienti dixisse, *non delebitur peccatum ignominiose matris tue et eorum qui neci fratris tui consenserunt, nisi multo provincialium sanguine. Venient enim super te et super gentem tuam mala. Non deficiet de domo tua gladius quo usque transferatur a te regnum.* Aliud etiam de eodem fertur dixisse. Cum enim baptizato astitisset eiudem cum reliquis et ille ventris solutione baptisterium poluisse, per Christum, inquit et matres eius, ignavus non erit iste.

993.2 *Venerunt ergo reges duo Analafus et Swanus cum navibus xciiii omnia late depopulantes, quibus rex tributum xvi milia librarum appendit, vocatusque ad se Analaphum et muneribus honoratum in filium adoptavit in confirmatione episcopali et pacem impetravit. Ille autem, ex promisso ad sua non revertitur, rediit.*

994

995

996

997

997.1 Cometa apparuit. *Siricio Dorvernensi, succedit Alfricus Wiltoniensis episcopus.*

998

998.1 Agapitus papa centesimus tricesimus septimus. *Dani, toto regno Anglie invaso, predas ad libitum ducunt, victoriis frequentibus insolescunt, aliis fecte resistantibus, aliis in certamine semper fere succumbentibus.*

999

1000

1000.1 *Dani Normanniam adeunt. Inventio sancti Yvonis.*

1001

1001.1 *Dani a Normannia in Angliam redeuntes omnia conculcant sed rex, periculo precavens, tributo xxiiii milia librarum eos a se cedere facit.*

1002

1002.1 *Oto tercio obit. Succedit Henricus Romanorum nonagesimus tertius, annis xxii. Omnes Dani cuiuscumque sexus cuiuscumque etatis dudum incole per Angliam occidi iubentur in festo sancti Bricii.*

1002.2 *Aldulfus archiepiscopus Eboracensis reliquias Sancti Oswaldi levavit ipso que non multo post defuncto. Succedit Wulstanus. Egelregus Emmam filiam Ricardi primi Normannie ducis uxorem acciperet Elgivam lingua sua vocat.*

1003

1003.1 Octavianus papa centesimus tricesimus octavus.

1004

1004.1 *Swein Danorum rex* terram Anglie undique depopulatur et Angli ubique inferiores reperiuntur erant. Enim inter eos ficti et proditores, Alfricus, Edricus, Godwinus cum aliis.

1005

1005.1 *Fames valida in Anglia unde Swein Daciam redit*, fame compulsus.

1006

1006.1 *Alfricus Dorvernensis archiepiscopus obit. Succedit Elphegus. Dani cum classe Anglia repetunt.*

1007

1007.1 *Danis tributum xxxvi milia librarum datur. Odricus Strone vir perfidus dux Merciorum efficitur.*

1008

1009

1009.1 Leo papa centesimus tricesimus nonus. *Thurkillus Danus cum exercitu valido Angliam adit, hic a Cantuaritis iii milia librarum pro tributo accipit.*

1010

1010.1 Brun episcopus martirizatur. *Dani terram Anglie vastant et depopulantur ad libitum.*

1011

1011.1 *Dani Cantuaria capta horrenda relatu perpetrant non sexui, non etati, non ordini, non sacrosanctis locis parcentes. Capitur archiepiscopus Cantuarie Elphegus, Rofensis episcopus Godwinus, abbates, abbatisse. Ipsi autem decimum quamque vite miserrime referuantes alios omnes penis excruciant inauditis et trucidant.*

1011.2 *Sancte Resurrectionis ecclesia Ierosolimis imperante Equen calipha Egyptio cum aliis ecclesiis destruitur.*

1011.3 Clades dira divina ultione in Danos deseuit, qui Cantuariam destruxerunt.

Hoc anno illud omnibus seculis contigit *mirandum. Cum in Saxonia nocte Natalis Domini presbiter quidam, Robertus nomine, primam Missam inchoaret, quindecim iuvenes et iii adolescentule in cimiterio coream ducentes, presbiterum impediabant; quibus cum sepius mandaret ut a stulticiis cessantes divino officio deferrent, illi que non adquiescerent iratus ille, placeat, inquit, domino et Sancto Magno ut anno isto non cessetis. Erat quippe ecclesia ubi hec fiebant, sancti Magni Martiris, factumque est ita per totum annum cantabant et coream ducebant. Non sunt attrita vestimenta eorum nec calciamenta. Non frigus, non famem, non sitim, aut lassitudinem senserunt, primo usque ad genua. Deinde usque ad cingulum terram terendo terra demersi sunt. Denique cum filius presbiteri violenter sororem suam que una erat ex illis per brachium extrahere vellet, brachium sine sanguinis gutta avulsit que nichilominus cum aliis indefesse circumiens cantabat. Erecta est supra eos fabrica propter aeris molestias. Tandem finito anno, Coloniens archiepiscopus, Herbertus nomine, illos cum magna devotione solvit, et ante altare sancti Magni predixit, ubi in continenti filia presbiteri cum aliis ubi defuncta reliqui tribus diebus et tribus noctibus*

dormientes. De cetero deformi omnium membrorum tremore se reos prodiderunt.

Quidam tamen eorum post mortem miraculis feruntur choruscasse.

1012

1012.1 *Sanctus Elphegus occiditur. Tributo xlviii milia librarum Danis dato, solvitur eorum exercitus.*

1013

1013.1 *Swein Dacus cum exercitu innumero Anglie intrans, et inauditis crudelitibus in illas deseuiens, in brevi omnes primates sue subiecit ditioni. Egelredus rex vix a navibus Sweini elapsus, primo uxorem suam ad Ricardum Normannie ducem eiusdem fratrem transmittit cum liberis, et ipse postea invitatus ab illo illuc ex ulcedit. Livingus, qui et Elfstanus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis post Elphegum.*

1014

1014.1 *Swein tyrannus post crudelitates innumeras urbem sancti Edmundi et possessiones vexare cepit, convicia etiam cum minis ipsi martiri superaddens, unde cum sanus ab omnibus estimaretur, a sancto, ut fertur, Edmundo subito occiditur. Dani filium eius Cnuthum regem acclamant. Incole autem regem suum unanimi voto a Normannia revocant. Ille vero pretemptatis per filium suum Edwardum eorum animis ipse subsequitur, Cnutum expellens. At ille, detruncatis obsidibus qui patri suo ab Anglis dati erant, Danemarche adit. Adhuc classis Thurkilli apud Grenewich in Thamensi erat, que quoniam regem contra Swein protexerat, tributum ei datum est xxx milia marcas. Mare litus egreditur.*

1015

1015.1 *Cnutus compositis omnibus et pacificatis in Danemarcha, Angliam adit, urbes occupat, villas depopulatur, Edricus presidus ad eum cum consimilibus confugit. Edmundus solus eo quod pater suus egrotaret, hostibus resistit.*

1015.2 *Hic regis erat filius ex uxore ignoti nominis ante Emmam genitus tante probitatis, ut Ironside id est Ferreum Latus diceretur.*

1016

1016.1 *Egelredus obit. Londonienses cum Westsaxonibus Edmundum in regem eligunt. Edricus proditor, eius virtutem videns, ad eum animo vulpino confugit. Fiunt inter Edmundum et Cnutum dire et frequentes congressiones, Edmundo semper strenue se agente. Prevaluisset utique celerrime, nisi ficti et perfidi eum semper in arco deferuissent, quorum ille Edricus signifer semper erat. Tandem autem Cnutonem ad singulare provocans certamen compellentibus suis cum eo regnum partitur, pace inter eos firma tanquam inter fratres constituta.*

1016.2 *Edmundus eodem anno, corruptis per Edricum cubiculariis, occiditur, per pudenda, ut dicitur, transfixus quum ventrem purgaret, unde Cnutus mortem eius lamentasse dicitur.*

1017

1017.1 *Cnuthus totius Anglie principatu accepto in quattuor eam partes dividit sibi Westsaxoniam, Turkillo Estsaxoniam, Edrico Merciam, Yrco Norhanhunbrorum. Hic consilio Edrici regi e prosapie multos occidit unde et duos Edmundi filios Edmundum scilicet et Edwardum Swanorum regi necantos destinavit. Qui pueros miseratus elegantes regi Ungarorum eosdem educandos transmittit ubi Edmundo defuncto Edwardus Agatham Henrici imperatoris propinquam duxit ex qua sanctam Margaretam scotorum reginam cum aliis genuit. Cnuthus Emmam Egelredi relictam sibi copulerat. Edricus perfidus cum Cnutho impropersset quasi pro*

beneficiis quod Egelredum prodidisset, Edmundum permisit ore proprio proditoris reus factus et mortem et notam proditoris acceperere.

1017.2 *Laqueo enim suffocatus in Tamensem fluvium proicitur.* Benedictus papa centesimus quadragesimus papa

1018

1018.1 *Lxxxii milia librarum Danis ex tota Anglia dantur, ut ad sua remunerati redeant. Cnuthus licet hostiliter regnum adiret in regem confirmatus civiliter cepit Anglorum tractare, nec Danum aliquando Anglo pretulit, in proditores Edmundi vindictam plene exequens. Corpus sancti Elfegi ipse manibus levavit.*

1018.2 *Sancti Edmundi ecclesiam regiis muneribus et possessionibus ampliavit. Diversas ecclesias et monasteria per Angliam fundavit.*

1019

1020

1020.1 *Liuingus archiepiscopus Dovernensis obit. Succedit Ailnothus qui cognominatus est Bonus.*

1021

1022

1023

1023.1 *Eclipsis solis. Wulstanus Eboracensis obit. Succedit Alfricus.*

1024

1024.1 *Iohannes papa centesimus xli. Henricus Pius obit. Succedit Conradus Romanorum nonagesimus quartus, annis xv.*

1024.2 *Ailnothus archiepiscopus brachium sancti Augustini magni apud Papiam centum talentis argenti et uno auri comparatum Coventreie posuit.*

1025

1026

1026.1 *Hoc anno obit Ricardus II Normannie dux. Succedit Ricardus III, qui, eadem anno defuncto, succedit Robertus.*

1027

1028

1028.1 *Cnuthus Norwegiam cum exercitu adit, et, Olavo expulso, eam sibi subicit.*

1029

1029.1 *Cnuthus Anglorum Danorum et Noreganorum rex, Norega composita, Angliam redit.*

1030

1030.1 *Sanctus Olavus Haroldi filius perfide a Noriegis occiditur.*

1031

1031.1 *Cnuthus Romam adiens honorifice susceptus est, elemosinas multas et largas ibi faciens, vite emmendationem coram sanctis apostolis promisit.*

1031.2 *Robertus rex Francorum obit. Succedit Henricus.*

1032

1033

1034

1035

1035.1 *Cnuthus Swano Noreganorum Ardecnuto, rege constituto Danorum, obit. Succedit in Anglia Haroldus eiusdem, ut dicitur, filius, sed non multo post Ardecnuthus cum Haroldo regnum partitur.*

1036

1036.1 *Alfredus et Edwardus filii Egelredi cum multo Normannorum comitatu ad matrem veniunt, ubi Alfredo dolo Godwini perfidi excecato, Edwardus a matre Normanniam remittitur. Ardecnutus iniuriam Alfredo factam, ulciscitur.*

1037

1037.1 *Hardecnuto in Danemarcha occupato, Haroldus totam Angliam sibi subdit. Haroldus Emmam ab Anglia expellit, que a Baldewino Flandrensi comite honorifice suscipitur.*

1038

1038.1 *Ailnochus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis obit. Succedit Edsinus.*

1039

1039.1 *Conradus obit. Succedit filius eius Henricus, annis xvii, Romanorum nonagesimus quintus. Hardecnutus ad matrem in Flandriam venit.*

1040

1040.1 *Haroldus rex obit. Anglicum Danis Ardeconutum advocantes, eum in regem promovent. Hic contra omnium spem importabile tributum Danicis piratis, qui secum venerant, solvifecit, corpusque Haroldi effossum in Tamensem proici.*

1041

1041.1 *Edwardus a Normannia veniens, a fratre Ardecnuto gratanter suscipitur.*

1041.2 *Hardecnutus sororem suam Gunnildem cum magno apparatu Henrico imperatori tradit uxorem. Hec, in supremis diebus, adulterii accusata, pueruli cuiusdam duello se purgavit contra hominem giganti similem.*

1041.3 *Hiis temporibus, corpus Pallantis filii Evandri Rome repertum est incorruptum et ad caput eius lucerna arte ardens mechanica. Corpus ad menia applicatum ea altitudine vicit. Vulnus quod ei in pectore fecisse dicitur Turnus quatuor pedum erat latitudinis.*

1042

1042.1 *Hardecnutus inter pocula obit. Succedit Edwardus.*

1043

1043.1 *Edwardus ab Edsio Dorvernensi et Alfrico Eboranceni archiepiscopis aliisque episcopis inungitur Wintonie die Pasche.*

1044

1044.1 *Benedictus papa centesimus xlii. Alwordus Londoniensis episcopus cum pre infirmitate episcopatu cederet, et a monachis Eveshami, ubi prius abbas erat non reciperetur, cum multis eiusdem monasterii ornamentis Ramesei divertit et ibi obit. Gunnild uxor Haroldi Anglia expellitur.*

1045

1045.1 *Gregorius papa. Iste patrimonia Petri et ecclesiasticas possessiones dilapidatas repperit. Incurrexerant enim dudum filii perditionis qui ex malitia temporum vel patientia summorum pontificum occasione accepta patrimonia invaserant ecclesiastica. Sicarii preterea non solum iter Romanum sed etiam ipsas plateas romane urbem ita obsederant, ut absque manu valida nullus limina apostolorum et loca sancta tute adiret peregrinus. Oblationes etiam siquas inter tot pericula deferrent fideles, ipsi ab ipsis altaribus pro libitu distrahebant, quorum cum ipse urbis et ammonitionibus corrigere satageret, nec posset accepta ab imperatore potestate qui ei super hoc partes suas mandaverat aliis intentus, vel vi reppulat. Convocatisque undecumque auxiliis, primo ipsos *sicarios* vel trucidavit vel fugavit deinde invasa et direpta ad antiquum ius reformavit et revocavit, tutumque limina apostolorum adeuntibus iter fecit. Illi ergo, quos raptio vivere delectabat, *sanguinarium* eum per vulgi ora inclamabant, adeoque fama sinistra invaluit, ut ipsi cardinales in extremis agentem monerent, ne se tanti sanguinis reum inter sanctos *sepeliri* pateretur *pontifices*. Quibus ille modeste increpatis, *divino* inquit hoc relinquatur *examini*: Ego scio me, non michi, sed ecclesiastice consuluisse libertati.*

Vos *corpus meum* pontificali more procuratum *ante ecclesie* fores obseratas sistite!

Si Deo placuerit, intermittatur, si minus, facite inde quod vobis animo sederit.

Paritum est iussionibus apostolicis, allatum est ante fores *obseratas corpus* et ecce *turbo* quia spiritus vehementis *fores repagulis solutis reserat*, et ille cum magna devocione et Dei laudibus ad *patres* suos apponitur.

1046

1046.1 *Clemens papa cxliii*

1047

1047.1 *Damasus papa qui est Popo. Magnus rex Noragenorum filius Sancti Olavi Swanum Danemarchia expulit.*

1048

1048.1 *Terre motus in Anglia et hominum lues et iumentorum.*

1048.2 *Daver successor Equen ecclesiam Resurrectionis Ierosolimis ad petitionem Dompni Romani imperatoris reedificari promisit, unde ipso imperatore sumptus amministrante reedificatur.*

1048.3 *Defuncto Bricthmero qui post Thurketellum quintus erat abbas Croylandie, Wlgatus abbas Pegelandia ab Edwardo rege impetravit, ut ex duobus monasteriis tam proxime sitis unum fieret monasterium et una congregatio, factusque est et ipse abbas Croylandia translatis omnibus que apud Pegelandum erant, Croilandie. Wlgato successit Ulketellus Burgo monachus. Huius cooperatores erant comes Waldevus, qui ad edificia Croilandie construenda villam lapidiscinis copiosam eidem loco contulit Bernake nomine.*

1049

1049.1 Leo papa centesimus cxlv. *Henricus imperator contra Baldewinium Flandrensem exercitum ducit. Hibernienses pirate Angliam xxxvi navibus adeunt. Leo papa Franciam venit et Remis synodum celebrat.*

1050

1050.1 *Edsius Doruernensis archiepiscopus obit. Succedit Robertus genere Normannus.*

1051

1051.1 *Alfricus Eboracensis archiepiscopus obit. Rex Edwardus Anglos a gravi tributo solvit, quod eius pater suus propter Danorum solidarios imposuerat. Comes Bononie Eustachius qui Edwardi sororem Godam duxerat, quoniam in Dorobernia quosdam civium propter iniuriam sibi illatam, quidam suorum trucidassent a Godwino comite et suis ad penam exposcitur a rege, quorum cum rex abnueret, Godwinus cum filiis exercitu congregato regem cogere parat, sed nil fortiter ausa seditio merito dampnatur et ipse cum filiis exul decernitur, unde et rex filiam eius Edgitham reginam repellit. Willelmus Normannie comes Angliam venit et muneribus regis ditatus rediit.*

1052

1052.1 *Godwinus cum suis reconciliatur. Regina ad Thorum suum revocatur. Emma regina obit. Ventus validus in festo sancti Thome. Maurianus Scotus cronographus. Stigandus Edwardi simplicitate abusus, Dorvernensem archiepiscopatum Roberto eiecto invadit, unde et nunquam pallium impetrare a sede apostolica potuit.*

1053

1053.1 *Godwinus cum regis conviva a rege quasi per locum de fratrum morte tangeretur, si, inquit, necis eorum sum reus, non transseat me buccella ista. Factum est ut optavit. Ipsa enim buccella suffocatus, per pedes abstrahitur et quasi proditor proicitur.*

1054

1054.1 *Siwardus dux Northanimbrorum, iussu Edwardi Machota eiecto, Malcolmun filium regis Cumbrorum regem constituit Scotorum.*

1055

1055.1 *Siwardus obit, cuius ducatum Tosti Godwinus filius arripuit. Victor papa centesimus quadragessimus sextus.*

1056

1056.1 *Henricus obit. Succedit filius eius Henricus Romanorum xcvi, anniis I.*

1057

1057.1 *Edwardus ab Ungaria per patruum vocatus, Londonia obit. Hunc sibi heredem Edwardus facere proposuerat.*

1057.2 *Dicitur enim quod sponte ex regina filium non genuit, eo quod quantum potuit Godwini proditoris genus exosum habuit.*

1057.3 *Lefwinus comes obit. Hic cum uxore Godiva multa monasteria vel fundavit, vel ampliavit. Hec apud Coventre sepelitur.*

1058

1058.1 Stefanus papa, quo defuncto Benedictus se intrudit. Hic *Stigando pallium* dedit, sed indebite, unde et nunquam pallium impetravit a sede apostolica.

1059

1059.1 Nicholaus papa constituitur.

1060

1060.1 *Henricus rex Francorum obit. Succedit Philippus. Kinsius Eboracensis archiepiscopus obit, succedit Aldredus.*

1061

1062

1062.1 *Wlstanus vir venerabilis Burgensis monachus Wicciorum fit episcopus.*

1063

1063.1 Alexander papa.

1064

1064.1 *Multi ex regno imperatoris Alemmanorum cum Maguntino, aliisque tribus episcopis Ierosolimam adeuntes adversa multa propter pecunie multitudinem, quam secum tulerant perpessi sunt in tantum, ut vix de vii ii reverterentur. Haraldus Godwini filius multa bella contra hostes regis strenue conficit.*

1064.2 *Idem ad Willelmum comitem Normannie mittitur, ut ei ex parte regis Edwardi de regno post regem cautionem daret. Dicunt alii eum in Normannia casu delatum,*

ibi filiam Willelmi cum iure iurando sibi copulasse, sed postea quia vim passum a sponsione resillisse.

1065

1065.1 Terremotus in Anglia

1066

1066.1 Rex Edwardus obit. Multa de eo referuntur mirabilia.

1066.2 Exceptis enim sanitatibus infirmorum revelatione ei dicitur divina ostensum vii dormientes a dextro in sinistrum latus conversos bella per universum mundum futura, aliaque quam plura. Ex hoc quia hereditario dicuntur habere reges Anglie ut quidam genus morbi quod vermeni dicunt, solo tactu curent. Hanc gratiam ille habuisse fertur primus.

1066.3 *Haroldus succedit in die Epiphanie in crastino scilicet obitus regis coronatus. Haroldus Noragenorum rex et Tosti comes cum innumero exercitu Angliam Transhumbrum invadunt quos rex Anglie Haroldus, collecto exercitu apud Stanfordsbrige, pene usque ad internitionem trucidavit a quibusdam qui in navibus remanserant, obsidibus ad libitum acceptis. Interim Willelmus comes Normannie cum multo milite Angliam intrat, revertentemque Haroldum de victoria vincit, terram totam sibi subicit. Erant sane quidam qui Edgarum Edmundi Ferrei Lateris nepotem scilicet filium Edwardi in regem levare conarentur, sed prevalente Willelmo defecit eorum conatus. Cometa apparuit.*

1066.4 Willelmus in regem Londoniis coronatur ab Aldredo Eboracensis, eo quod Stigandus iam dudum suspensus esset, que Roberto vivente archiepiscopatum invasit.

1066.5 *Hiis temporibus, Turchi, Persis et Egyptiis superatis, totum fere sibi subiciunt Orientem. Inter hec et urbem sanctam Ierosolimam sicut et alias Syrie civitates occupant.*

1067

1067.1 Tributum grave a novo rege imponitur Anglis.

1068

1068.1 Duo pape Rome creantur. *Matilda comitissa in reginam coronatur.*

1068.2 *Sancta Margareta filia Edwardi filii Edmundi Ireneside Malcolmo coniungitur.*

1069

1069.1 *Swani regis Danorum filii cum navibus cc xl in Northanhimbram applicant, residuus rebellantium Anglorum sibi sociatis. Willelmus eo tendens totam Northanhimbriam ferro et flamme tradit, unde et fames secuta est intollerabilis.*

1069.2 *Aldredus Eboracensis obit.*

1070

1070.1 *Concilio apud Wintoniam presentibus sancte Romane ecclesie legatis celebrato.*

Stigandus deponitur iustis ex causis, cui successit Lanfrancus abbas Cadomensis. In Eboracensis autem Thomas. Plures eo anno tam episcopi quam abbates vel nullis vel levibus causis deponuntur aut eiciuntur procurante rege, ut Angli nulla dignitate potirentur. Baldewinus Flandrensis obit.

1070.2 *Dani, infecto negotio, redeunt.*

1070.3 *Angli per singulos dies aut vi aut sponte, se regi novo subdunt.*

1071

1071.1 *Comes Frisie Robertus, occiso Arnulfo comite Flandrie, occupat.*

1071.2 Vir quidam *Herwardus* nomine quem vulgo *utlage* dicunt *intra paludes* se recipiens, pro posse Normannos vexabat. *Bellum inter Philippum regem Francie et Robertum comitem Flandrie* ubi et comes victor extitit.

1071.3 Hiis diebus, in confinio Normannie et Britannie mulier quedam erat que duo capita. Quatuor manus et omnia usque ad umbilicum habebat dupplicia inferius vero simpla. Ridebat, comedebat, loquebatur pars una fiebat, esuriebat, tacebat altera. Postremo una defuncta, reliqua superunxit fere triennio donec et mole ponteris et putore mortui cadaveris et ipsa deficeret.

1072

1072.1 *Malcolmus rex Scottorum regi se subdit Anglie.*

1073

1073.1 Hoc anno omnia *secundum solis cursum et lune habentur sicut anno xv Tiberii duobus magnis ciclis i m lxxxx annis interlabentibus. Willelmus rex Cenomiam sibi subiugat.*

1074

1074.1 *Hildebrandus papa* qui et *Gregorius*. Hic et synodum generalem contra clericos uxoratos et contra ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum emptores convocavit et investituras per anulum et baculum a manu regis vel imperatoris susceptas.

1074.2 Hic dum vices domini pape apud Gallias legatus ageret et in concilio quodam quidam de symonia accusaretur episcopus quasi episcopatum pecunia adeptus esset qui et eloquentia et divitiis potens convinci non poterat ipse Hildebrandus tunc archiepiscopus et legatus hoc episcopum censuit purgandum iudicio. Qui, inquit, donum Dei emit Spiritui Sancto qui domini Dei dicitur iniuriam facit. Tu ergo si integre

proferas *Gloria Patri et Filio* et Spiritui Sancto ab hoc crimine te absolutum censeo. Dimittit ille et in auribus omnium *Gloria Patri et Filio expedite proferens, Sanctum Spiritum nec tunc nec omni vita sua proferre potuit.*

1074.3 *Coniuratio gravis contra regem Willelmum apud Yxning qua et comes Waldevus licet invitatus involutus est qui mox ut potuit Lanfranco rei ordinem cum penitentia gravi pandens eius consilio regem in Normanniam adit. Veniam warre iurationis petiturus unde et rex Angliam rediens reliquos vel cepit vel expulit. Waldevum autem incarceravit.*

1075

1075.1 *Comes Waldewus crudeliter decollatur asserente Lanfranco eum factionis et coniurationis esse immunem et pro iusticia martirem.*

1075.2 *Terremotus x kalendis maii.*

1075.3 *Waldewus Croylandiam deportatur ab abbate Ulketello.*

1075.4 *Ulketellus abbas non multo post translationem comitis Waldevi rege molestia deponitur sicut et omnes fere episcopi et abbates Angligene introductis Normannis in eorum sedes. Succedit Ingulfus monachus Fontanellensis Anglicus quidem nascione, sed longa apud Normannos degens conversatione. Fuit hiis diebus Berengarius Turonensis qui diu in sacramento altaris falsus et fallens postremo prima et elemosinis pristinam heresim a se anathematizatam ut creditur redeunt. Licet omnes quos deceperat vel impossibile vel difficile esset ab heresi revocare.*

1075.5 *Sepulcrum etiam Walweni in provincia Wallie que Ros dicitur hiis diebus est repertum xiiii pedes in longitudine habens.*

1076

1076.1 *Swanus Danorum rex obit.*

1077

1077.1 *Inter imperatorem Henricum et papam Hildebrandum gravis discordia oritur utroque alterius depositionem inhiante. Hildebrandus imperatorem excommunicat. Robertus Curtehorse Willelmi primogenitus ad regem Francie se conferens Normaniam incendiis et cedibus vexat.*

1078

1078.1 *Primates Teutonici Radulfum Suevorum regem contra Henricum quasi excommunicatum Magontie coronant. Pax ficta inter papam et Henricum.*

1079

1079.1 *Henricus Sueviam vastat. Malcolmus Norhanhimbrum depopulatur. Willelmus rex cum Roberto filio suo confligens vulneratus et confusus fugam iniit.*

1080

1080.1 *Walcherius episcopus Dunhelmensis occiditur. Rodulfus rex Suevorum in bello occiditur. Unde Henricus elatus papam Hildebrandum deponere nititur Wibertum Ravennatem episcopum pro eo papam faciens.*

1081

1082

1082.1 *Inter Henricum et papam graves conflictus et cedes innumere. Roma ab Henrico obsidetur.*

1083

1083.1 *Henricus Roma capta Wibertum in cathedra collocat. Hildebrandus Beneventum adit ubi usque ad obitum degit. Feda sedicio inter abbatem Glastonie et monachos. Matilda regina obit uxor Willelmus Bastard.*

1084

1084.1 *Hildebrandus papa obit. Rex Anglie de hida qualibet vi solidos capit.*

1084.2 *Victor papa ii mensibus.*

1085

1085.1 *Cnuth Danorum rex cum magno apparatu Angliam invadere parat. Unde rex undecunque auxiliis accitis militibus et sagittariis Angliam valde gravat sed Cnuthi adnullati sunt conatus.*

1085.2 *Ingulfus abbas Croilandia, Ulketello deposito.*

1086

1086.1 *Tota Anglia iussu regis describitur et hoc dicitur Rotula Wincestrie quantum terre quantum et pecunie quivis haberet. Eodem anno fidelitatem regi omnem iurabant Saresbyrie contra omnes homines. Aeris intemperies et animalium pestis.*

1087

1087.1 *Willelmus Anglie rex qui Bastardus dictus est obit. Succesit in regno filius eius Willelmus Ruffus.*

1087.2 *In comitatu Robertus Currehose eiusdem primogenitus. Laxati sunt prisoneres et dispersi eius thesauri per monasteria et ecclesias.*

1087.3 *Chnut rex Danorum occiditur. Translatio sancti Nicholai ad Barum.*

1088

1088.1 *Gravis in Anglia sit seditio, procurante illam Odone episcopo Baiocensi et eodem comite Kentensi. Volebant enim omnes fere Normanni Willelmo expulso Robertum primogenitum regem constituere.*

1089

1089.1 *Landfrancus archiepiscopus obit. Urbanus papa antipapa Wiberto. Terremotus in Anglia.*

1090.1 In hoc tempore Ingulfus abbas Croylandiae corpus sancti Waltevi statuit de capitulo in ecclesiam transferre, et aquam, unde ossa lavarentur, calefieri sed postquam tumuli coopertorium revolutum est, corpus decimo sexto anno suae dormitionis integrum, sicut in die quo sepeliebatur, et caput corpori conjunctum reperitur; tantummodo quasi filum circa collum pro signo decollationis rubicundum apparuit. Hoc omnibus, tarn monachis quam secularibus, visum est, qui aderant. Translate ergo corpore in ecclesiam, et juxta altare tumulato, miracula fieri saepius inceperunt.

1090.2 *Willelmus rex Normanniam adit castella plura super fratrem capit scilicet Robertum.*

1091

1091.1 *Pax inter regem Willelmum et Robertum comitem facta est. Henricus tertius eorum frater montem Sancti Michaelis occupat. Malcolmus rex Scottorum Norhanhimbrum depopulatur unde Willelmus una cum fratre Angliam adit et fit pax inter reges Anglie et Scotie. Fulmen et turbo*

multa in Anglia confregerunt. Comes Robertus iratus Normanniam redit eo quod non prefecisset ei frater quod promiserat.

1091.2 *Combustum est totum monasterium Croilandie.*

1091.3 Ingulfus abbas Croylandie corpus sancti Waltevi statuit de capitulo in ecclesiam transferre, et aquam, unde ossa lavarentur, calefieri, sed postquam tumuli coopertorium revolutum est, corpus decimo sexto anno suae dormitionis integrum, sicut in die quo sepeliebatur, et caput corpori conjunctum reperitur; tantummodo quasi filum circa collum pro signo decollationis rubicundum apparuit. Hoc omnibus, tarn monachis quam secularibus, visum est, qui aderant. Translate ergo corpore in ecclesiam, et juxta altare tumulato, miracula fieri saepius inceperunt.

1092

1092.1 *Remigius sedem episcopatus a Dokecestria Lincolnum contulit.*

1093

1093.1 Fundatio ecclesie sancti Egidii apud Canthebruggie a Picoto vicecomite et Hugelina uxore eius consilio et assensu beati Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et beati Remigii Lincolniensis episcopi cuius tunc erant dyocesis qui nec dum sedes episcopalis erat apud Ely et vi canonicis regularibus illic in brevi adunatis Galfredus quidam canonicus de Huntendonie vir magne religionis in priorem eorundem est erectus. Paucis autem diebus elapsis post foundationem ecclesie predicte dictus Picot et uxor eius Hugelina migraverunt ad Dominum. Robertum filium suum ad tuitionem et augm[en]tationem ecclesie prefate relinquentes superscitem terrarum et possessionum suarum heredem qui post mortem parentum in brevi accusatus que in regni seditionem et regis necem conspirasset tutius sibi censuit fugam inire quam

super hoc in curia regia iudicium subire. Et sic clam discessit et nusquam in Anglia postea comparuit cuius baronia de iure regni fisco cedente ecclesia predicta tutore et patrocinio destituta facta est quasi suo tributo nec erat qui consolaretur eam ex omnibus caris eius.

1093.2 *Ordinatio Anselmi archiepiscopi. Remigius Lincolniensis episcopus obit. Succesit Robertus Bloet. Rex graviter infirmatur. Rex Walanorum occiditur et defierunt reges in Walonia. Signum mirabile in sole apparuit. Comes Flandrie Robertus obit. Succesit filius eius Robertus.*

1093.3 *Plures Anglie magnatos obierunt.*

1093.4 *Malcolmus rex Scotie cum filio Edwardo in bello occiduntur. Scoti Duvenaldum Malcolmi fratrem regem faciunt. Sancta Margareta obit. Dunechan filius Malcolmi qui Willelmo militabat acceptis a rege militibus Duvenaldo expulso regnum accipit.*

1094

1094.1 *Herebertus Losinga, id est adulator episcopatum Theford emit sicut et prius abbaciam Ramsey emerat. Hic tunc dicitur penitentia ductus domino pape baculum simoniacum resignasse ita tamen ut illum statim reciperet hic ad Norwicum sedem transtulit episcopalem. Rex fratri suo Normania auferre nititur sed ille auxilio Philippi Francorum regis conatus eius frustravit. Wallenses indique regi repugnant unde et rex illuc ducto exercitu eques et equos perdidit. Scoti Dunecan occiso Duvenaldum restituunt regno.*

1095

1095.1 *Petrus Heremita de Ierosolimis rediens legationem patriarche Simeonis et pauperum Christi detulit ad papam Urbanum qui facto apud Clarum Montem generali concilio verbum de Ierosolima adeunda fecit. Statuitque ut qui voto illuc ire disponeret vestem suam cruce publice signaret.*

1095.2 *Signati sunt episcopi Podiensis Godefridus de Bullion Robertus comes Normannie Hugo magnus Remuldus comes Tolose Robertus Flandrie Stefanus comes Blessensis cum multis aliis.*

1095.3 *Disseminato que verbo per regnum Francie, Teutonsi, Sicilie, nobiles et potentes, divites et pauperes, voto ferventi cruce se signaverunt.*

1095.4 *Sanctus Wulstanus Wicciorum episcopus obit.*

Legatus Romane sedis Walterus episcopus Albanensis pallium in Angliam ad petitionem Willelmi regis deculit quo Anselmus infulatur. Willelmus rex in Northanhimbrorum exercitum ducens, Robertum de Mubrai et Willelmum de Ow cepit cum suis eo quod audivit eos seditionem meditari. Rex Willelmus in Walliam ducit exercitum, ubi suorum multos amittit.

1096

1096.1 *Willelmus de Ou in duello victus oculis privatur et virilibus. Ceteri etiam conspiracy convicti diversis penis afficiuntur. Robertus Normannie fratri Willelmo invadiat. Motio magna ad terram Ierosolimitanam. Tunc etiam Robertus comes Normannie iter arripuit.*

1096.2 *Willelmus Dunelmensis episcopus obit. Willelmus rex Gisortium construxit in marchia Normannie.*

1097

1097.1 *Christiani Niceam capiunt. Cometa visa est. Nonnullus quasi ardens signum crucis visum est.*

1097.2 *Willelmus rex iterum in Walliam exercitum movet sed frustra.*

1097.3 *Anselmus eo quod non licuit ecclesiastice ecclesiam tractare exilium subit.*

1098

1098.1 *Antiochia a nostris capitur iii nonas iunii feria iii.*

1098.2 *Lancia passionis Domini invenitur. Willelmus rex aulam regiam apud Westmuster construxit et murum circa turrim Londonie.*

1098.3 *Walcelinus Wintoniensis episcopus obit. Urbanus papa apud Barum concilium celebrat ubi Anselmus questionem de Spiritus Sancti processione eleganter disseruit. Diabolus corporaliter in silvis apparuit.*

1098.4 *Hiis temporibus cepit ordo Cisterciensis. Hardingus quippe primus monachus Scireburnie deinde post scholarum frequentationem Molesmensis in Burgundia et Stephanus dictus assumptis paris propositi sociis Cistellas advenit ibique a fratribus post abbatis sui quem secum attraxerant recessum abbas factus magne et mire religionis causa fuit.*

1099

1099.1 *Ierosolima a nostris capitur vi Ides Iulii feria vi hora quasi nona.*

1099.2 *Urbanus papa Rome generali synodo facta in septimana paschali communi omnium consensu laicos investituras ecclesiarum aut episcopatum dantes, clericos ab illis accipientes, et omnes ecclesiasticas dignitates ementes aut vendentes anathematizavit. Urbanus papa obit cui successit Paschalis. Godefridus dux Lotharingie rex eligitur Ierosolimis.*

1099.3 *Ranulfus regis Anglie placitator episcopus fit Dunelmensis. Osmundus Saresburiensis episcopus obit. Tercio nonas Novembris mare litus egressum multa facit dampna in Anglia.*

1100

1100.1 *Wibertus papa quem antipapam melius dicentem obit.*

1100.2 *Hic enim odio Hildebrandi pape ab Henrico est intrusus.*

1100.3 *Wilelmus Ruffus in Nova Foresta occiditur iiii nonarum Augusti ante cuius mortem in Berchshire fons dicitur sanguine fluxisse tempore multo. Succesit frater eius Henricus et nonis*

Augusti consecratur a Mauritio Londoniensi sed a Thoma Eboracensi coronatur. Hic ecclesiam liberam fecit, consuetudines pravas et exactiones abstulit et earundum inventorem Ranulfum Dunelmensis episcopum incarceravit. Anselmus ab exilio revocatur. Rex Matildem Malcolmi et Margarete filiam duxit uxorem quam Anselmus die sancti Martini coronavit. Robertus Curthose de Ierosolimis rediens uxorem in Sicilia accepit. Tomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus obit succedit Gerardus Herefordis.

1101

1101.1 Ranulphus dictus episcopus Dunelmensis a custodia lapsus Normanniam adit. Comes Robertum ut Angliam capiat incitat. Erant et alii plurimi qui hoc idem ei mandabant. Unde ipse collecto exercitu Angliam adit. Rex autem premunitus portum occupat et exercitu collecto aut vincere aut occumbere parat. Pax inter fratres fit ita ut rex comiti iii milia marcarum annuatim solveret. Godefridus Ierosolimis obit. Succedit frater eius Badelwinus.

1102

1102.1 Rex Henricus Roberto de Belesmo seditiosum exilio pellit. Anselmus regis consensu apud Londonia coacto concilio plures deponit abbes vel propter symoniam vel propter vite infamiam. Depositi sunt Persorens, Burgi, Heliensis de Sancto Edmundo Ramensis Cernel Mideltonie Teucestoc milie Ievensis. Rex Henricus Mariam sororem Regine Matildis Eustachio Bononiensis comiti nuptum tradit.

1103

1103.1 Gravis discordia inter regem et archiepiscopum Anselmum eo quod non consenserit ut rex investituras daret ecclesiasticas nec eos consecrare vellet quibus rex episcopatus traderet nec communicare eis. Unde rex Gerardo Eboracensis preceptus eos consecrare a quo quidem consecrati sunt. Reliqui autem maluerunt episcopatus resignare quam contra equum consecrari

et sic fecerunt. Anselmus Romam adit. Robertus comes in Angliam veniens regine III milia marcarum dedit quas ei rex annuatim debebat.

1103.2 *Mortalitas animalium fruges aeris intemperie perierunt.*

1104

1104.1 *Quatuor circuli circa solem visi sunt. Corpus sancti Cuthberti ostensum est incorruptum.*

1104.2 *Wulsius heremita apud Evesham obit.*

1104.3 *Hic Baddebi Croilandie primo dederat.*

1105

1105.1 *Henricus Normanniam adiens omnes fere Normannos in suas partes inclinavit sed mox Angliam rediit.*

1106

1106.1 *Henricus imperator obit. Cui filius eius Henricus succedit Romanorum xc vii. Stella insolita visa est. In cena Domini due plene lune vise sunt. Henricus rex Normanniam adit ubi Anselmus de Roma rediens, reconciliatus est regi. Eodem anno cepit rex comitem Normannie Robertum et totam Normanniam fratremque suum usque ad obitum in custodia tenuit.*

1107

1107.1 *Normannia stabilita, rex Angliam redit factoque apud Londoniam concilio comitum, baronum, episcoporum, abbatum rex investituras per anulum et baculum in perpetuum remisit similiter abbatiarum et ecclesiarum. Anselm Cantuarie uno die vi episcopus faciunt. Assistente sibi Girardo Eboracensi, aliisque episcopis plurimis. Edgarus rex Scottorum obit. Succesit frater eius Alexander. Plures Anglie magnates obierunt.*

1108

1108.1 *Henricus rex pacem firmam per regnum facit. Statuit que ut qui furto deprehensus fuerit suspendatur. Monetam etiam correxit. Graviter in monete corruptores ulciscens ut absque misericordia oculis et genitalibus privarentur. Philippus rex Francie obit. Succesit filius eius Ludowicus. Girardus Eborancesis obit. Tomas eligintur. Gundulfus Rofensis episcopus obit. Succesit Ricardus.*

1109

1109.1 *Anselmus archiepiscopus obit. Tomas Eboracensis electus a Ricardo Londonie consecratur et pallium a legato sedis romane Ulsi nomine accipit. Rex abbatia Hely in episcopatum convertit et primum episcopum Herveum Bangornensem constituit.*

1109.2 *Porca enixa est porcellum habentem faciem hominis.*

1109.3 *Hugo Cluniacensis obit et Ingulfus Croilandie cui succesit Joffridus.*

1109.4 *Cometa visa est.*

1110

1110.1 *Henricus filiam suam Matildem Henrico imperatori dedit in uxorem. Plura signa in Anglia ostensa sunt. Terremotus. Trente fluvius apud Snotingham a mane usque ad terciam siccatus est per specium miliaris unius ut sicco transsiri posset vestigio. Cometa per tres ebdomadas apparuit.*

1111

1111.1 *Henricus imperator ecclesiam Romanam propter investituras graviter affligens Romam adit. Pascalem propriam eo quod a sententia predecessoris sui Hildebrandi et Urbani resilire noluit cum cardinalibus cepit et custodie mandavit. Coactus papa ad libitum omnia ei sub scripto privilegiavit eundemque in imperatorem consecravit. Henricus rex Flandrenses qui trans*

Humbram erant cum omnibus suis in Ros transtulit contra Wallenses. Hiemps asperrima. Fames valida. Mortalitas hominum et iumentorum.

1112

1112.1 *Lateranis in basilica Constantiniana convocata synodo generali dominus Paschalis papa omnium consensu quassavit illud pravilegium potius quam privilegium quod anno preterito ab eo extorserat Henricus imperator et in perpetuum anathematizavit acclamantibus omnibus qui aderant, Fiat, Fiat, Amen, Amen. Sanson Wigorniens obit.*

1112.2 *Succesit Teulphus.*

1113

1113.1 *Wigornia cum ecclesia maiori et castello monachis aliquibus et civibus plurimis igne conflagravit.*

1114

1114.1 *Matildis filia regis Anglie in imperatricem Maguntie consecratur. Tomas Eborancensis archiepiscopus obit. Thurstanus eligitur.*

1114.2 *Ecclesia nova Croilandia fundata est.*

1114.3 *Radulfus Rofensis ad Cantuariensem archiepiscopo eligitur. Arnulfus autem abbas Burgi ad Rofensem. Thamenis et Medeweia siccata sunt. Mare etiam non nullis locis per plura miliaria.*

1114.4 *Cometa videtur.*

1115

1115.1 *Hiems aspera. Imperator Henricus Coloniam obsidet. Cono sancte Romane sedis legatus Catalaunis concilium celebrat. Regnelmus Herefordensis obit. Succedit Gaufridus.*

Anselmus legatus Romane pallium Radulfo defert. Radulfus consecratur.

1116

1116.1 *Oswinus rex Wallensis occiditur. Turstanus Eboracensis electus post longam contra archiepiscopum Cantuariensis decertationem archiepiscopatum resignavit. Rege cum baronibus decernente ut, vel obedientiam faceret Cantuarie et professionem debitam vel resignaret. Anselmus legatus iterum rediens regi vices apostolicas in Angliam scripto apostolico defert.*

1117

1117.1 *Terremotus per xl dies in Italia, ubi muri, domus, turres corruerunt: villa etiam pregrandis a loco ad locum longe remotum transposita. Mediolani etiam, cum patricie dignitatis plures de republica sub turri quadam tractarent, vocatus est unus eorum nomine ut exiret. Quo tardante venit quidam prete optinens ut exiret. Vix exierat et ecce turris cadens reliquos oppressit. Robertus Staffordensis obit.*

1118

1118.1 *Pie memorie Paschalis papa obit. Succesit Gelasius. Henricus imperator Romam adi et Bracarensem episcopum Mauricum quam etiam Burdinum dicunt expulso Gelasio sedem intrudit nominans eum Gregorium Gelasius vero Burgundiam per mare navigat. Matildis regina Anglie obit. Dissensio inter regem Francorum Lodovicum et regem Anglorum.*

1118.2 *Baldwinus rex Ierosolimitanis obit. Cui succesit Baldewinus.*

1119

1119.1 *Gelasius papa obit et Cluniacum sepelitur. Succesit Wido Vienencis et dictus est Calixtus. Hic Remis convocat synodum quo etiam plures episcoporum Anglie a rege missi erant. Thurstanus etiam electus Eboracensis regis licentia illuc venit fide data quod ab apostolico non consecraretur sed ille fidei immemor Romanis per munera illectis consecratus est. Unde rege*

furore commotus, eum cum omnibus suis Anglia arcet. Pace inter reges facta. Willelmus filius regis Anglie Normanniam a rege Francie tenendam de eo accipit. Terremotus per Angliam.

1120

1120.1 *Bis venit lumen ad sepulcrum Domini.*

1120.2 *Henrico ad libitum patris omnibus in Angliam a Normannia redeunte filius eius Willelmus patrem consecutus in mira aeris serenitate cum flore totius Anglie et Normannie submergitur.*

1121

1121.1 *Rex Adelizam filiam Godefridi ducis de Luensi ducit in uxorem quam Radulphus archiepiscopus coronat. Radulfus archiepiscopus Robertum Cestrensis Ricardum Herefordensis Gregorium Dublinensis consecrat. Rex Anglie Henricus Wallenses sibi subicit.*

1122

1122.1 *Radulfus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis obit. Iohannes Batoniensis obit. Hoc totam urbem Batoniensem a rege d libris argenti emerat.*

1122.2 *Hugo abbas Cluniacensis obit.*

1123

1123.1 *Robertus Lincolniensis obit. Succesit Alexander. Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus hic Romam cum Thurstino Eboracensis propter pallium ivit. Godefridus episcopus Batoniensis. Alexander rex Scottorum obit. Succesit David. Teulfus episcopus Wigornensis obit.*

1123

1123.2 Goffridus abbas Croylandise obiit: successit Waldevus monachus ejusdem loci.

1124

1124.1 Solis eclypsis.

1124.2 *Arnulfus Rofensis obit.*

1124.3 *Tyrus a nostris capitur. Baldewinus rex Ierosolimis a vinculis redemptione liberatur.*

1124.4 *Kalixtus papa obit.*

1124.5 *Hic Burdinum antipapam captum Sutrii, ignominiose satis, in monasterio Cavee reclusit.*

1124.6 *Huic Henricus imperator amicus factus eo quod proximus, ut dicitur, ei sanguinis linea, esset Deo et sancto Petro in perpetuum investituras per anulum et baculum remisit retentis sibi tantum regalibus. Confirmatum est hoc utrumque, tam privilegio imperiali quam apostolico sedataque est diutina discordia fomes cismatis et hereseos inter regnum et sacerdotium. Hic etiam oblationes fidelium, antea potentium insolentia pro libitu direptas, ad usum revocavit ecclesiasticum. Hic etiam Anglis pro viarum periculis, pro una peregrinatione Romana bis sanctum David petere concessit.*

1124.7 *Succesit sede apostolica Honorius.*

1124.8 *Hic ab omnibus fere cardinalibus repulsus, eo quod minus canonice per contentionem fuerit immantatus; duodecimo die coram universis, cum summa humilitate mantum deposuit cum mitra unde premoti fratres consensu quod deerat egerunt eum in papatum promoventes.*

1125

1125.1 *Iustitia per Angliam de monetariis. Mutationem monete sequitur. Caritas magna caritatem mortalitas hominum. Obiit Henricus imperator. Succedit Lotharius Romanorum xcvi. Consecratur episcopi Sigegridus Cicestrensis, Simon Wigornensis, Johannes Roffensis a Willelmo Cantuariensis. Celebrata est synodus generalis a Johanne apostolice sedis legato apud Westmonasterium. Willelmus Cantuariensis Romam adit et legatiam per Angliam et Scotiam suscipit.*

1126

1126.1 *Rex curiam apud Windesham tenens in die Natalis domini coronatur ubi cum Eboracum ex equo cum Cantuarie regem coronare vellet, repulsam non sine iniuria passus est. Crux etiam, quam ante se ferri, fecerat prostrata; asserentibus cunctis, non licere metropolitano in aliena dyocesia crucem sibi preferre. Rex convocatis omnibus regni primoribus filie sue imperatrici regnum post dies suos iurari fecit nisi sobolem virilis sexus acciperet. Robertus Peche Coventrensis episcopus obiit.*

1126.2 *Hic thesauris et ornamentis Coventrensis monasterii inhians que a prima fundatione ibi congesta erant illuc sedem Cestrensem conferre molitus; unde et se Coventrensem vocari fecit ibique se sepeliri iussit.*

1127

1127.1 *Ricardus Herefordensis obiit. Willelmus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et apostolice sedis legatus concilium Londonia convocat plura proponens capitula.*

1128

1128.1 *Obiit Ricardus Londoniensis. Successit Gilebertus. Willelmus comes Flandrensis obiit. Radulfus Dunelmensis obiit.*

1129

1129.1 *Willelmus Wintoniensis episcopus obit. Succesit Henricus regis Henrici nepos. Rogerus episcopus Cestrensis una cum Henrico Wintoniensis consecratur. Honorius papa obit. Succesit Innocentius.*

1129.2 *Petrus Leonus antipapa.*

1129.3 *Boamundus iunior Antiochie princeps in bello occiditur.*

1130

1130.1 *Ecclesia Christi Cantuariensis magno apparatu dedicatur a Willelmo archiepiscopo episcopis pluribus cismarinis et transmarinis cooperantibus. Hugo Abbas Radingensis ad archiepiscopatum Rotomagensem eligitur.*

1131

1131.1 *Baldewinus secundus Ierosolimorum rex tertio obit. Succesit Fulco comes Andegavie regis filiam ducens.*

1131.2 *Hervens Helyensis obit. Robertus prior Landonie in episcopatum Herefordensis consecratur.*

1132

1133

1133.1 *Eclipsis solis. Terremotus per Angliam. Robertus dux Normannia in custodia obit.*

1134

1134.1 Gilebertus episcopus Londonie obit.

1135

1135.1 *Henricus rex Anglie obit in Normannia anno regni sui xxxv. Succesit Steffanus Theobaldi comes Blessensis frater iunior.*

1135.2 *Comes Bononie et de Mortonie non multo post contra suum et omnium qui eum coronaverunt et in regem susceperunt sacramentum.*

1135.3 *Hic in coronatione sua omnia que vel ecclesie vel regno privilegiare exposcebatur benignissime contulit.*

1136

1136.1 *Corpus regis Henrici in Anglia delatum apud Rading quam ipse fundaverat honorifice sepelitur. David rex Scottorum pacem facit cum rege Steffano. Cui filius eius David homagium factus.*

1136.2 *Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obit. Translatio sancti Guthlaci, Alexandro episcopo Lincolniensis presente.*

1137

1137.1 *Steffanus Normanniam adit. Pacificata ea, pacem cum rege Francorum facit omnibusque prospere actis Angliam redit.*

1137.2 *Iohannes imperator Constantinopolis se ipsum sagitta toxicata vulnerans obit. Succesit filius eius Manuel.*

1137.3 *Raimundus princeps Antiocenus.*

1137.4 *Lodowicus rex Francorum obit. Succesit filius eius Lodowicus.*

1138

1138.1 *Theobaldus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis ab Alberico apostolice sedis legato ordinatur. Steffanus rex infringere dudum ceperat que in coronatione Deo et regno promiserat. Unde et ulcione divina.*

1138.2 *Insurrexerunt in eum per totam Angliam non solum magni sed etiam mediocres contra eum castella firmantes. Scotti etiam cum multitudine innumera Angliam vastant quos regis iussu archiepiscopo Eborancensis Thurstino duce Angli fere usque ad internitionem apud Standard trucidaverunt. Concilium apud Westmsterium, ubi Waldevus, abbas Croylandiae, deponitur ab Alberico legato; cui successit Godefridus, prior sancti Albani.*

1138.3 *Rogerus episcopus Sarum incarceratur.*

1139

1139.1 *Eclipsis solis.*

1139.2 *Imperatrix Matildis filia Henrici in Angliam venit. Huic terra iurata erat.*

1139.3 *Ubique per Angliam cedes, ubique ergo in terra cedes et incendia, et plurima mortis imago, nusquam tuta quies.*

1140

1140.1 *Rex Steffanus in obsidione Lincolnia capitur. Imperatrix omnis Anglos exceptis Kententibus sibi subicit unde in elationem erecta, multorum animos a se avertit. Capitur frater eius Robertus comes Gloucestrie et rex pro eo dimititur eo quod sub eius custodia rex teneretur suscipitur rex a suis honorifice.*

1141

1141.1 *Ecclesia magna Lincolnia comburitur. Jocelinus episcopus Sarum.*

1141.2 *Rex Stephanus imperatricem apud Oxenfordis obsidet sed illa per Tamensem tunc gelatum evadente rex castellum capit.*

1141.3 *Fulco rex Ierosolem, dum presente regina et suis leporem insectaretur equo labente in terram ruens cerebreum per oculos, aures et nares dispersit. Succesit filius eius Baldewinus tertius.*

1142

1142.1 *Innocentius papa obit. Succesit Celestinus. Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus apostolice sedis legatus concilium Londonie celebrat. Galfridus de Mandevillis Rameseiam invadit unde a parietibus ecclesie sanguis dicitur ebullisse.*

1143

1143.1 *Celestinus papa obit. Succesit Lucius. Rex Stephanus Lincolniam absque profectu obsidet.*

1143.2 *Godefridus abbas Croilandie obit. Succesit Edwardus prior Ramesis.*

1144

1144.1 *Pax inter comes Cestrie et regem. Rex tamen eum in curia imparatum capi facit et teneri donec castellum Lincolnie redderet.*

1144.2 *Puer quidam Willelmus nomine a Iudeis apud Northwicum crucifigitur.*

1145

1145.1 *Patriarchus Ierosolem cum aliis auxilium indicitur implorare. Lucius papa obit. Succesit Eugenius.*

1145.2 *Cometa apparuit.*

1146

1146.1 *Rex Steffanus Lincolnia coronatur. Eugenius papa in Franciam descendit. Ad iter Ierosolimitanum signatur Lodowicus rex Francie cum multis aliis. Conradus imperator cum suis.*

1146.2 *Ecclesia Croilandie combusta est cum officinis et ornamentis et libris in Nativitate Beate Marie.*

1147

1147.1 *Imperator Conradus cum magno apparatu Ierosolimam adit sed insidias in itinere, ut dicitur, Grecorum passus vix cum paucis de tanta multitudine evasit. Rex etiam Francie cum uxore proficiscens consimilem fere expertus est casum. Alexandrus episcopus Lincolnensis obit. Succesit Robertus de Chenei.*

1147.2 *Hillarius episcopus Cicestrensis.*

1147.3 *Damascus sine profectu a Christianis obsidet. Imperator Conradus ad sua redit.*

1148

1148.1 *Robertus Herefordensis obit. Succesit Girardus.*

1148.2 *Rex Francie a Ierosolem rediit.*

1148.3 *Ramundus princeps Antiochenus in bello occiditur.*

1149

1149.1 *Steffanus rex Wintoniam comburit nec tamen castellum capit.*

1150

1150.1 Theobaldus archiepiscopus concilium Londonie convocat *cui et rex interfuit. Rex iterum castellum Wintonie obsidet sed frustra.*

1150.2 *Galfridus Plantegenest comes Andegavie filius Fulconis regis Ierosolem pater Henrici II obit. Henricus ducatum Normannie et comitatum Andegavie accipit et hereditatem uxoris sue Aquitanniam.*

1150.3 *Lodowicus enim ei iam libellum repudii non inmerito dederat.*

1150.4 Rex Francie suasu *Eustachii filii regis Stephani cui et ipse sororem suam dederat partes Henrici inquierat.*

1151

1151.1 *Rex filium suum Eustachium omni visu coronare satagit. Resistunt episcopi apostolico id inhibente mandato.*

1151.2 *Safridus episcopus obit in insula Mere, ubi privatus vixerat.*

1152

1152.1 *Matilldis uxor regis Steffani obit. Henricus filius regis David obit. Willelmus episcopus Londonie obit. Succesit Hugo. Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus consecratur. Turci Ierosolimam obsidere veniunt sed nostri erumpentes eos usque ad Iordanem insequuntur cesis v millibus hominum et spoliis universis direptis.*

1153

1153.1 *Pax inter regem Steffanum et Henricum ducem. Eustachius filius regis Steffani obit.*

1153.2 *David rex Scotie obit. Succesit Malcolmus nepos eiusdem. Eugenius papa obit. Succesit Anastasius. Simon Comes obit. Bernardus abbas Clarevallensis obit.*

1154

1154.1 *Rex Steffanus obit. Succesit Henricus secundus.*

1154.2 *Willelmus archiepiscopus Eborancensis obit. Succesit Rogerus Cantuarie archidiaconus cui in archidiaconatum succedit sanctus Thomas. Anastasius papa obit. Succesit Adrianus Anglicus nascione. Lodowicus rex Francorum filiam Aldefunsi regis Hispaniarum ducit. Thomas regis Anglie fit cancellarius. Ascalon a Christianis capitur.*

1155

1155.1 *Henricus II a Theobaldo Cantuarie archiepiscopo xiiii kalendis Ianuarii Londonie coronatur.*

1155.2 *Henricus postmodum rex filius Henrici regis nascitur.*

1155.3 *Willelmus Peverel exheredatur.*

1155.4 *Robertus Exoniensis episcopus obit. Successit Robertus.*

1156

1156.1 *Alienor regina peperit filiam Matildam.*

1156.2 *Signum crucis in luna apparuit.*

1157

1157.1 *Rex Henricus in Walliam ducit exercitum ubi et Roulandum capit.*

1157.2 *Ricardus postea rex nascitur.*

1157.3 *Ecclesia Frestonie cum omnibus officinis combusta est.*

1157.4 *Rex Henricus Lincolnie in Natali coronatur.*

1158

1158.1 *Rex Henricus Wintonie coronatur.*

1158.2 *Iustitia de monetariis.*

1158.3 *Rex Henricus Parisius honorifice suscipitur.*

1158.4 *Galfridus frater eius obit.*

1158.5 *Galfridus comes Britannie nascitur.*

1159

1159.1 *Adrianus papa obit.*

1159.2 *Successit Alexander.*

1159.3 *Scisma in Romana ecclesia.*

1159.4 *Antipapa Octavianus.*

1159.5 *Willelmus comes Bononie Stefani regis filius obit et Robertus Exoniensis et Ricardus Sancti Andree Scotie episcopi.*

1160

1160.1 *Rex Henricus Tolosam obsidet.*

1160.2 *Henricus III filiam Lodowici regis Francie desponsat.*

1160.3 *Gisortium regi Anglie redditur.*

1160.4 *Alueredus Wigornensis episcopus obit.*

1160.5 *Lodowicus rex filiam Theobaldi comitis Campanie ducit Aalam nomine.*

1161

1161.1 *Theobaldus Cantuarie archiepiscopus obit.*

1161.2 *Dissensio inter reges Francie et Anglie sed mox sedatur.*

1161.3 *Adam prior Bermundeseie abbas fit Eveshansis.*

1162

1162.1 *Tomas Archidiaconus Cantuarie et prepositus Beverlaci et cancellarius regis archiepiscopus Cantuarie factus est.*

1162.2 *Regina filiam Alienor nomine peperit.*

1162.3 *Baldewinus Ierosolimorum rex obit.*

1162.4 *Successit frater eius Amalricus.*

1163

1163.1 *Alexander papa concilium apud Turonia celebrat.*

1163.2 *Henricus rex concilium apud Westmisterium convocat ubi et corpus sancti Edwardi regis translatum est.*

1163.3 *Gilebertus Foliot ab Herefordensi ad Londoniensem episcopatum transfertur.*

1163.4 *Duellum inter Henricum de Essex et Robertum de Muntfort. Robertus de Melun ad Herefordensis episcopatum consecratur a beato Thoma.*

1163.5 *Roger ad Wigornie.*

1163.6 *Discordia inter regem et archiepiscopum Thomam.*

1163.7 *Concilium apud Clarendone.*

1164

1164.1 *Thomas archiepiscopus a concilio Norhantonie recedens exulat.*

1164.2 *Tres circuli circa solem videntur quibus evanescentibus quia duo soles creantur unde ad dexteram reliquus ad sinistram solis.*

1164.3 *Iustitia de obsidibus Wallensium.*

1165

1165.1 *Henricus rex tercio ducit exercitum in Walliam.*

1165.2 *Aala regina Francie peperit Philippum regem.*

1165.3 *Alienor regina Anglie filiam Johannam nomine peperit.*

1166

1166.1 *Iohannes postea rex Anglie nascitur.*

1167

1167.1 *Robertus de Querceto Lincolniensis episcopus obit.*

1167.2 *Matilldis imperatrix obit.*

1167.3 *Almaricus rex Ierosolime Egipti plures civitates cepit inter quas etiam Alexandriam sed non sibi.*

1168

1168.1 *Matilldis filia regis Henrici duci Saxonie datur.*

1168.2 *Conanus Dux Britannie ex sorore Willelmi regis Scottorum filiam reliquit heredem quam Gaufridus dux postea et genuit Arturum et sororem eius Alienor nomine.*

1169

1169.1 Concordia inter reges.

1169.2 Aldefunsus rex Castelle ducit Alienor filiam regis Anglie in uxorem ex qua genuit dominam Blancham.

1169.3 Nigellus Eliensis episcopus obit.

1169.4 Rex Henricus curiam in Natali tenuit apud Nannenum in Britannia.

1170

1170.1 Coronatio iii Henrici regis filii.

1170.2 Godricus hermita de Finchehale obit.

1170.3 Rex Henricus secundus gravi morbo correptus tribus filius totam terram suam dividit.

Henrico iii iam coronato Angliam Normanniam Andegaviam Cenommiam. Ricardo totam Aquitaniam cum pertinenciis. *Gaufrido Britanniam cum filia* Conano. Iohannem autem Henrico tertio regi commendavit se autem apud Grandem Montem sepeliri iussit sed convalescens votumque in infirmitates fecerat peregrinatione sancte Martini de Rupe Amator soluit. Concordia inter regem et sanctum Thomam qui in Angliam rediens in ecclesia et pro ecclesia sua laurea Martyrii coronatur.

1171

1171.1 Rex Anglie missis de suis se de morte martiris apud sedem apostolicam excusat. Avigor imperator de Marrochus de Affrica in Hispaniam veniens inter cetera Aldefunso regi castelle duas civitates aufert. Rex Anglie Henricus in Hibernia transsiens, eam sibi subicit ubi etiam curiam in Natali tenet.

1172

1172.1 Rex Anglie purgat se de morte martiris Thome coram cardinalibus Alberto et Theodino et de reliquo ad arbitrium illorum se humiliat. Henricus iunior secundo Wintonia coronatur et cum

eo uxor eius Margareta filia Lodowici, qui non multo post una cum uxore sua a patre mittitur ad socerum, unde multorum malorum orta est occasio.

1172.2 Suggestit quippe ei ut a patre vel totam Normanniam vel totam Angliam pro libitu suo habendam peteret. Quorum si utrumque negaret, ad se una cum uxore veniret.

1172.3 Almaricus rex Ierosolem obit. Succesit filius eius Baldewinus quartus hic paralisi laborabat.

1172.4 Philippus rex Francie coronatur.

1173

1173.1 Rex Henricus senior ad opus filii sui Iohannis filiam comitis Mauriam heredem eiusdem quinque millia marcarum emit. Comes sancti Egidii homagium fecit regi seniori et iuniori de Tolosa et similiter Ricardo filio eius ut redderet annuatim pro ea c marcas argenti et x dextrarios de precio Ricardo comiti Aquitannie et ad sumonitionem eius xl diebus in exercitum eius ad expensas proprias veniret et aliis xl ad expensas illius si vellet. Rex iunior a patre ad regem Francie cum uxore confugit et ad eum fratres sui Ricardus et Gaufridus postea veniunt quos ipse contra patrem exasperans cum omnibus suis auxilium pollicetur. Rex iunior facto sibi sigillo novo novas donationes suis facit, fautoribus comes Flandrie et Companie et aliis. Vernolium a Francis obsidetur. Multi tam in Normanniam qui in Angliam contra regem seniore cum filiis eius insurgunt. Comes Cestrie apud Dolum in Britanniam. Comes Leicestrie apud sanctum Aedmundus capitur ubi Flandrenses occiduntur. Ludowicus Ricardum ducem Aquitannie cingulo militari honorat. Tractatur inter patrem et filium de pace sed incassum.

1173.2 Canonizatio sancti Thomae.

1173.3 Edwardus abbas Croilandie obit.

1174

1174.1 Rex Scotie capitur. Pax inter regem et filios. Omnes fere Anglie magnates ad reclamium venerunt castelli suis redditus post captione regis Scottie. Ricardus prior Doverie Rome a domino papa Alexandro consecratur in archiepiscopum Cantuarie et legatus in Anglie veniens in redeunto regis Batonie episcopum consecrat. Post reditum autem suum apud Cantuarie Ricardum Wintonie, Gaufridum Ridel Elyensis, Robertum Herefordensis, Johannem Cicestrensis consecrat. Cantuaria cum principali ecclesia conflagrat.

1174.2 Turris Croilandie cecidit.

1174.3 Willelmus Norwicensis obit.

1174.4 Rotomagus obsidetur.

1175

1175.1 *Rex Scotie liberatur et apud Eboracensis cum omnibus terre sue primatibus patri et filio regibus occurrens ligantiam et homagium fecit primum regi patri deinde filio. Similiter et omnes qui illuc convenerant tam episcopi quam barones regi seniori homagium fecerunt et fidelitatem contra omnes homines*, deinde iuniori filio scilicet salvo honore patris. Ricardus Cantuarie archiepiscopus concilium Londonie vocavit ubi clerici Eboracensis ius de cruce portanda per Cantuarie dyocesis calumpniabantur; similiter episcopatum Lincolnie, Cestrie, Herefordie, Wigornie ad Eboracum tanquam metropolitanum de iure pertinere et inde Cantuaria ad apostolicam sedem appellant. Rex Anglie omnes fere terre sue tam clericos quam laicos de foresta implicat eo quod tempore gwerre et eius etiam mandato forestas ingressi sunt. Rodericus rex Conactensis in Hibernia se regi Anglie subdit. Hugozun legatus in Angliam venit hic regi licentiam dedit implicandi clericos de forestis suis.

1175.2 Robertus prior Leminister factus est abbas Croilandie.

1175.3 Willelmus abbas Burgi deponitur.

1176

1176.1 Rex convocato apud Norhantonie concilio assisas Clarendonie renovat et iustitios qui eas persequantur constituit que hodie per Angliam currunt sed assisa xii legalium hominum sacramento. Illuc venit Willelmus rex Scotie cum omnibus terre sue primatibus episcopis facturis ex conducto anglicane ecclesie subiectionem se deberent. Orta est dissensio inter Cantuariam et Eboracum de hac subiectione. Hugozun legatus concilium Londonie celebrat ubi cum Rege Eboracensis ad dextram eius sedere vellet. Inhoneste abiectus temeritatis penas soluit, pugnis et pedibus egregie donatus. Iohanna filia regis Anglie Willelmo regi Sicilie nubit. Quinquennalis pax inter archiepiscopum, episcopos Cantuarie et Eboraci. Comes Gloucestrie Iohannem filium regis heredem suum facit cum unica filia sua. Willelmus Senonensis archiepiscopus ad Remensem promovetur ecclesiam. Magister Iohannes Sarum ad Carnotensis. Petrus prior Weneloc ad Sanctum Davido. Obit Ricardus de Strugoil iustitiosarum Hibernie et Willelmus comes de Arundel et Willelmus de Curci iustitiosarum Normannie. Mena Leicestrie cum castello Leicestrie et Grobi omnino demolita sunt. Similiter et castella Rogeri de Mumbrai et Hugoni Bigot. Fredericus imperator a longobardi usque ad fugam impugnatus de pace cepit cum papa tractare. Manuel imperator Constantinopolis contra Persas movet expeditionem parum proficiens.

1176.2 Eclipsis solis.

1177

1177.1 Concordia inter dominum papam Alexander et Fredericum imperatorem in vigilia sancti Iacobi apostoli; Iohanne antipapa degradato, qui Gwidoni Credienti successerat. Rex Iohannem filium suum dominum Hibernie constituit, distribuita Hibernia hominibus suis qui inde homagium et fidelitatem eidem Iohanni fecerunt. Benedictus abbas Burgi et Salomon Torneie. Pax inter reges Anglie et Francie seniores facta est, ea condicione, ut se uterque crucisignaret iter Ierosolimitanum aggressurus et Ricardus comes Aquitannie filiam Ludowici in uxorem acciperet. Inventio Sancti Amphibali. Introducti sunt canonici regulares in ecclesiam de Waltham, rege Henrico id procurante.

1177.2 *Hoilandia submersa* est vii Ides Ianuarii.

1178

1178.1 *Eclipsis solis* in festo Exaltationis Sancte Crucis.

1178.2 *Eboracus combusta est.*

1178.3 Ricardus de Luci fundavit abbatiam apud Lednes.

1178.4 Rex Gaufridum filium suum cingulo militari donat.

1178.5 Ricardus episcopus Sancti Andree obiit. Successit Iohannes.

1179

1179.1 *Peregrinatio regis Lodowici et Willelmi archiepiscopi Remensis et Philippi comitis Flandrie ad Sanctum Thomam.*

1179.2 Generale concilium Rome sub Alexandro papam.

1179.3 Rogerus episcopus Wigornensis obit et Adehelmus decanus Lincolniensis et Ricardus de Luci.

1180

1180.1 Lodowicus rex Francie obiit successit Philippus filius eius.

1180.2 Mutatio monete in Anglia.

1180.3 Baldewinus abbas de Forda suscepit episcopatum Wigornie.

1180.4 *Translatio sancte Fritheswithe.*

1181

1181.1 Rogerus Eboracensis ex mandato domini pape terram regis Scotie interdictit propter episcopum sancti Andree. Idem Rogerus obit. Alexandrus papa obit. Succesit Lucius.

1182

1182.1 Iohannes Cumin factus est archiepiscopus Dublin. Galfridus filius regis electus Lincolnie resignavit Lincolnie ecclesiam.

1182

1182.2 Dux Saxonie pater Othonis postmodum Romanorum imperatoris et uxor eius filia videlicet regis Anglie Henrici secundi mater eiusdem Othonis venerunt in Angliam exules.

1182.3 Obit Ricardus episcopus Cestrie et Walterus Rofensis.

1182.4 Ecclesia Lincolnie cessavit xiii septimanis.

1183

1183.1 *Henricus III rex Anglie filius Henrici secundi obit.*

1183.2 Et Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus. Walterus de Constancia episcopus Lincolnensis consecratur et magister Girardus Puella Cestrie qui eodem anno obit.

1184

1184.1 *Patriarcha Ierosolem venit in Angliam et archiepiscopus Colonie.*

1184.2 Simon III comes Norhantoniae obit.

1185

1185.1 Terremotus in Anglie xvii kalendis Maii. Eclipsis solis. Obit Lucius papa. Succedit Urbanus. Concilium Londoniensis presente rege et patriarcha. Baldewinus a Wigornensis

ecclesia ad Cantuariam transfertur. Iohannes filius regis, cingulo militari donatus, in Hiberniam transit et cum eo milites multi.

1185.2 Bartholomeus Exoniensis episcopus obit.

1186

1186.1 Gaufridus comes Britannie obit, relicta uxore pregnante et filia. Discordia inter Henricum et Philippum reges. Consecrati sunt Hugo Lincolnie, Willelmus Herefordiensis, Willelmus Wigornensis.

1187

1187.1 Infra occasione apostolorum Petri et Pauli bellum inter Salahadinum et Christianos, ubi cruce Christi capta est una cum rege Ierosolimorum et magistro militie Templi, reliquis omnibus vel peremptis vel captis. *Ierosolima* etiam cum omnibus circumiacentibus munitionibus non multo post *capitur* scilicet kalendis Octobris.

1187.2 Constantia comitissa Britannie peperit Arturum postumum. Isabel regina Francie peperit Lodowicum. *Urbanus papa obit. Succesit Gregorius* eo que non multo post mortuo *succesit Clemens*.

1188

1188.1 *Philippus rex Francie et Henricus rex Anglie cruce se signari fecerunt per manus archiepiscopi Sirie, multique nobiles cum eis. Fredericus imperator Alemannie cum militis suorum crucem accepit.* Anglia decimata est auctoritate domini papa, similiter et Francia ut sicilex expense regibus utrusque regni procurarentur ad terre Ierosolem succursum. Ricardus Wintoniensis episcopus *obit* et *Gilebertus de Semplingham*. Concilium apud Geitentie, ubi Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus aliis pluribus crucem accepit. Ibi statutum est in Anglorum gente ne quis uteretur escarleteo, sabelino, vario vel grisio aut vestibus laceatis, nequis

exempto ultra duo secula uteretur eo quod rex cum omnibus fere Anglie magnatibus terre Ierosolem succursum preparabat.

1189

1189.1 Henricus rex Anglie apud Cenomium obit.

1189.2 Princeps cum potestatis amplitudine cum liberorum multitudine felicissimus nisi in eum qui ex eius femore exierant insurrexissent quorum tamen non tam humane temeritati quam divine ultioni nonnulli ascribunt. Eadem enim qua mensus est mensura ei remensum est ut qui patrem suum beatum Thomam Cantuarie usque ad mortem etsi mortem non intulerit persecutus est, ipsi a filiis propriis usque ad diem extremum persecutio non deesset.

1189.3 Succesit filius eius Ricardus et iii nonii Septembris Londonia coronatur, in quo die multi Iudeorum ibidem occiduntur. Obit Gaufridus Ridel Eliensis episcopus. Peregrinatio Frederici imperatoris Alemannie ad succursum terre Ierosolem. Rex Ricardus apud Pipewell dedit Gaufrido fratri suo Eboracensis archiepiscopatum, Ricardo thesaurario Londonie episcopatum, Huberto Walteri Sarum. Godefrido de Luci, Wintonie, Willelmo de Longo Campo cancellario suo Helyenam.

1189.4 Adam abbas Eveshamensis obit.

1190

1190.1 Motio Philippi et Ricardi regum versus Ierosolem quos utriusque regni multitudo maxima secuta est vel comitata. Robertus comes Leicestreia obit in peregrinatione Ierosolima.

1190.2 Robertus abbas Croilandia obit. Succesit Henricus frater Willelmi de Longo Campo regis cancellarii monachus Eveshami.

1191

1191.1 Acra a Christianis capta est. Rex Ricardus Cyprum insulam subicit. Eclipsis solis in vigilia sancti Iohannis Baptisti. Iohannes frater regis Ricardi tunc comes Mortonie postmodum rex Anglie turbavit Angliam unde et Willelmus regis Anglie cancellarius cui rex regnum commiserat Anglia pellitur. Rex Francie a Syria ad sua redit.

1191.2 Clemens papa obit, succedit Celestinus. Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obit apud Acram et comes Flandrie cum pluribus magnatibus.

1192

1192.1 Ricardus rex Anglie qui post regem Francie in Syria residens multa patrauerat egregiedum ad sua capta a Salahadino treuga rediret. A duce Austrie capitur contra communem omnium Christianorum fidelitatem qui peregrinantibus in itu et reditu pacem et securitatem parare consueverunt.

1192.2 Obit Reginald Batoniensis episcopus Cantuariam electus. Succedit Savaricus. Eclipsis lune. Rotomagus interdicti sententiae subicitur.

1193

1193.1 Dux Austrie vendidit Ricardum regem Angliae imperatori Henrico pro c milia marca Philipii rex Franciae. Gisorcio capta, Normanniam vastat, contra ius iurandum quo in Syria regi Anglie se astringerat quod eo in peregratione absente parti sue non noceret.

1193.2 Rotomagus incassum obsidet, resistente, Roberto comite Leicestrie cum ceteris Normannie magnatibus.

1193.3 Hubertus Walteri a Ierosolem rediens nisibus comiti Iohannis obstitit, qui a Sarum ad Cantuarie translatus est ecclesiam.

1193.4 Windeshor presidum comite Iohannis obsidetur et capitur.

1193.5 Omnes calices et vasa ecclesiastica simul et omnium magnatum vasa argentea per Angliam regie redemptioni conferuntur, possessionum preterea et reddituum pars quarta insuper et hidagium.

1194

1194.1 Ricardus rex industria Willelmi cancellarii sui redemptione c milia librarum argenti liberatus cum magno suorum gaudio suscipitur et Nottingham quam comes Johannes muniverat capta ad clausum Pascha. Wintonie coronatur.

1194.2 Henricus abbas Croilandie regem Ricardum, dum adhuc esset in Alemannia, pro marisco inter Croilandiam et Spandingum adiit.

1194.3 Gwerra inter reges Francie et Anglie Philippum et Ricardum.

1194.4 Herebertus episcopus Sarum.

1194.5 Rogerus primus Normannorum in Sicilia coronatur.

1194.6 Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus obit et Haimo decanus Lincolniensis.

1195

1195.1 Dux Austrie venditor regis Ricardi de equo cecidit et fracto femore mortuus est.

Henricus episcopus Wigornensis obit. Successit Iohannes.

1196

1196.1 Inundatio Sequane maxima.

1196.2 Salahadinus obit.

1196.3 Rex Saracenorum Mummolinus regem castelle in Hispania vicit et terre magnam partem abstulit.

1196.4 Philippus episcopus Dunelmensis.

1197

1197.1 Willelmus episcopus Eliensis regis cancellarius obit. Succesit in episcopatus Eustachius; in cancellaria, Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus. Robertus frater eius a prioratu Elyensis ad abbatiam Eboracensis transfertur. Henricus imperator Alemanie obit et Henricus de Campania, qui terre Ierosolem preerat.

1198

1198.1 Celestinus papa obit. Succesit Innocentius. Hugo Cestrensis episcopus obit. Succesit Gaufridus.

1198.2 Radulfus prior Fristonie factus est abbas Thorneie.

1198.3 Ricardus Londonie episcopus obit.

1198.4 Succedit Willelmus.

1198.4 Corpus beati Edmundi ab abbate Sampsona et xii monachis visum et repertum est incorruptum.

1198.5 Iohannes Wigornensis episcopus obit. Succesit Malgerus.

1198.6 Willelmus Herefordensis obit, succesit Egidius de Brause.

1198.7 Philippus dux Swavie frater Henrici imperatoris imperium arripere molitur. Restitit papa Innocentius cum suis fautoribus, Ottonem filium ducis Saxonie, in Romanorum regem Aquisgrani promovens.

1199

1199.1 Ricardus rex Anglie obit.

1199.2 Telo arcubaliste in castelli cuiusdem obsidione musculo brachii vulneratus, mortem tamen ei qui vulnus intulerat capto quod obsederat castro condonans non multo post obit. Princeps nulli secundus cuius tremor non solum finitimos sed externos invasit. Fama etiam et celebritas totum mundum replevit. Iudicio tamen Dei occulto sed iusto hoc genere mortis occubuit. Ipse siquidem hoc genus sagitandi quod arcubalarum dicitur iam dudum sopitum revocasse fertur in usum et in eo peritus manu propria, nonnullos peremisse quo et ipse in terra propria postmodum impermunitus et inopinately interiit iuxta illud. *Neque enim lex equior ulla est quam necis artifices arte perire sua.*

1199.3 Succesit frater eius Iohannes comes Moretonie et Londonie coronatione die ascensionis vi kalendis Iunii. Philippus dux Swavie violenter contra interdictum papa coronari Aquisgrani facit. Decertatio longa inter Philippum et Otonem.

1200

1200.1 Rex Anglie Iohannes filiam comitis Engolis inde in uxorem duxit. Pax facta est inter reges Philippum et Iohannem hac conditione ut cum dote nominata Lodowicus filius Philippi Bancham filiam regis castelle neptem regis Angie duceret quod et fecit. Concilium apud Londonie sub Huberto archiepiscopo et legato. Iohannes Norwicensis episcopus obit Succesit Iohannes de Grai. Venerabilis Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus Londonia obit et Lincolniam defertur, ubi exequiis illius omnes Anglie proceres et potentes intererant. Rex quippe Iohannes concilium illic convocaverat, occurrente sibi rege Scottorum cum suis et regulis Walliarum cum suis. Erantque ibidem III archiepiscopi et XIII episcopi qui omnes eius exequiis devotissime obsequium parabant.

1201

1201.1 Rex Anglie et regina simul Cantuarie in Pascha coronantur. *Eustachius abbas Flaviensis per Angliam de die dominico feriendo predicat et a mercaturis abstinere eo die hortatur et omnes fere voto ad hoc astringit. Mirabilia plura per Angliam evenerunt, sanguine vel ex vestibus aut ex aliis rebus per se stillante aeris et intemperie fulgura et pluviarum inundationes.*

1201.2 Iohannes rex Anglie Parisius honorifice susceptus est.

1201.3 Caruagium per Angliam exactum est, ut regi Francie denarii pro pace firmata procurarentur.

1202

1202.1 Comes Flandrie cum in pluribus aliis iter Ierosolimitanum aggreditur. In itinerando autem varios fortune casus expertus, tandem ad imperium Constantinopolitanum sublimatus⁷⁶⁹ est.

1202.2 Fulco presbyter de Noili, qui predicatione sua plures ad iter Ierosolimitanum sollicitaverat, obiit.

1202.3 Discordia inter Philippum et Iohannem reges⁷⁷⁰.

1202.4 Rex Francie Gurnai, cum castellis et aliis⁷⁷¹ urbibus, capit; et Arthurum cingulo militari donans, cum Pictavensibus contra regem Iohannem mittit, quem ipse apud Mirabel cum omnibus suis cepit.

1202.5 Translatio et canonizatio Sancti Gilberti de Sempingham.

1203

1203.1 Willelmus Lincolniensis episcopus⁷⁷² consecratur.

⁷⁶⁹ sublimatus] sullimatus *L*

⁷⁷⁰ inter...reges] inter Philippum regem Francie et Iohannem regem Anglie *CLM*

⁷⁷¹ et aliis] aliis et *CLM*

⁷⁷² Lincolniensis episcopus] episcopus Lincolniensis *CLM*

1203.2 Canonizatio Sancti Wistani Wygornensis episcopi a papa Innocentio, Malgero episcopo Wygornensi id procurante.

1203.3 Arthurus in priona patru sui Iohannis regis Anglie, dubium quo casu, de medio factus est, nec est inventum sepulcrum eius usque hodiernam diem⁷⁷³, ut dicitur, sed non absque Dei vindicta⁷⁷⁴, qui frangit omnem superbum. Britones quippe quasi de nomine augurium sumentes, Arthurum antiquum in isto resuscitatum impudenter et imprudenter iactitabant, et Anglorum interneccionem⁷⁷⁵, regnique ad Britones per istum imminere⁷⁷⁶ translationem.

1204

1204.1 Alienor, quondam regina Francie, postea autem regina Anglie, mater regum Iohannis et predecessorum eius Henrici et Ricardi⁷⁷⁷, obiit.

1204.2 Saffredus Cicestrensis obiit, successit⁷⁷⁸ Simon Wellensis archidiaconus.

1204.3 Capta est civitas Constantinopolis a comite Flandrie, episcopis et comitibus et nobilibus viris et fortissimis de Francia sibi associatis, in qua communi⁷⁷⁹ electione imperator nobiliter gessit; qui cum sibi partem Grecie⁷⁸⁰ adquisisset, et eam sancte Romane ecclesie subdidisset, post modicum⁷⁸¹ a Grecis interfectus est vel captus, sed nescitur⁷⁸²; cuius frater Henricus scilicet⁷⁸³ eidem est in regni solio sublimatus.

1204.4 Rex Francie Philippus Normanniam, Andegaviam, Cenomanniam, et fere totam Aquitanniam⁷⁸⁴, sine multa cede et sanguine capit, Rotomagi muros et castellum demoliri facit. Iohannes quippe, a suis destitutus, Normannia recesserat,

⁷⁷³ hodiernam diem] ad diem hanc *CLS*

⁷⁷⁴ Dei vindicta] vindicta Dei *C*

⁷⁷⁵ interneccionem] interventionem *C*

⁷⁷⁶ imminere] iminere *M*

⁷⁷⁷ regum Iohannis et predecessorum eius Henrici et Ricardi] Ricardi et Iohannis regum Anglie *C*

⁷⁷⁸ successit] succedit *M*

⁷⁷⁹ communi] omnium *CM*

⁷⁸⁰ sibi partem Grecie] partem Grecie sibi *CMV*

⁷⁸¹ modicum] tempus add. *CL*

⁷⁸² vel captus sed nescitur] *om. CLM*

⁷⁸³ Henricus scilicet] *om. CLM*

⁷⁸⁴ Aquitanniam] Andegaviam *CLM*

malens ad horam cum quodam dispendio et nominis et rerum cedere, quam se cum suis omnibus exterminio tradere.

1204.5 Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus obiit, successit⁷⁸⁵ Petrus de Rupibus.

1204.6 Obiit Paulus abbas Leyrcestrie, et Robertus comes Leyrcestrie absque sobole. Comitatum cuius Simon de Monteforti et Seerus de Quency inter se dividunt, eo quod Seerus et pater Simonis uxores duxissent sorores predicti Roberti comitis.

1205

1205.1 Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obiit.

1205.2 Eliguntur duo, primo subprior Cantuariensis a conventu, et postmodum Iohannes Norwycensis episcopus favore regio, et episcoporum comprovincialium consensu⁷⁸⁶, et quorundam Cantuariensium factione monachorum potestati⁷⁸⁷ publice placere volentium, vel certe fratris, ut videtur, promotionibus invidentium. Et fuerunt hec multorum in ecclesia Anglicana pariter et in regno initia dolorum. Iam prior electus, curiam adiens Romanam, favorem domini pape una cum manus impositione expectabat; subsecuti sunt alterius partis fautores, et rege id etiam cum expensarum exhibitione procurante, monachi Cantuariensis ecclesie xii subpriori in facie resistentes. Dominus autem papa utramque cassavit electionem, neutram asserens canonicam, ne aut regi satisfaciens Deum offenderet, aut reliquo assentiens⁷⁸⁸, regem nimis contristaret, presertim cum et prior electus apud sedem apostolicam conventus sigillo suam munivisset⁷⁸⁹ electionem, et secundo xii Cantuariensis ecclesie⁷⁹⁰ monachi una cum episcoporum comprovincialium et conventus sigillis, necnon et regiis petitionibus et muneribus forte transmissi suffragia prestarent.

⁷⁸⁵ successit] succedit *AL*

⁷⁸⁶ consensu] assensu *CM*

⁷⁸⁷ potestati] protestati *A*

⁷⁸⁸ assentiens] *om. CM*

⁷⁸⁹ munivisset] muniisset *CLM*

⁷⁹⁰ ecclesie] *om. C*

1205.3 Savaricus episcopus Batoniensis⁷⁹¹ obiit.

1206

1206.1 Iocelinus episcopus Batoniensis

1206.2 Iohannes apostolice sedis legatus in Angliam venit, et concilium apud Radingges celebravit⁷⁹².

1206.3 Iohannes rex Anglie venit⁷⁹³ in Pictaviam, quasi ad succursum vel amissorum recuperationem⁷⁹⁴, cito in⁷⁹⁵ Angliam rediens⁷⁹⁶, captis nonnullis munitionibus.

1206.4 Stephanus cardinalis presbyter ad titulum Sancti Grisogoni, Anglicus natione, sed a domino papa ad ecclesiam Romanam a Parisiis⁷⁹⁷, ubi prebendatus erat et theologiam docuerat⁷⁹⁸, accitus, Rome ad Cantuariensem archiepiscopatum eligitur. Cum enim illis duodecim, quos Romam huius rei causa transmissos⁷⁹⁹ diximus⁸⁰⁰, a conventu Cantuariensi et episcopis Anglie, necnon et a rege sufficienter esset cautum, quod eorum apud sedem apostolicam acta rata haberentur et indiscussa, suasit vir apostolicus, ut rei litigiose admodum et periculose, per tertii qui competentior videretur electionem, finem imponerent, et auctoritate apostolica hoc fieri iniunxit; sicque ibi celebrata est de magistro Stephano electio, et a domino papa in continenti confirmata.

1206.5 Willelmus Lincolniensis episcopus obiit⁸⁰¹ et Henricus Exoniensis⁸⁰².

1207

⁷⁹¹ Savaricus episcopus Batoniensis] Savericus Batoniensis episcopus *CLM*

⁷⁹² celebravit] celebrat *AM*

⁷⁹³ venit] om. *CML*

⁷⁹⁴ recuperationem] transiens *add. CML*

⁷⁹⁵ in] om. *A*

⁷⁹⁶ rediens] redit *CML*

⁷⁹⁷ a Parisiis] om. *CML*

⁷⁹⁸ docuerat] docebat *CML (corrected in A from doceret)*

⁷⁹⁹ causa transmissos] causam transmissuros *A*

⁸⁰⁰ diximus] duximus *M*

⁸⁰¹ episcopus obiit] om. *C* obiit *M*

⁸⁰² obierunt] *add. C*

1207.1 Simon Cicestrensis episcopus obiit.

1207.2 Facta est circa Purificationem Beate⁸⁰³ Marie exactio tertie decime partis per Angliam tam reddituum quam possessionum, ad opus regium, sub pretextu terrarum, quas trans mare amiserat, per gwerram⁸⁰⁴ recuperandarum.

1207.3 Stephanus Cantuariensis⁸⁰⁵ autem electus a⁸⁰⁶ papa consecratur, diu expectato et sepius apicibus sacris expetito regis Anglie consensu, sed cum nullo ad hoc rex⁸⁰⁷ inclinari pacto videretur⁸⁰⁸, dominus papa, manus impositione cum benedictione data, eum ad Cantuariensem ecclesiam mittit. Resistit rex pro viribus, publicum protestans hostem qui eum vel nomine archiepiscopi honoraret.

1207.4 Monachi a Cantuaria expelluntur, rege graviter id accipiente, quod contra promissum Norwycensem quasi abiicientes, alium elegerint⁸⁰⁹, vel electioni consensu tacito aut publica protestatione adqueverunt: unde et arcubalistarios et rutarios illuc dirigens, minas⁸¹⁰ eis intentat terribiles. Quas illi non expectantes, cum fletu et omnium qui aderant gemitu, pedites et nudis, ut dicitur, pedibus a matre Britanniarum ecclesia pari voto cedunt, marique transmisso ut possunt, grave et importabile subeunt exilium. Ubi tamen non deseruit Deus sperantes in Se, ad eorum subsidia tam seculares provocans quam ecclesiasticas personas. Soli remanserunt quos aut etas gravabat, aut valitudo fatigabat; exceptis nonnullis pestilentibus et discolis, qui sicut matrem in tribulatione, sic fratres deseruerunt in peregrinatione. Sed nec ipsi in matris, cuius diruperant viscera, gremio quieverunt, sed Cain more, vagi et profugi habitaverunt super terram. Sedit igitur sola domina gentium, et Rachelis exemplo amissos plorabat filios princeps provinciarum, non iam sub tributo facta, sed, peccatis nostris exigentibus, tota in predam pro arbitrio hostium, qui facti sunt ei in capite, redacta.

⁸⁰³ Beate] sancte *A*

⁸⁰⁴ gwerram] werram *CML*

⁸⁰⁵ Cantuariensis] *om. CM*

⁸⁰⁶ a] domino *add. CM*

⁸⁰⁷ nullo ad hoc rex] nullo rex ad hoc *CLM*

⁸⁰⁸ pacto videretur] pacto rex videretur *L*

⁸⁰⁹ elegerint] elegerunt *CM*

⁸¹⁰ minas] minat *C*

1207.5 Eclipsis solis ii kalendis Martii.

1207.6 Regina Anglie peperit filium nomine Henricum.

1207.7 Otho rex Romanorum in Angliam venit, vocatus a rege Anglie Iohanne, sed cito rediit.

1208

1208.1 Eclipsis lune.

1208.2 Generale interdictum per Angliam et Walliam, x kalendis Aprilis promulgatum, propter exilium Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et monachorum electionem.

1208.3 Exulabat etiam Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus⁸¹¹, eo quod regi contradiceret ab ecclesiasticis sicut a laicis tertiam decimam extorquenti.

1208.4 Episcopi et omnes persone ecclesiastice dissaisiantur.

1208.5 Cistercienses per Angliam interdictum infringunt.

1208.6 Heresis nova in terra comitis Tolosani palam se extulit plurimos involvens, civitates nonnullas vel castra occupans.

1208.7 Obierunt Philippus⁸¹² Dunelmensis et Gaufridus Coventrensis⁸¹³.

1208.8 Philippus dux Suavie, qui regem Romanorum se dixerat, a comite quodam⁸¹⁴ inscio eius adversario Othone⁸¹⁵ occiditur.

⁸¹¹ archiepiscopus] *om. AM*

⁸¹² Philippus] obierunt *om. C* obiit Philippus *MV*

⁸¹³ episcopi] *om. ALM* obierunt *add. CM*

⁸¹⁴ a comite quodam] *om. CLM*

⁸¹⁵ Othone] a quodam comite *add. CLM*

1208.9 Regina Anglie peperit filium nomine Ricardum.

1209

1209.1 Cistercienses per Angliam iterum interdicto subiiciuntur.

1209.2 Hugo archidiaconus Wellensis⁸¹⁶ electus est ad episcopatum Lincolniensem, et in Francia consecratus est a Stephano Cantuariensi.

1209.3 Rex Otho solemniter Rome in imperatorem sublimatur a papa Innocentio.

1209.4 Iohannes rex Anglie post admonitiones plurimas publice anathemati subiicitur.

1209.5 Episcopis Anglie fere omnibus exulantibus, persone ecclesiastice et religiosi omnes supra modum per Angliam vexantur, adeo ut omnium nigrorum monachorum possessiones a regiis ballivis quasi fisco describerentur, clerici laicorum more passim aut gladiis aut crucibus punirentur.

1209.6 Iohannes rex expeditionem⁸¹⁷ ducit super Willelmum regem Scotie, et facta pace et obsidibus⁸¹⁸ ad libitum receptis.

1209.7 Idem post reditum suum a Scotia homagia⁸¹⁹ et sacramenta⁸²⁰ fidelitatis ab omnibus per Angliam exegit et accepit.

1209.8 Laboratum est plurimum ut reconciliarentur regnum in Anglia⁸²¹ et sacerdotium, sed frustra.

1209.9 Heretici in terra comitis Tolosani, procurante hoc domino papa, armis expugnantur, fidelibus etenim partium illarum in peccatorum remissionem iniunxit, ut

⁸¹⁶ archidiaconus Wellensis] *inv. CLM*

⁸¹⁷ expeditionem] *expeditio L*

⁸¹⁸ obsidibus] *obsedibus C*

⁸¹⁹ homagia] *homagium CLM*

⁸²⁰ sacramenta] *sacramentum CM*

⁸²¹ reconciliarentur regnum in Anglia] *reconciliarentur in Anglia regnum] CLM*

crucesignati in pectore, et una cum legatis suis proficiscentes, apostatas aut⁸²² ad ecclesiam reducerent aut exterminarent. Demolite sunt et in ore gladii delete civitates nonnullae, et castra aut capta aut reddita non pauca.

1209.10 Prefectusque⁸²³ est terre illi que ab hereticis mundata est, Simon de Monteforti comes Leyrcestrie, consensu procerum qui aderant, et domini pape conniventia. Ubi duros et crebros contra hereticos multo tempore habuit conflictus⁸²⁴, corrogatis undique auxillis et confluentibus ad eum tanquam castrorum Domini duces, ab omni terrarum parte cruce signatis.

1209.11 Ecclesiis conventualibus per Angliam indulgentia collata est semel in hebdomada celebrandi Divina, interdicto generali nihilominus durante.

1209.12 Scholares unanimi consensu omnino Oxonia recedunt.

1209.13 Lodowicus cingulo militari donatur a patre suo rege Francie.

1210

1210.1 In ipso anni exordio, kalendis scilicet Ianuarii, factum est accerrimum gelu⁸²⁵ cum nive maxima, usque ad festum Sancti Valentini continuum, ut spissitudo glaciei aliquibus in locis mensuram pedis excederet. Frigoris autem tanta erat asperitas⁸²⁶, ut feras et⁸²⁷ aves et paludum pisces necaret; arbores, etiam hyeme virentes, aut penitus exiccaret, aut frondium honore spoliaret quin et sata hiberna ex parte maxima perierunt ad quod valde cooperabatur quod subsecutum est ver ventosus et urens.⁸²⁸

1210.2 Abbas⁸²⁹ Acharius de Burgo et Radulfus abbas⁸³⁰ de Ulmo obierunt⁸³¹.

⁸²² aut] *om. M*

⁸²³ prefectusque] *prefectus CLM*

⁸²⁴ conflictus] *om. CM*

⁸²⁵ gelu] *om. CLM*

⁸²⁶ erat asperitas] *inv. CLM*

⁸²⁷ et] *om. CLM*

⁸²⁸ quin...urens] *om. C*

⁸²⁹ abbas] *obiit abbas C abbates L*

1210.3 Iohannes rex Anglie, sub pretextu werre sustenande, pecuniam undecunque corrogavit, unde et monasteriis omnibus per Angliam cuiuscunque sexus vel ordinis mulctam⁸³² inauditam et importabilem imposuit. Cistercienses tamen cum ad consensum nullo pacto primo inclinare potuissent, et ideo eis molestus⁸³³ esset, adeo ut confiscata bona eorum distraherentur, nec abbates generale capitulum⁸³⁴ Cisterciensium adire permetterentur; tandem in ceterorum exemplum regi satisfecerunt, eo gravius quo serius mulctati⁸³⁵, ut sic saltem indignatio regia quiesceret.

1210.4 Confiscabantur nihilominus omnium ecclesiasticarum bona personarum; quoad usque regem pecunia placassent. Et erat hoc factu facile; exulantibus quippe episcopis, hii⁸³⁶ qui⁸³⁷ peiora verebantur, conditiones quascunque subirent, dummodo umbratili pace gauderent. Solus in Anglia remansit Wintoniensis, et is non tam ecclesiastica defensabat quam regia negotia administrabat.

1210.5 Graves inter dominum papam et imperatorem Othonem discordie; imperatore⁸³⁸ siquidem cito post promotionem suam quedam occupante, que vir apostolicus sue protectioni commendata asseruit, inhibitus est in ius alienum manus extendere. Cumque ille ius imperii Romani, ut sibi videbatur, iuste ad imperium revocaret, nec propter inhibitiones, cessaret, commotus est dominus papa, eoque gravius quod sola eius post Deum opera, primo ad regnum, deinde ad imperii culmen, esset sublimatus. Unde primo in eius satellites, deinde in ipsum anathematis sententiam contorquens, ab eius fidelitate et homagio totius imperii principes absolvit; eosque qui cum eo vel pro eo starent in impugnatione iustitie pariter anathematizavit. Exasperatus est ex hoc, ut videtur, rex Anglie, cepitque minus abhorrere sententiam iam dudum sibi inflictam, quia socium talem et tantum

⁸³⁰ abbas] *add. CL*

⁸³¹ obierunt] *om. C*

⁸³² mulctam] *mucltam CLM multam V*

⁸³³ eis molestus] *inv. CLM*

⁸³⁴ capitulum] *concilium C*

⁸³⁵ mulctati] *mucltati CLMV*

⁸³⁶ hii] *hi L*

⁸³⁷ qui] *om. C*

⁸³⁸ imperatore] *imperatorum A*

habebat. Interdixit ergo publice ne auctoritate litterarum domini pape cause per Angliam tractarentur ecclesiastice.

1210.6 Iohannes rex Anglie gravem in Hiberniam⁸³⁹ traduxit exercitum, captisque castellis et Hugone de Lasci fugato, qui, magna Hibernie occupata parte, rebellionem meditari putabatur, pacata et stabilita pro votis terra, cum tranquillitate⁸⁴⁰ rediit. Eoque maturius quod Walensium nonnulli Willelmo de Brause et Hugoni de Laci confederati, irruptionem in Anglorum confinia moliebantur. Willelmus quippe de Brause, captis omnibus munitionibus suis terrisque occupatis, eo quod regi pro votis ut dicitur obedire detrectaret, uxore etiam cum filio fame necata, a facie furoris regii declinans, exulare coactus est. Walenses autem regis adventu cognito disparuerunt, et siluit terra in conspectu eius, ipso⁸⁴¹ pro libitu⁸⁴² tam seculares quam ecclesiasticos tractante.

1210.7 Dura erat hiis⁸⁴³ diebus ecclesie sancte conditio.

1210.8 Imperator Romanus anathematizatus erat, et eius principes omnes fere⁸⁴⁴, aut ex nomine aut ex participio.

1210.9 Regnum Constantinopolitanum propter crebras Latinorum et Grecorum mutationes fere exterminio datum.

1210.10 Terra Ierosolimitana infidelibus subiugata.

1210.11 Rex Anglie excommunicatus et terra interdicta⁸⁴⁵

1210.12 Hispania pro magna parte a paganis occupata.

⁸³⁹ gravem in Hiberniam] *om. CLMV*

⁸⁴⁰ tranquillitate] *transquillitate M*

⁸⁴¹ ipso] *ipsoque CLM*

⁸⁴² libitu] *libito M*

⁸⁴³ hiis] *his L*

⁸⁴⁴ omnes fere] *inv. CLM*

⁸⁴⁵ interdicta] *est add. CL*

1210.13 Heresis preterea in Provincia late grassabantur, licet etiam armis compesceretur.

1210.14 Iudei nihilominus tam in Francorum quam in Anglorum regno supra modum afflicti sunt; denique post multas angarias et incarcerationes, spoliati rebus suis, compulsi sunt pro parte plurima utroque regno exire.

1211

1211.1 Oto Romanorum imperator in partibus Italie cum exercitu gravi moram faciens, Apuliam, Calabriam, et Tusciam sibi subiugavit, rege etiam Sicilie adhuc impubere ad deditionem compulso. Dominus autem papa ex hoc supra modum exasperatus, post anathematis sententiam etiam ad eius deiectionem nitebatur; adversarios illi pro posse suscitans, imperii principibus scribens ut, isto reprobato, alium sibi in imperatorem eligerent.

1211.2 Comes Tolosanus in ipsa civitate Tolosa obsessus est a cruce signatis, eo quod civitas peste heretica infecta fuisse diceretur, et ipse comes patrocinium hereticis prestare. Sed post diutinam obsessionem, Pictavensibus, tam rege Anglie quam imperatore id procurante, suppetias⁸⁴⁶ prebentibus, liberatus est comes cum civitate.

1211.3 Rex Anglie in Wallias⁸⁴⁷ super Lewelinum⁸⁴⁸ exercitum ducens, citissime rediit, eo quod Walenses eius timentes⁸⁴⁹ adventum omnia exterminio tradidissent, in tantum ut fame laboraret⁸⁵⁰ Anglorum exercitus. Sed rex copiis et victualibus multiplicatis post non multum temporis in multitudine gravi et apparatu copioso et victualium habundantia⁸⁵¹, iterum ad Walenses profectus est, nec prius⁸⁵² destitit

⁸⁴⁶ suppetias] supperias *M*

⁸⁴⁷ in Wallias] *om. C*

⁸⁴⁸ Lewelinum] in Wallias *add. C*

⁸⁴⁹ eius timentes] *inv. CLM*

⁸⁵⁰ laboraret] laboreret *AC*

⁸⁵¹ habundantia] abundantia *CL*

⁸⁵² prius] primus *C*

donec hostibus ad deditionem⁸⁵³ compulsis, et rebus pro voto gestis, cum gloria remearet.

1211.4 Iam in Hibernia, Scotia et Wallia non erat qui regis Anglie nutui non pareret; quod nulli patrum suorum contigisse notissimum est⁸⁵⁴; felixque videretur, et successibus pro votis⁸⁵⁵ pollere, nisi transmarinis spoliatus esset terris et anathemati subiectus.

1211.5 Duo nuncii a sede apostolica ad Anglicane ecclesie reconciliationem in Angliam missi sunt; sed, pace infecta redeuntes, nihil afflictis contulerunt.

1211.6 Innumera cervorum multitudo⁸⁵⁶ in foresta Anglie⁸⁵⁷, que Canoch dicitur, adunata, post rugitus terribiles et quasi lamenta horrisona, in mare circa ostia Sabrine precipitem se dedit⁸⁵⁸. Videbatur aliquid novi nonnullis portendere⁸⁵⁹.

1211.7 Venientes ex Affrica pagani Amiramummoli duce, et hiis qui in Hyspania erant associati, Christianis illarum partium principibus terrori erant; et illatis frequentibus irruptionibus et congressionibus manifestis, terras et civitates nonnullas eorum occupaverunt.

1211.8 Eclipsis lune totalis in festo Sancte Lucie.

1211.9 Obit Sampson⁸⁶⁰ abbas Sancti Edmundi, et Rogerus⁸⁶¹ constabularius Cestrie.

1211.10 Ex⁸⁶² cerva quadam que se in flumen pre pariendi angustia precipitaverat, exectus est hinnulus duo capita et octo pedes habens.

⁸⁵³ ad deditionem] *om. C*

⁸⁵⁴ quod nulli patrum suorum contigisse notissimum est] *om. M*

⁸⁵⁵ votis] voto *CLM*

⁸⁵⁶ multitudo] *om. CLM*

⁸⁵⁷ Anglie] multitudo *add. LM*

⁸⁵⁸ dedit] *dabat A*

⁸⁵⁹ portendere] *protendere CMV*

⁸⁶⁰ obierunt Sampson] *Sampson C obiit MV*

⁸⁶¹ et Rogerus] *et Rogerus add. L*

1212

1212.1 Conatus Amiramummoli, qui in superbia multa et multitudine gravi, quasi omnem sibi subiecturus Christianitatem, in Hispanias⁸⁶³ ascenderat, nutu Divino adnihilatus est. Contrito enim a Christianis principibus eius exercitu, confusione inductus⁸⁶⁴ et reverentia, ab ausu⁸⁶⁵ cessavit temerario.

1212.2 Otho imperator, ab Italia in Teutonium rediens, adversarios multos et magnos⁸⁶⁶ Domino id procurante invenit. Qui tamen ut sue provideret securitati, unicam⁸⁶⁷ Philippi regis quondam adversarii sui filiam in uxorem sollemniter accepit. Sed principia gaudii eius occupavit luctus; mortua ante exactum post nuptias mensem illa⁸⁶⁸, per quam et sibi confederationem et soboli sue in ducatu Suavie hereditariam procurari sperabat successionem. Nitebatur etiam⁸⁶⁹ dominus papa quantum conici potuit ei emulum procurare, Fredericum⁸⁷⁰ videlicet Apulie et Sicilie regem. Erat autem is Henrici imperatoris et Constantie regine filius, cui ex hereditate paterna ducatus Suavie competebat, ex materna autem⁸⁷¹ regnum Sicilie et Apulie⁸⁷². Imperium etiam Romanorum, si iure vendicari posset hereditario, nulli magis quam huic competere, utpote qui a multis retro⁸⁷³ temporibus imperatores habuit progenitores. Dicebatur etiam quod omnium imperii principum iuramentis ei imperium a diebus patris eius esset confirmatum.

1212.3 Confluentes in unum per Francie civitates pueri admirationi magne spectantibus fuerunt⁸⁷⁴. Quocunque enim diverterunt confluebant pueri, quasi non

⁸⁶² ex] et *CMV*

⁸⁶³ Hispanias] Hispaniis *C*

⁸⁶⁴ inductus] indictus *M*

⁸⁶⁵ ausu] usu *C*

⁸⁶⁶ magnos et multos] *inv. CLM*

⁸⁶⁷ unicam] regis *add. C*

⁸⁶⁸ post nuptias mensem illa] exactum mensem post nuptias illa *L*

⁸⁶⁹ etiam] preterea *CLM*

⁸⁷⁰ procurare Fredericum] procreare Frethericum *A*

⁸⁷¹ autem] *om. C*

⁸⁷² Sicilie et Apulie] *inv. CLM*

⁸⁷³ retro] retroactis *M*

⁸⁷⁴ spectantibus fuerunt] *inv. CLM*

possent a suis teneri quin aliorum se comitatu⁸⁷⁵ adiungerent. Denique Parisius dicebatur eorum multitudo⁸⁷⁶ ad xv milia estimata, quorum nullus maior erat duodenne. Requisiti autem quid proposuissent, dicebant, ut fertur, se Christi crucem recuperaturos.

1212.4 Apud Cadomum in Normannia visus est⁸⁷⁷ sanguis pluisse vi⁸⁷⁸ idus iulii, vi feria.⁸⁷⁹ Eodem die apud Faleise vise sunt tres cruces adinvicem in aere quasi pugnare.

1212.5 Indultum est per Angliam ut fideles in extremis agentes sacro Dominici Corporis muniri possent viatico, quod per manus sacerdotum a conventualibus petendum esset ecclesiis, quibus dudum permissum est semel in hebdomada celebrare Divina.

1212.6 In estate Londoniis casus accidit mirabilis et durus, accensa enim subito⁸⁸⁰ ab australi parte Tamensis fluminis⁸⁸¹ civitate et ecclesia beate Marie canonicorum de Suwerc, cum ad incendii extinctionem⁸⁸² vel spectaculum multitudo maxima pontem transsisset subito pars aquilonaris austro flante corripitur, volentique populo qui pontem transsierat redire, obstitit ignis, factumque est ut illis moras nequentibus etiam altera⁸⁸³ pars pontis igne corriperetur. Sicque inter duos ignes positi comprimebant se ad invicem, nihil nisi mortem expectantes. Venientibus autem ad eorum succursum navibus nonnullis, tot se indiscrete ingesserunt⁸⁸⁴ ut, submersis navigiis, universi perirent⁸⁸⁵, factaque plaga magna in populo, dicuntur, tum incendio,

⁸⁷⁵ comitatu] contractu *CLM*

⁸⁷⁶ multitudo] *om. CLM*

⁸⁷⁷ est] *om. C*

⁸⁷⁸ vi] vii. *M*

⁸⁷⁹ vi feria] *inv. CLM*

⁸⁸⁰ subito] *om. CLM*

⁸⁸¹ Tamensis fluminis] *inv. CLM*

⁸⁸² incendii extinctionem] *inv. CLM*

⁸⁸³ etiam altera] *inv. CLM*

⁸⁸⁴ indiscrete ingesserunt] *ingesserunt indiscrete V*

⁸⁸⁵ perirent] *perierunt CMV*

tum naufragio, ad tria millia hominum perisse. Videbatur hoc malum⁸⁸⁶ Anglis aliquod prefigurasse⁸⁸⁷ eo quod in capite regni tantus tam subito factus sit interitus.

1212.7 Accidit et⁸⁸⁸ aliud eodem tempore unde mirari possent⁸⁸⁹ qui sanum sapiebant⁸⁹⁰. Subito enim et sine certa causa, quasi lymphatico metu correpti, de villa in villam cum cornium⁸⁹¹ strepitu quod Anglice uthes⁸⁹² dicitur, fere per totam Angliam deduxerunt. Cumque fieri tale quid non solebat⁸⁹³ nisi in persequendo malefactores, ipsi neminem persequentes, aliquid forte turbationis in proximo futurum nescientes prenunciabant.

1212.8 In autumnno autem, cum usque ad Nativitatem Sancte Marie aeris satis serena esset dispositio, subito superveniens pluvia iugis damna Anglis ex insperato intulit non modica.

1212.9 Ventus etiam circa hyemis medium vehementissimus etiam turres lapideas ad terram⁸⁹⁴ deiecit.

1212.10 Scottorum rex Willelmus iam etatis propecte, cum interiores regni sui partes seditione turbatas pacificare non posset, ad Anglorum regem⁸⁹⁵ confugiens, se et regnum, filiumque quem unicum habebat, eius commisit provisioni. At ille cingulo militari commendatum sibi adolescentem⁸⁹⁶ donans, in partes illas cum exercitu proficiscens, dimissis per interiora regni suis, Cuthredum cognomento Macwillam seditionis ducem cepit, et patibulo suspendit. Erat hic de Scottorum regum antiqua prosapia, qui Scottorum et Hibernensium fretus auxilio, longas contra modernos⁸⁹⁷ reges, sicut et pater suus Duvenaldus, nunc clam, nunc palam, exercuit inimicitias.

⁸⁸⁶ malum] *om. V*

⁸⁸⁷ prefigurasse] prenunciare *CLM*

⁸⁸⁸ et] etiam *CM*

⁸⁸⁹ possent] omnes *add. C*

⁸⁹⁰ sanum sapiebant] sane sentiebant *C*

⁸⁹¹ cornium] cornuum *CM*

⁸⁹² Hutesium in Latin

⁸⁹³ solebat soleat *CLM*

⁸⁹⁴ ad terram] *om. C*

⁸⁹⁵ Anglorum regem] regem Anglorum *MV*

⁸⁹⁶ adolescentem] *om. CLM*

⁸⁹⁷ modernos] modernes *L*

Moderniores enim Scottorum reges magis se Francos fatentur, sicut genere, ita moribus, lingua et cultu Scotisque ad extremam servitutem redactis, solos Francos in familiaritatem et obsequium adhibent.

1212.11 Reguli Walensium provocante eos domino⁸⁹⁸ papa, et a federe anno precedente cum rege Anglie contracto, necnon et a ligantia⁸⁹⁹ et iuramentis eidem prestitis absolvente, insuper et interdictum per terras eorum ea conditione relaxante, eundem regem pro viribus infestant. Unde ille vehementer commotus, suspensis in patibulo eorum obsidibus, exercitum contra eos ex omnibus Anglorum⁹⁰⁰ finibus congregat. Cumque in tanto apparatu et multitudine qualem non meminit nostra etas convenissent, dissipavit Deus subito consilium eius. Turbatum est enim cor illius, auditis quibusdam, ut dicitur, sine certo auctore, rumoribus quod scilicet conspirassent contra eum qui convenerant magnates⁹⁰¹, et quod in auribus multitudinis illius legende essent de absolute ligantie eius littere; quodque alio in loco illius rege iam electo⁹⁰², ipse et sui a regno pellerentur; vel forte si capi eos contingeret, aut morti aut perpetuo carceri addicerentur. Indicto igitur omnibus reditu, cepit omnia suspecta habere, nusquam nisi armatus et armatorum manu⁹⁰³ multa stipatus procedere; captisque nonnullis qui eius videbantur familiarissimi, et castellis comitum vel⁹⁰⁴ baronum in regiam ditionem subito⁹⁰⁵ saisitis, commotum est aliquantisper regnum. Unde de⁹⁰⁶ regni maioribus, sive regis iram metuentes, sive conscientie scrupulum timentes, clam regno egressi sunt, Eustachius scilicet de Vesci⁹⁰⁷, qui in Scotiarum⁹⁰⁸ partes se recepit, et Robertus filius Walteri, qui ad Francos divertit. Quorum bonis confiscatis et castello Roberti apud Londonias nominatissimo, cui nomen Castellum Bainardi, cum aliis municipiis demolito, cepit se rex civilius habere ad suos, et siluit terra.

⁸⁹⁸ domino] dominus *C*

⁸⁹⁹ a ligantia] alligantia *C*

⁹⁰⁰ Anglorum] Anglie *CLM*

⁹⁰¹ qui convenerant magnates] *inv. CLM*

⁹⁰² electo] et *add. CLM*

⁹⁰³ manu] manum *C*

⁹⁰⁴ vel] et *CLM*

⁹⁰⁵ subito] subito *add. M*

⁹⁰⁶ de] *om. CLM*

⁹⁰⁷ scilicet de Vesci] *inv. L*

⁹⁰⁸ Scotiarum] Scitiarum *C*

1212.12 Egit etiam inter tot adversa, aliquid memoria dignum pariter⁹⁰⁹ et laude. Nam cum novis exactionibus forestarii totam fere Angliam plurimum vexassent, rex sortem miseratus afflictorum, eas omnino remisit. Insuper et forestariorum capitaneos, iurare compulit, ut ea tantum exigenter, que in diebus patris sui de forestis exigi⁹¹⁰ consueverant.

1212.13 Alios⁹¹¹ etiam qui obtentu servandorum portuum plurimas tum civibus tum peregrinis et mercatoribus intulerant molestias⁹¹², et novas adinvenerant exactiones, ab⁹¹³ huiusmodi molestatione compescuit, et novas exactiones remisit.

1212.14 Sed et viduis dicitur propicius extitisse pacisque⁹¹⁴ provisioni, quantum ad temporalia attinet, satis sedulus extitisse.

1212.15 Et ut reconciliande pacis apud⁹¹⁵ dominum papam aditum prepararet, exegit a prelatiis ecclesiarum universis, quatinus⁹¹⁶ omnia que quacunq[ue] occasione ab eis⁹¹⁷ a prima coronatione sua ceperat, eo quod huiusmodi ablationes cause eius plurimum derogarent, in mera ei donatione cartis et sigillorum appositione confirmarent, missis nunciis ad dominum papam placare quocunq[ue] modo tentarent.

1212.16 Dicitur etiam a viris quibusdam, qui se visum⁹¹⁸ testabantur vidisse ammonitus, ut se corrigeret, alioquin ante exactum annum Divinam ultionem sentiret.

1212.17 Erat autem⁹¹⁹ homo quidam⁹²⁰ de villa⁹²¹ Wakefeld Petrus nomine. Homo iste simplex et rusticanus, sed vitam agens in pane et aqua, quasi futura predicens

⁹⁰⁹ pariter] *om. CLM*

⁹¹⁰ de forestis exigi] exigere *CLM*

⁹¹¹ alios] alias *C error in C*

⁹¹² molestias] molestas *V*

⁹¹³ ab] ad *V error in V*

⁹¹⁴ pacisque] et pacis *CLM*

⁹¹⁵ apud] ad *V*

⁹¹⁶ quatinus] quatenus *CM*

⁹¹⁷ ab eis] *om. V*

⁹¹⁸ visum visu *M*

⁹¹⁹ autem] *om. CLM*

⁹²⁰ quidam] *om. M*

habebatur in populo. Is regis Iohannis ditionem non ultra proximam Ascensionem predicavit duraturam, eo quod in visu ei revelatum⁹²² fuerit⁹²³ Iohannem regem per annos xiiii⁹²⁴ regnaturum, et in hiis xiiii. annis omnia que in regno⁹²⁵ aggrederetur feliciter consumaturum. Requisitus an moreretur an expelleretur, an cederet⁹²⁶, respondit se nescire, ut ferunt⁹²⁷, sed hoc solum scire⁹²⁸ quod ultra non regnaret, nec ipse nec ex suis quisquam pro eo, sed Deo placens⁹²⁹. Nec latuit hoc regem, visusque est primo⁹³⁰ hominem idiotam et quasi non sani capitis derisisse. Verum cum id idem, sicut homo vagus erat, ubique spargeret⁹³¹, captus est a regis⁹³² fautoribus et in custodiam reclusus. Crevit ex hoc ipso in immensum opinio eius, factumque⁹³³ nomen illius⁹³⁴ celebre nimis, et qui ante paucis notus fuerat et contemptus, ex ipsa captione insignis habebatur⁹³⁵ et ubique divulgabatur. Quotidie ut est mos vulgi mendacia mendaciis addebantur; quotidie ei nova inponebantur, et unusquisque in⁹³⁶ corde suo mendacium prophetans⁹³⁷ hoc Petrum dixisse asserebat.

1212.18 Eclipsis lune totalis in festo Sancti Martini, hora noctis prima

1212.19 Obiit⁹³⁸ Iohannes Cumin⁹³⁹ primus Dubeline archiepiscopus⁹⁴⁰, ex quo civitas in regum Anglie devenit ditionem⁹⁴¹.

⁹²¹ villa] *om. CLM*

⁹²² ei revelatum] *inv. CLM*

⁹²³ fuerit] fuerat *C*

⁹²⁴ annos xiiii] *inv. C*

⁹²⁵ regno] erant *add. C*

⁹²⁶ cederet] et *add. CM*

⁹²⁷ ferunt] dicunt *CM*

⁹²⁸ solum scire] *om. V*

⁹²⁹ placens] placeris *C*

⁹³⁰ visusque est primo] visus est que primo *V*

⁹³¹ spargeret] spergeret *V*

⁹³² regis] rege *C*

⁹³³ est] *add. CLM*

⁹³⁴ illius] eius *C*

⁹³⁵ insignis habebatur] *inv. C*

⁹³⁶ in] de *CLMV*

⁹³⁷ prophetans] proferens *CM*

⁹³⁸ Obiit] *om. C*

⁹³⁹ Cumin] Comin *CL*

⁹⁴⁰ archiepiscopus] obiit *add. C*

⁹⁴¹ devenit ditionem] *inv. CLM*

1212.20 Obiit etiam⁹⁴² Malgerus Wygornensis episcopus; et Gaufridus frater regum Anglorum⁹⁴³, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, uterque in exilio apud Francos.

1213

1213.1 Episcopi Anglie, qui apud Francos exulabant, Romam pro causa ecclesie Anglicane⁹⁴⁴ adierunt. Ad quorum preces motus⁹⁴⁵, vir apostolicus finem malis imponere statuit. Scripsit igitur⁹⁴⁶ Francorum regi Philippo et illarum partium principibus, quod nisi rex Anglorum vel nunc respiceret, ipsi Angliam in manu forti ab eo liberarent. Nec erat necesse longis precibus aut monitis uti, eo quod essent a multo tempore ad id proni, tum odio persone, tum amore argenti et auri, quibus terra creditur abundare. Hortantur se mutuo, necessaria preparant, naves fabricant, et ab omni littore transmarino naves convocant, statuentes ut in portu uno simul naves adunate omnes simul proficiscantur. Ipse autem Francorum rex non longe a mari navium copiam operiebatur. Taxato etenim exercitus sui numero, non minus quam mille quingente sufficere credebantur multitudini. Quotidie igitur confluebant ad portum naves, et ad castra milites.

1213.2 Audivit hoc rex Anglorum, fecitque ipse ab omnibus portibus Anglie naves⁹⁴⁷ adunari in multitudine magna; prefecitque galeis suis viros fortes, et in armis strenuos, qui cum manu valida pugnantium hostium resisterent et obviarent moliminibus, eorumque partem pro viribus damnificarent. Summonuit etiam sub nomine culvertagii⁹⁴⁸ et perpetue servitutis, ut omnes tanquam ad regnum tuendum et regis caput defendendum, armati ad eum venirent.

1213.3 Convenit igitur multitudo qualem non meminit etas nostra, quos ipse per portus ubi periculum⁹⁴⁹ timebatur cum classis parte dividens, omne robur exercitus

⁹⁴² etiam] et *M*

⁹⁴³ regum Anglorum] regis Anglie *C*

⁹⁴⁴ ecclesie Anglicane] inv. *CLM*

⁹⁴⁵ motus] commotus *CLM*

⁹⁴⁶ igitur] nam *C*

⁹⁴⁷ portibus Anglie naves] Anglie portibus naves *LM*

⁹⁴⁸ culvertagii] culveltagii *CLMV*

⁹⁴⁹ periculum] periculum *CM*

secum retinuit prope Dovram. Eratque non longe in littore classis residuum; similiter et galee parate ad bellum. Erat autem cor populi fluctuans, et quod facile in quamvis partem flecteretur, quasi arescentibus hominibus pre timore et expectatione eorum que in proximo superventura credebantur. Terruerant multos verba Petri, et instans Ascensionis dies, quem quasi fatalem regi dederat, plurimos misit in dubium. Dumque sic in pendulo essent et expectatione, ecce quidam de nunciis regis qui in fine anni proxime⁹⁵⁰ preteriti Romam adierant, cum summa festinatione ad ipsum reversi, quasi peremptorium ei deferunt mandatum. Missusque⁹⁵¹ est cum eis nuncius quidam domini pape Pandulfus nomine⁹⁵², qui rerum mandatarum executioni insisteret. Et erat hec summa rescripti, quod ante kalendis imminentis Iunii quatuor ex primis regni iurarent in animam regis, eo presente et id mandante, regem formam satisfactionis quam signatam papa transmiserat adimpleturum, quodque ipse id idem litteris patentibus promitteret; et tam archiepiscopo quam episcopis significaret. Alioquin iam ultra penitendi tempus non haberet.⁹⁵³

1213.4 Quid multa? Inspiratus, ut creditur, ab Eo in cuius manu corda sunt regum, adque placito. Iuraveruntque iuxta prescriptam a papa⁹⁵⁴ et formam eius predictam R[eginaldus] comes Bolonie, Willelmus comes de Warena, Willelmus comes de Ferreris, Willelmus comes Saresbirie frater regis, et ipse id⁹⁵⁵ idem litteris suis patentibus se promisit completurum, secundum quod hii quatuor in animam regis iuraverant.

1213.5 Addidit autem hoc ex suo quod⁹⁵⁶ utrumque regnum suum, Angliam videlicet et Hiberniam, Deo et sanctis apostolis⁹⁵⁷ Petro et Paulo et sancte Romane ecclesie subiiceret⁹⁵⁸ ex mera voluntate, et ad complementum satisfactionis, ita ut ipse et heredes sui in signum subiectionis mille marcas inde persolvant annuatim sedi

⁹⁵⁰ proxime] proximo *CLMV*

⁹⁵¹ Missusque est cum eis] missusi cum ei est *C* missusque cum eis *V*

⁹⁵² domini pape Pandulfus nomine] nomine Pandulfus *CLM*

⁹⁵³ haberet] haberent *CM*

⁹⁵⁴ prescriptam a papa] scripturae domine pape *C*

⁹⁵⁵ id] ad *C*

⁹⁵⁶ quod] ut *A* que *C*

⁹⁵⁷ apostolis] apostolicis *V*

⁹⁵⁸ subiiceret] subiaceret *C*

apostolice; septingentas videlicet de⁹⁵⁹ regno Anglie et trescentas pro Hibernia, salvo denario Sancti Petri. Iuravit preterea hominum⁹⁶⁰ ligium et fidelitatem domino Innocentio pape et eius successoribus. Et hec omnia litteris patentibus ad⁹⁶¹ modum carte compositis publice protestatus est, prudenter sane sibi et suis providens in hoc facto, licet id multis ignominiosum videretur, et enorme servitutis iugum. Cum enim res in arto esset, et undique timor vehemens, nulla erat via compendiosior imminens evadendi periculum, nec forsitan alia, quoniam ex quo se in protectione posuit apostolica, et regna sua beati Petri patrimonium fecit, non erat in orbe Romano princeps qui in sedis apostolice iniuriam vel illum infestare, vel illa invadere presumeret, eo quod ab universis metuebatur papa Innocentius supra omnes qui eum a multis annis precesserunt. Acta sunt hec xv. die Maii prope Dovram, ubi castra tunc erant⁹⁶² Anglorum et exercitus cum rege in castris.

1213.6 Ab illa⁹⁶³ die meliorari cepit pars eius. Incontinenti etenim domini pape nuncius ad populum concionatus, regem protestabatur Deo et ecclesie Romane sancte reconciliatum, et per omnia in proximo satisfacturum: iniungens et ex parte pape precipiens, ut fideliter pro eo starent, et decertarent contra omnes homines. Sicque conversum est⁹⁶⁴ in parte ad regem cor populi, quod⁹⁶⁵ valde elongatum fuerat ab eo. Et quoniam credebatur Francorum rex procerum favore niti et habere consensum, sicut ipse gloriabatur, missi sunt ex parte magnatum Anglie cum litteris patentibus, qui hoc falsum esse protestarentur, et ei omnem spem Anglie adipiscende preciderent.

1213.7 Retinuit tamen⁹⁶⁶ adhuc rex Anglie omnem exercitum suum, et erant⁹⁶⁷ adhuc in suspenso multi, tum quia non credebant rem ex fide agi, tum quia non putabatur tantus conatus facile adnihilari, tum quia prope erat dies Ascensionis, qui

⁹⁵⁹ de] pro *CLM*

⁹⁶⁰ hominum] homagium M homigium C

⁹⁶¹ ad] in *CLM*

⁹⁶² erant] om. *CLM*

⁹⁶³ illa] illo C

⁹⁶⁴ est] om. *CLM*

⁹⁶⁵ quod] qui M

⁹⁶⁶ tamen] autem C

⁹⁶⁷ erant] om. *CLM*

quasi fatalis regi expectabatur. Interea hii qui⁹⁶⁸ galeis regis preerant, sumentes animos ex rumoribus secundis, in littoribus transmarinis irruptiones crebras faciebant, naves capientes et predas agentes. Indeque animosiores effecti, nactaque occasione ex dissensione quadam inter regem Francorum et comitem Flandrie suborta, dum ad alia intenta esset pars adversa, in eorum classem viriliter irruunt, et post cedem aliquantam et conflictum trescentis navibus captis et⁹⁶⁹ pluribus igne combustis, cum gloria ad Angliam redierunt. Quod ut⁹⁷⁰ regi Francorum innotuit, ira succensus, et tum pro litteris magnatum Anglie quas iam susceperat, tum pro casu sinistro vehementissime commotus, iussit ignem immitti, et residuum classis sue, quod Anglos evaserat, in favillam redegit, sicque liberavit Deus Angliam a periculo impendenti. Profecto enim si prosperati in proposito et via sua Angliam adissent, in exterminium daretur, et esset sicut populus, sic et sacerdos. Turbatur Francorum rex, et id totum comiti imputans, qui regis⁹⁷¹ Anglie partem fovebat, graviter persecutus est iniuriam hanc; in interiora Flandrie penetrans, et urbes munitissimas⁹⁷² aut sue ditioni subiiciens, aut solo cequans.

1213.8 Sed ut ad Angliam redeamus, missi sunt una cum nuncio pape qui archiepiscopum, episcopos, monachos Cantuarie, et generaliter omnes qui propter hanc causam in transmarinis aut exulabant aut, sicut vulgo dicitur, utlagati⁹⁷³ fuerant, cum honore revocarent, habentes secum litteras conductus et omnem tam a rege quam a proceribus securitatem, que litteratorie fieri potuit. Missa sunt preterea a rege per eosdem⁹⁷⁴ xii. millia marcarum argenti ad debita eorum qui revocabantur solvenda, et ad expensas reditui⁹⁷⁵ necessarias. Iam dies ille Ascensionis⁹⁷⁶ aderat⁹⁷⁷, tanta expectatione insignis, et erectum est tentorium regium ex eius iussu

⁹⁶⁸ qui] in add. *CLM*

⁹⁶⁹ et] ex *C*

⁹⁷⁰ ut] cum *C*

⁹⁷¹ regis] regem *V*

⁹⁷² munitissimas] minutissimas *C*

⁹⁷³ utlagati] uthlagi *CLM*

⁹⁷⁴ per eosdem] *om. MV*

⁹⁷⁵ reditui] redimi *C*

⁹⁷⁶ Ascensionis] Assensionis *C*

⁹⁷⁷ aderat] erat *CM*

in campo late patenti, voce preconā⁹⁷⁸ ad diem solemnem cum rege solemniter transigendum vocatione facta.

1213.9 Et factus est dies⁹⁷⁹ ille sollempniter⁹⁸⁰ nimis et iocundus, oblectante se rege et exhilarante⁹⁸¹ cum episcopis et proceribus qui convenerant. Ut autem transactus⁹⁸² est dies in omni prosperitate et letitia, putantes hii qui Petri dictis⁹⁸³ fidem adhibuerant, hominem idiotam ex simplicitate deceptum, qui regi diem Ascensionis prefixerat, cum finem quartidecimi anni secundum visionem sibi ostensam prefixisse debuisset, vi kalendis Iunii, quasi regi penitus peremptorium, decreverunt expectandum; eo quod ille Ascensionis dies, quo rex ante quatuordecim annos coronatus est, vi kalendis Iunii evenerit. Sed cum etiam ille in tranquillo transisset, iam sero facilis fidei penitentes, ad allegorias conversi sunt. Et erant hii non solum ex plebe, sed etiam viri secundum seculum magni, et secundum mundum sapientes. Suggestum est interea regi de Petro, qualiter terram turbaverit, cor populi dissolverit, et inimicos eius erexerit. Nam et in fines Francorum verba oris eius exierant, et eis quasi pro incitamento videbantur Angliam invadendi. Hec et huiusmodi regis inflammabant animum, iussitque ut in patibulo suspenderetur ad solem; in hunc⁹⁸⁴ modum excedens, quod filium eius, qui una tenebatur, una suspendi fecit, nisi forte et ipse paterne prophetie aut particeps fuerit aut auctor.

1213.10 Rex autem videns quia interiora regni pacata essent, et quod a Francis timere non oporteret, conabatur omnem illum apparatus bellicum in Pictaviam transvehere⁹⁸⁵. Sed quoniam minus libenter eum in hoc negotio multi ex proceribus audiebant, quippe qui ex⁹⁸⁶ longa expeditione vexati, non facile possent tantum opus exhaustis aggredi sistarchiis⁹⁸⁷, cassatum est ad tempus propositum regis, quod

⁹⁷⁸ preconā] preconia *CLM*

⁹⁷⁹ dies] *om. C error in C*

⁹⁸⁰ sollempniter] *om. CLM*

⁹⁸¹ exhilarante] exhilarante *CM*

⁹⁸² transactus] translatus *C*

⁹⁸³ Petri dictis] Petro *CM*

⁹⁸⁴ hunc] hoc *CLM*

⁹⁸⁵ transvehere] transilire *C*

⁹⁸⁶ ex] *om. CLM*

⁹⁸⁷ sistarchiis] cistarchiis *CLM*

tamen ipse in eos qui huius rei auctores videbantur graviter postmodum vindicasset nisi archiepiscopi et episcoporum interventu retineretur.

1213.11 Mense Iunio redierunt in Angliam a transmarinis ubi exulaverant, Stephanus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Willelmus Londoniensis, Eustacius Elyensis, Egidius Herefordensis, Iocelinus Batoniensis, Hugo Lincolniensis episcopi; monachi etiam Cantuarienses, et generaliter omnes clerici vel⁹⁸⁸ laici qui ob hanc causam exulaverant⁹⁸⁹; restituteque sunt singulis plenarie, una cum gratia regis, sicut fuerat prefinitum, omnes possessiones sue.

1213.12 Post modicum autem temporis apud Wintoniam absolutus est rex sollemniter et publice iuxta formam ecclesiasticam, a domino Cantuariensi; et sic ipso Cantuariensi cum ceteris episcopis in osculum pacis receptis, introductus in ecclesiam Misse interfuit; et facta est letitia magna⁹⁹⁰ in populo. Convolabant exemplo regis ad absolutionem petendam ab undique omnes qui scrupulum aliquem in animo gerebant participii regis vel⁹⁹¹ suorum; et absoluti sunt quilibet ab episcopo proprio; exceptis duntaxat clericis et viris ecclesiasticis, si qui in hac tempestate regi communicarunt⁹⁹² in crimine: nam hos sibi papa reservavit. Unde factum est ut Romam adirent Iohannes Nortwicensis episcopus, et ex aulicis⁹⁹³ tam clerici quam laici primores. Dicebantur et alias habere causas, commendandi scilicet⁹⁹⁴ ipsum regem in curia, utpote qui duo regna sancte Romane ecclesie subiecerit, et interveniendi ut cum eo in restitutione facienda⁹⁹⁵ mitius⁹⁹⁶ ageretur.

1213.13 Vacabant autem cathedrales ecclesie Eboracensis, Dunelmensis; abbatia de Wyteby; in Cantuariensi vero provincia Cestrensis, Wigornensis, Exoniensis, Cicestrensis; abbatie etiam que de regis pendebant provisione, Sancti Edmundi⁹⁹⁷,

⁹⁸⁸ vel] et *CLM*

⁹⁸⁹ exulaverant] exulabant *A*

⁹⁹⁰ magna] magno *A*

⁹⁹¹ vel] vel *add. C*

⁹⁹² communicarunt] communicarant *M*

⁹⁹³ aulicis] viris *add. CLM*

⁹⁹⁴ scilicet] et *add. CLM*

⁹⁹⁵ in restitutione facienda] *om. CLM*

⁹⁹⁶ mitius] in micus *C*

⁹⁹⁷ Sancti Edmundi] Sanctorum Edmundi *C*

Augustini Cantuarie, Radinggie, Benedicti⁹⁹⁸ de Hulmo, Martini de Bello, Rameseye, Burgi, Cirecestrensis, et Einesham⁹⁹⁹ que in manu quidem regis erat¹⁰⁰⁰, sicut et alie omnes, licet ad Lincolniensem episcopum et tutela eius pertineret et provisio. Facile igitur in hac novitate annuisset rex, ut vacantibus ecclesiis pastores eligerentur, dummodo secundum formam et consuetudinem regni fieret. Sed contra, renitentibus episcopis et id summopere querentibus, ut iuxta canonum scita fierent omnia, remanserunt viduate cathedrales omnes, abbatie autem¹⁰⁰¹ nonnullae electionem fecerunt, ita tamen ut rex neminem intruderet, neminem nominaret; sed tantummodo regalia in signum consensionis conferret. Sed et huiusmodi electiones quidam episcoporum consentiendo confirmaverunt, quidam ad hoc induci non potuerunt. Et hec tertia dicebatur causa, ut scilicet consuetudo regni servaretur, quam aulici Rome pro rege agebant. Quarta etiam¹⁰⁰², ut ferunt, causa erat¹⁰⁰³, ut regi diffusior aliquantulum terminus daretur restitutionis faciende per partes, et interim data cautione cessaret interdictum. Nam episcopi id nullo modo facere volebant, nisi ut in continenti omnia restitueret, aut usque ad terminum quem ei prescripserant, interdicti laxatio differretur. Regi autem hoc difficillime¹⁰⁰⁴ videbatur, ne dicam impossibile, quia taxata cum dampnis ablatis¹⁰⁰⁵ in summam excreverunt incredibilem, eo quod inter damna computabantur non solum nemora extirpata aut domus dirute, sed et fructus qui percipi potuerunt et occasionales iacture.

1213.14 Hiis temporibus inspiravit Dominus Deus¹⁰⁰⁶ pape Innocentio, ut de subventionem¹⁰⁰⁷ terre Ierosolimitane, necnon et universe ecclesie promotione, solito sollicitius curam gereret. Nam quoniam predecessores sui unusquisque tempore suo Terre Sancte succursum procuraverat, absonum videretur si ipse in bono proposito minus fervens¹⁰⁰⁸ inveniretur, qui nec potentia quoquam eorum minor erat nec

⁹⁹⁸ Benedicti] Sancti Benedicti *LV*

⁹⁹⁹ Einesham] Evesham *C*

¹⁰⁰⁰ regis erat] erat regis *LMV*

¹⁰⁰¹ autem] *om. M*

¹⁰⁰² etiam] *om. M*

¹⁰⁰³ erat] fuit *CLM*

¹⁰⁰⁴ difficillime] difficilimum *A*

¹⁰⁰⁵ dampnis ablatis] ablatis damna *CLM*

¹⁰⁰⁶ Dominus Deus] Deus domino *CLM*

¹⁰⁰⁷ subventionem] subvectionem *A*

¹⁰⁰⁸ fervens] fluens *CM*

industria. Preterea recolebat quod diebus¹⁰⁰⁹ suis heresis caput levaverit, quod multi principes excommunicati fuerunt¹⁰¹⁰, et multe terre interdicte, et vix fieri poterat quin inter hec multa succreverint in vinea Domini, que Evangelica securi necesse esset succidi. Decrevit igitur generale concilium propter iam dicta celebrare, et hac causa in omnes partes orbis Romani a latere suo viros transmisit industrios, qui et verbum de subventione¹⁰¹¹ Terre Sancte facerent; et que corrigenda viderentur explorarent¹⁰¹². Unde factum est ut in Angliam legatus veniret Tusculanus episcopus, nomine Nicolaus. Erant autem et alie speciales cause huius legationis; ut scilicet in eius presentia rex promissum quod Sancte Romane ecclesie fecerat, adimpleret. Quod et fecit. Nam cum mense Septembri venisset, rex, circa festum Sancti Michelis, ei vice domini pape hominum fecit et ligantiam, dans cartam suam auro bullatam et mille marcas, annum scilicet censum in subiectionis signum. Metuebat autem eum rex et diligenter¹⁰¹³ eum audiebat. Unde factum est, ut eius et episcoporum consilio et hortatu pravas consuetudines a regno eliminare inchoaret, vicecomitum et eorum ministerialium violentas vel¹⁰¹⁴ captiosas exactiones compescens. Vehementer enim populum afflixerant, eo quod vicecomitatus sive ministeria inferiora sub annuo pretio conducentes, id solum querebant, quomodo pecunias a miseris provincialibus elicerent. Ipse autem huiusmodi cupidinarios amovens, alios subrogavit qui iure populum tractarent, consilio virorum prudentium uterentur, et non crumenarum emunctioni, sed paci comprovincialium et quieti inhiarent. Inchoaverat etiam inquisitionem super hac re facere diligentem, ut sciret¹⁰¹⁵ quantum quis talium exactorum tempore administrationis sue recepisset. Sed non perduxit ad finem, interveniente illo terrore et tumultu¹⁰¹⁶, quando metu Francorum ad arma vocati sunt omnes.

¹⁰⁰⁹ diebus] in diebus *M*

¹⁰¹⁰ fuerunt] exciderint *A* fuerint *L*

¹⁰¹¹ subventionem] subvectionem *A*

¹⁰¹² explorarent] *om. M*

¹⁰¹³ diligenter] libenter *CLM*

¹⁰¹⁴ vel] et *M*

¹⁰¹⁵ sciret] scirent *CM*

¹⁰¹⁶ tumultu] tumultum *V*

1213.15 Deposuit autem legatus abbatem Westmonasterii et abbatem Eveshamie, et quoniam cum securi venisse dicebatur, timebant sibi arbores que inutiliter locum regiminis occupabant.

1213.16 Fiebant etiam crebra inter regem et episcopos eo presente super causa ecclesie colloquia, sed cum non posset eis¹⁰¹⁷ convenire, protensum¹⁰¹⁸ est eis¹⁰¹⁹ interdictum in annum sequentem.

1213.17 Rex Arragonensium, vocatus a quibusdam in auxilium contra Simonem de Monteforti, qui hereticorum expugnator erat, ab exercitu cruce signatorum occisus est in bello cum multa suorum et heresi infamatorum manu.

1213.18 Obiit¹⁰²⁰ Gaufridus filius Petri iustitarius Anglie¹⁰²¹.

1214

1214.1 Ferrandus¹⁰²² Flandrensis comes, a Philippo Francorum rege pulsus a Flandria, Othonem imperatorem Alemannie et Iohannem regem Anglie expetiit, et pepigit fedus cum eis. Quorum fretus auxilio, regressus in Flandriam eam pene totam de manu regis Francie potenter eripuit, ope et industria virorum illustrium, et precipue Willelmi comitis Saresbirie fratris regis Anglie, et Reginaldi comitis Bolonie.

1214.2 Rex Anglorum in Pictaviam cum exercitu transfretavit in principio mensis Februarii, factaque ibi mora usque in Septembrem, magnam partem terrarum quas dudum Philippus Francorum rex abstulerat, recuperavit. Reconciliaverat quippe sibi viros magnos et multos quos secum in exercitu duxerat.¹⁰²³

¹⁰¹⁷ eis] *om. CLM*

¹⁰¹⁸ protensum] *pretensum C*

¹⁰¹⁹ eis] *om. A better in A*

¹⁰²⁰ obiit] *om. C*

¹⁰²¹ Anglie] *obiit add. C*

¹⁰²² Ferrandus] *Berrandus V*

¹⁰²³ duxerat] *ducebat CLM*

1214.3 Venerant autem eo tempore ex parte Flandrie Otho imperator, Ferrandus comes, Reginaldus comes, Willelmus comes, cum multitudine gravi. Rex itaque Francorum misso contra regem Anglie filio suo Lodowico, ipse collecto exercitu Flandrensibus, quorum vires iam nimis excreverant, censuit occurrendum. Igitur intra¹⁰²⁴ fines Flandrie fit utrinque concursus, et dispositis aciebus ultra¹⁰²⁵ pontem Wentini, inter Mauritaniam et Tornacum, vi kalendis Augusti¹⁰²⁶, die Dominica, pugna committitur; et in conflictu cecidere nonnulli, Franci tandem¹⁰²⁷ palmam victoriae tenuerunt. In hoc bello Flandrensi, ex acie capti sunt egregii pugnatores, Plutus Alemannus, Ferrandus Flandrensis, Willelmus Saresbiriensis, Reginaldus Boloniensis, et senescallus Othonis, et milites alii tam mediocres quam illustres circiter cl. Et ex parte regis Francorum cecidit Steffanus de Longocampo vir in armis strenuus qui se in primo conflictu obiciens cum quodam alio pro rege domino et coram rege viriliter decertans succubuit.¹⁰²⁸

1214.4 Post hec rex Philippus contra regem Anglie movet exercitum, sed legatis intervenientibus inter eos quinquennales firmantur inducie propter eos maxime qui iter Ierosolimitanum aggredi proposuerant, et ita reversus est¹⁰²⁹ Philippus in Franciam. Rex Iohannes in Angliam se recepit.

1214.5 Interim Tusculanus episcopus, qui legationis apud Anglos fungebatur officio, regi ut videbatur plus iusto favens, ecclesiastica minus rigide procurabat negotia. Nam pacis inter regem et episcopos ac clerum inite executionem postponens, una cum ministris regalibus ad sedes vacantes et monasteria accessit: ibique personam unam vel duas iuxta regis voluntatem nominans, de illa quam nominavit electionem vel potius intrusionem fieri compulit. Ea tempestate Willelmum priorem Fruntonie prefecit Westmonasterio, Ranulphum¹⁰³⁰ priorem Wygornie Eveshamie; Rogerum priorem Syreburnie¹⁰³¹ Burtonie. Preterea Ricardum abbatem Selesbiensem

¹⁰²⁴ intra] ultra *CM*

¹⁰²⁵ ultra] ad *CLM*

¹⁰²⁶ 27 July 1214

¹⁰²⁷ tandem] tamen *CM*

¹⁰²⁸ et ex parte...succubuit] *om. CLM*

¹⁰²⁹ est] rex *add. CLM*

¹⁰³⁰ Ranulphum] Radulfum *M*

¹⁰³¹ Syreburnie] Saresbirie *C*

Rameseyam, que multis annis vacaverat, transtulit. Hec autem faciebat, occasione litterarum quarundam quas nuncii regis, quos iam dudum ad curiam Romanam profectos diximus, impetraverant; in quibus precipiebatur, ut ipse tales personas in sedibus vel monasteriis vacantibus eligi faceret, que et regno utiles et regi essent fideles. Alias¹⁰³² etiam impetraverant iidem nuncii litteras de debito quod rex pro ablatis vel damnis debebat ecclesiis, per partes annis succedentibus reddendo, ita ut si rex huius rei cautionem dedisset, interdictum in Anglia solveretur. Quod et factum est, solutumque est interdictum in concilio Londoniis huius rei gratia habito vi. nonas Iulii, transactis ab interdicti promulgatione annis sex mensibus tribus, diebus sexdecim.

1214.6 Consecrati sunt Cantuarie a Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo Simon de Apulia decanus Eboracensis in Exoniensem episcopum, et Walterus de Gray cancellarius regis in Wigornensem.

1214.7 Legatus¹⁰³³ abbatem Bardeneiensem deposuit, vel potius abbate, sicut¹⁰³⁴ dicitur, se dimittente, alium more suo substituit, priorem videlicet Lentionie¹⁰³⁵ Petrum nomine.

1214.8 Cito post reditum Anglorum regis a Pictavia, revocatus est a domino papa Nicholaus Tusculanus episcopus ab officio legationis, eo¹⁰³⁶ quod minus strenue, ut dicitur, gessit in Anglia. Unde rex comperto quod is iam¹⁰³⁷ sibi subtractus esset super quem requiescebat, mitior factus est et circa episcopos¹⁰³⁸ Anglie tractabilior. Mox enim eis super omnibus damnis et iniuriis satisfecit, aliis pecuniam, aliis honorem et libertates, aliis maneria in recompensationem largiens. Denique eo tempore Cantuariensi archiepiscopo episcopatum Roffensem concessit, et episcopo Elyensi abbatiam Torneie, regalia videlicet, id est, quantum ad regem inde iure pertinet.

¹⁰³² alias] autem *add. C*

¹⁰³³ legatus] episcopum legatum *V*

¹⁰³⁴ sicut] ut *C*

¹⁰³⁵ Lentionie] et *add. CLM*

¹⁰³⁶ eo] *om. ALM*

¹⁰³⁷ iam *om C*

¹⁰³⁸ episcopos] ipsos *C*

1214.9 Capti sunt in Anglia pisces insolite forme. Erant quippe scutati et¹⁰³⁹ galeati, et quantum in exterioribus belluarum marinarum notari potuit, militi armato simillimi, licet magnitudine plurimum excellentes.

1214.10 Obierunt¹⁰⁴⁰ Gilebertus Roffensis episcopus et Iohannes episcopus¹⁰⁴¹ Norwicensis in transmarinis a Roma rediens, ubi et¹⁰⁴² regis et sua procuraverat negotia; et Willelmus rex Scottorum.

1214.11 Marini fluctus solito elatiores damna intulerunt in Anglia circa Nativitatem Beate Marie.

1214.12 Dissensio orta est inter Iohannem regem Anglie et quosdam ex proceribus suis¹⁰⁴³ pro scutagio quod petebat ab illis qui non ierant nec miserant cum ipso in Pictaviam. Dantibus enim illud plurimis, contradixerunt ex Aquilonaribus nonnulli, illi videlicet qui anno preterito regem ne in Pictaviam transiret impedierunt: dicentes se propter terras quas in Anglia tenent non debere regem extra regnum sequi, nec ipsum euntem scutagio iuvare. E contrario, rege id tanquam debitum exigente, eo quod in diebus patris sui necnon et fratris sic fieret, res ulterius processisset, nisi legati presentia obstitisset.

1214.13 Prolata est carta quedam libertatum ab Henrico primo Anglis data, quam quasi in posterum¹⁰⁴⁴ observandam cum sibi confirmari a rege proceres iam dicti postularent, dilata est res in annum alterum.

1215

¹⁰³⁹ et] *om. A*

¹⁰⁴⁰ obierunt] obiit *CLM*

¹⁰⁴¹ episcopus] episcopus episcopus *C*

¹⁰⁴² et] *om. M*

¹⁰⁴³ ex proceribus suis] de proceribus *C*

¹⁰⁴⁴ posterum] *om. CLM*

1215.1 Circa Epiphaniam consecrati sunt apud Redinggiam Ricardus decanus¹⁰⁴⁵ Saresbirie in episcopum Cicestrensem, et Willelmus archidiaconus Huntingdonie in Cestrensem, a Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

1215.2 Convenerant autem ex proceribus qui cartam illam exagerant apud Londonias, et conniventibus sibi, ut dicebatur, ex¹⁰⁴⁶ episcopis¹⁰⁴⁷ nonnullis, regem super eo convenerunt. Cumque ille inducias peteret respondendi¹⁰⁴⁸ pro rei novitate, non est benigne exauditus, causantibus aliis, quod tantum tempus redimeret, cum prorsus aliud in corde haberet. Interponentibus tamen se quibusdam, terminus finalis responsionis prefixus est, octave videlicet Pasche, rege eos per litteras patentes securos faciente, quod si die prefixo ei non conveniret, inducias haberent singuli redeundi ad sua. Ex quo autem primo vulgata est carta hec, assertoribus eius omnium conciliati sunt animi, et erat vox hec omnium et sententia una, quod isti opponerent se pro domo Domini murum, et starent pro libertate regni et ecclesie. Rex autem pro parte sua instituit¹⁰⁴⁹, quod multociens¹⁰⁵⁰ iam factum fuerat, ut scilicet iurarent ubique per Angliam ei fidelitatem, quodque¹⁰⁵¹ cum eo starent contra omnes homines, hoc preter solitum adiecto, contra cartam iam dictam. Cumque¹⁰⁵² non libenter hoc audiretur, et inciperent mox excusationes pretendere, non ratus¹⁰⁵³ tempus opportunum tumultum suscitandi in populo, omisit quod inceptum fuerat. Misit tamen ad summum pontificem conquerens quod contra fidelitatem prestitam parati essent in eum insurgere. Cognovit quippe per quosdam eorum complices, quod hoc a multis iam diebus plures conarentur. Miserunt et ipsi pro sua parte¹⁰⁵⁴ de iniustis exactionibus et quasi tyrannide conquerentes.

¹⁰⁴⁵ decanus] *om. C*

¹⁰⁴⁶ ex] *om. A*

¹⁰⁴⁷ episcopis] *ipsis CM*

¹⁰⁴⁸ respondendi] *om. CLM*

¹⁰⁴⁹ instituit] *instiit C*

¹⁰⁵⁰ multociens] *multoties CM*

¹⁰⁵¹ quodque] *quod CLM*

¹⁰⁵² cumque] *cum M*

¹⁰⁵³ ratus] *raptus C*

¹⁰⁵⁴ sua parte] *parte sua MV*

1215.3 Eo tempore obiit Eustachius Elyensis episcopus, vir magne auctoritatis, et ex cuius consilio magna pars huius negotii pendere dicebatur¹⁰⁵⁵. (Dun, 44)

1215.4 In capite ieiunii rex Londoniis a¹⁰⁵⁶ Willelmo Londoniensi episcopo cruce signatus est, et cum eo vel per¹⁰⁵⁷ eum plures ex familiaribus suis, ipso ad hoc, ut ferunt, nonnullos instigante, et cruces albas qualiter¹⁰⁵⁸ sua erat sicut et fratris sui vel patris offerente. Quasi enim ex antiqua consuetudine inolevit, ut Angli albis crucibus signentur, sicut Franci rubeis. Sinistre hoc interpretabantur alii, dicentes eum non intuitu pietatis aut amore Christi hoc fecisse¹⁰⁵⁹, sed ut eos ante¹⁰⁶⁰ proposito fraudaret: audientes autem quod in subsidium externos quosdam vocasset convenerunt apud _____ non expectato¹⁰⁶¹ die eis prefixo. Et cum per internuncios duriuscule eis rex respondisset, condixerunt ut iam non ultra civiliter cum illo agerent. Reversique cum festinatione ad sua, castella munire, auxilia¹⁰⁶² querere, equos et arma ceperunt parare.

1215.5 Igitur in hebdomada Paschali convenerunt in manu valida ex conducto apud Stamforde et quoniam ex Aquilonaribus partibus pro parte maiori venerant vocati sunt adhuc Aquilonares. Inde profecti sunt Northamptonam nihil quidem adhuc hostile gerentes preter solum apparatus bellicum. Iunxerunt¹⁰⁶³ autem se eis Egidius episcopus Herefordensis, Gaufridus de Maundevilla, Robertus filius Walteri et plures alii, et hii potissimum qui aliquid adversum regem habebant.

1215.6 Interim rex eos per plurimos internuncios revocare eos¹⁰⁶⁴ studebat habita que sunt inter eos colloquia multa per archiepiscopum episcopos et alios magnates rege circa partes Oxonie¹⁰⁶⁵ commorante. Ibi presentate sunt littere domini pape pro

¹⁰⁵⁵ dicebatur] videbatur *MV*

¹⁰⁵⁶ a] ab *C*

¹⁰⁵⁷ per] post *CM*

¹⁰⁵⁸ qualiter] qualis *CM*

¹⁰⁵⁹ hoc fecisse] *om. V* hoc egisse *M*

¹⁰⁶⁰ ante] a *CM*

¹⁰⁶¹ expectato] exportato *V*

¹⁰⁶² auxilia] auxilium *CLM*

¹⁰⁶³ iunxerunt] iuxerunt *L*

¹⁰⁶⁴ eos] *om. M*

¹⁰⁶⁵ partes Oxonie] Oxonie *CM*

baronibus regi in quibus monebatur eorum iustas audire petitiones et alie pro rege archiepiscopo in quibus precipiebatur omnes conspirationes vel coniurationes contra regem factas auctoritate apostolica cassare et ne de cetero fierent¹⁰⁶⁶ alique eadem auctoritate inhibere.

1215.7 Ultimo autem colloquio quod erat non longe apud¹⁰⁶⁷ Brackele regem diffiduciantes per internuncios, et hominia sua reddentes, reversi sunt Northamptonam armati, et aciem ordinatam precedentibus vexillis. Clausis itaque portis, et custodiis tam per portas quam per murum positis, ceperunt presidium, quod intra oppidum erat, oppugnare. Sed frustra, cum machinas non haberent. Mandaverunt autem hiis qui prope erant, et hiis qui longe, quatinus¹⁰⁶⁸ portionem suam secum ponerent. Conflexuruntque ad eos plurimi, et presertim iuniores, filii scilicet¹⁰⁶⁹ vel nepotes magnatum, quasi nomen ex rebus bellicis sibi facere volentes. Hinc est quod vidimus postmodum domos plurimas ab invicem divisas, dum, patribus et veteranis regi tanquam domino adherentibus, filii et iuniores ex adverso starent. Quosdam¹⁰⁷⁰ etiam¹⁰⁷¹ agnovimus¹⁰⁷² filiorum amore in partem transisse alteram¹⁰⁷³. Erant autem quidam qui licet primo non eis consenserint¹⁰⁷⁴, quia tamen vel amici fortune extiterant, vel rerum novarum amatores, se eis federaverunt. Dicebatur autem quod tam Alexandri¹⁰⁷⁵ regis Scottorum quam Leuwelini principis Norwallie manus erat cum illis.

1215.8 Hiis diebus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis concilium provinciale convocavit apud Oxoniam. Quo cum venissent quidam prelatorum, propter turbationem hanc regni, infecto negotio recesserunt¹⁰⁷⁶.

¹⁰⁶⁶ fierent] *om. A*

¹⁰⁶⁷ apud] *a M*

¹⁰⁶⁸ quatinus] *quatenus CM*

¹⁰⁶⁹ scilicet] *videlicet CLM*

¹⁰⁷⁰ quosdam] *quos V*

¹⁰⁷¹ etiam] *autem MV*

¹⁰⁷² agnovimus] *cognovimus CL*

¹⁰⁷³ transisse alteram] *CLM*

¹⁰⁷⁴ consenserint] *consenserunt CLM*

¹⁰⁷⁵ Alexandri] *Alexander C*

¹⁰⁷⁶ recesserunt] *recessum est ALM*

1215.9 Igitur qui convenerant animo obfirmato regem inter se in plurimis accusabant, et accusatum condemnabant; dicentes eum non deberi de cetero pro regi haberi; et invalescebant voces eorum; factaque est contra eum coniuratio valida. Constitutis autem ducibus exercitus quos vocabant Marescallos Exercitus Dei, post tempus aliquod versus Londonias profecti sunt milites quasi quingenti. Dominica¹⁰⁷⁷ itaque quandam¹⁰⁷⁸ dum adhuc Divinorum celebrationi populus intenderet, quidam, consciis ex civibus nonnullis, ceteros precedentes, per gradus quosdam pro muris emendandis factos, murum ascenderunt, et aperientes portam unam et alteram suos admiserunt; ignorantibus qui intus erant regalibus quibusdam et civium, ut dicitur, parte saniore et maiore. Quid multa? captis qui resistere conabantur, alii ei confederati sunt, dataque est civitas in manus eorum, positis custodiis¹⁰⁷⁹ per portas¹⁰⁸⁰.

1215.10 Eisdem temporibus, quidam eodem spiritu ducti in unum, congregati sunt in Devonia, et occupata Exonia¹⁰⁸¹ primum, postea in nemoribus se occuluerunt. At isti eo quod iam in capite regni positi essent, sapiebant altius, et turmatim egressi vim faciebant resistantibus, domos regias et vel partes¹⁰⁸² indagines vel parcos¹⁰⁸³ capientes et expoliantes; similiter et alii faciebant, et revelatis ex multorum cordibus cogitationibus, ubique cedes, ubique fiebant¹⁰⁸⁴ depredationes.

1215.11 Eo tempore orto tumultu apud¹⁰⁸⁵ Northamptonam¹⁰⁸⁶, trucidati sunt ab oppidanis¹⁰⁸⁷ plurimi regalium, qui ad presidii tuitionem ibi stationem habebant¹⁰⁸⁸, et post paucos dies in eorumdem¹⁰⁸⁹ ultionem magna pars oppidi igne combusta est.

¹⁰⁷⁷ 17 May 1215

¹⁰⁷⁸ quandam] *om. CLM; (lacuna in C, L but not A, M)*

¹⁰⁷⁹ custodiis] *om. M*

¹⁰⁸⁰ portas] *muros CLM*

¹⁰⁸¹ Exonia] *Oxonia C*

¹⁰⁸² vel partes] *om. CLM*

¹⁰⁸³ vel parcos] *om. CLM*

¹⁰⁸⁴ fiebant] *faciebant CM*

¹⁰⁸⁵ apud] *LM*

¹⁰⁸⁶ Northamptonam] *Northamptonia CLM*

¹⁰⁸⁷ oppidanis] *oppidatis CM*

¹⁰⁸⁸ habebant] *faciebant MV*

¹⁰⁸⁹ eorumdem] *eorum CLM*

1215.12 Porro rex ad monitiora se conferens, omnino in pace se tenebat¹⁰⁹⁰, tantum presidia et castella sua viris et victualibus muniens. Miserat autem occulte nuncios in partes transmarinas auxilium ab exteris nationibus¹⁰⁹¹ postulans, et alios ad dominum papam de hiis que contra se gerebantur plurimum conquerens. Putantes vero, qui Londoniis erant, ipsum viribus suis diffidere, et inde animos sumentes, apposuerunt etiam presidium quod turris Londoniensis dicitur, constructis machinis viriliter oppugnare. Quod audientes qui in aquilonaribus remanserant partibus¹⁰⁹², ceperunt et ipsi nunc vi, nunc blanditiis, plures in partes suas trahere¹⁰⁹³ coactoque exercitu non parvo Lincolniam ebdomada Pentecostes occupavere, parati etiam presidium quod resistebat expugnare¹⁰⁹⁴.

1215.13 Videns igitur rex eos invalescere cepit per quoscunque et maxime per archiepiscopum, quem multum¹⁰⁹⁵ verebantur, eos ad pacem sollicitare, secure pollicens quod non staret per eum quin pax quacunque conditione reformaretur. Assignato itaque loco, ubi partes commode convenirent, tandem post multas deliberationes amici facti sunt, rege omnia illis annuente que volebant, et per cartam suam confirmante.

1215.14 Recepti sunt igitur in osculum pacis qui aderant, hominum et fidelitatem de novo facientes, comederuntque simul et biberunt, et prefixus est dies pactorum completioni, citra¹⁰⁹⁶ quem, que ibi determinata erant, perficerentur; reddiditque in continenti rex unicuique ius suum, et obsides quos habebat, castella etiam vel tenementa que diu in manu sua tenuerat, vel etiam que frater suus Ricardus rex tulerat, resignavit: castellum videlicet de Muntsorel, castellum de Rokingham, castellum de Colecestria, et plura alia¹⁰⁹⁷. Turrim vero Londoniarum, quoniam custodiam eius Gaufridus de Maundevilla petebat, nullo alio iure, ut dicitur, nisi quia

¹⁰⁹⁰ in pace se tenebat] se in pace tenebat *CLM*

¹⁰⁹¹ auxilium ab exteris nationibus] ab exteris nationibus auxilium *CLM*

¹⁰⁹² remanserant partibus] partibus remanserant *C*

¹⁰⁹³ trahere] *om. CLM*

¹⁰⁹⁴ expugnare] oppugnare *AL*

¹⁰⁹⁵ multum] plurimum *CLM*

¹⁰⁹⁶ citra] circa *C*

¹⁰⁹⁷ plura alia] *inv. CLM*

pater eius Gaufridus ut iusticiarius Anglie illam sicut cetera custodiebat, in manu archiepiscopi tanquam in sequestro posuit, donec veritas plenius discuteretur.

1215.15 Mandatum est mox ubique ut pacem omnes servarent, et cessaverunt hii qui apud Londonias et hii qui apud Lincolniam erant ab incepto.

1215.16 Iam actum putares, sed heu! quia factus est¹⁰⁹⁸ novissimus error peior priore, eo quod¹⁰⁹⁹ procul dubio superseminante zizania qui pacem odit et discordiarum est auctor: ab ipso enim colloquio abierunt quidam magnatum¹¹⁰⁰ Transhumbranorum, et sub pretextu quod non intererant, hostilia agebant. Sed et hii, ut discesserunt¹¹⁰¹ ab invicem, videbantur occasiones querere quomodo ab amicitia inita discederent. Nam nec ipse se eis credebat, nec illi ad eum accedebant, sed¹¹⁰² alii Londonias se recipientes debiliora queque resarciebant, alii castella, vel que ex novo resignaverat rex, muniebant¹¹⁰³, vel que ipsi a multis retro temporibus quasi hereditario possidebant. Fuerunt etiam¹¹⁰⁴ qui novas munitiunculas¹¹⁰⁵ sibi construebant¹¹⁰⁶.

1215.17 Deferebatur interim exemplar illius carte per civitates et vicus, et iuratum est ab omnibus quod eam observarent, ipso rege hoc iubente. Misit autem rex per provincias ministeriales suos, quos vicecomites pacis vocant, qui more solito et provincialium paci providerent, et negotia fisci procurarent. Quorum alii in partibus illis ubi proceres dicti prevalebant capti sunt, alii non absque iniuria repulsi. Quod¹¹⁰⁷ rex audiens, et iuramentum illud de carta observanda contra se factum¹¹⁰⁸ suspicans, eo quod ibi contineretur regem ipsum ad carte observationem cogendum, mittit festinanter alios nuncios ad gentes exteras; sed et cancellarium suum

¹⁰⁹⁸ est] om. *CL*

¹⁰⁹⁹ quod] om. *A*

¹¹⁰⁰ abierunt quidam magnatum] quidam magnatum abierunt *V*

¹¹⁰¹ discesserunt] discerunt *V*

¹¹⁰² sed] si *C*

¹¹⁰³ muniebant] muniebat *CLM*

¹¹⁰⁴ etiam] om. *V*

¹¹⁰⁵ munitiunculas] muniunculas *L*

¹¹⁰⁶ construebant] construxerunt *CLM*

¹¹⁰⁷ quod] quorum *C*

¹¹⁰⁸ factum] factam *A*

Ricardum de Marisco ad dominum papam, qui in curia iugiter existens negotia sua pro viribus promoveret. Urgebat enim necessitas, tum quia iam concilium generale in proximo erat, tum quia iam¹¹⁰⁹ dictos magnates in suam expulsionem conspirasse intellexerat. Regem preterea Francorum ingentibus promissis in partem suam trahere nitebatur, sed frustra. Prevenerant enim eum alii, quibus iam tacite consenserat, eo quod inter ipsum et regem Anglie graves a multo tempore essent inimicitie, licet modo per treugas¹¹¹⁰ mitigate.

1215.18 Iterum¹¹¹¹ igitur direptiones, iterum depredationes, rege in locis munitioribus se tenente, proceribus autem libere per regionem discurrentibus, pepercerunt tamen adhuc¹¹¹² populo quoniam tempus messis instabat, tantummodo domos regias vel maneria regia que ab aquilonaribus erant partibus, vel forestas depopulantes, ligna vendendo, et feras quarum plurima erat copia trucidando. Archiepiscopus autem et episcopi, videntes terram exterminio dari, nunc regem, nunc proceres¹¹¹³ de pace commonent; et quia tam ipse quam illi se ea que pacis sunt querere verbo tenus confessi sunt, statuunt ut in crastino Assumptionis beate Marie Virginis, rex¹¹¹⁴ cum eis¹¹¹⁵ ad Oxoniam, proceres apud Brackele conveniant, quatenus eorum mediatione¹¹¹⁶ ibidem omnibus rite completis, omnes de reliquo sopiantur rixe, et sepeliantur inimicitie.

1215.19 Ad diem statutum convenerunt episcopi omnes et proceres usque Oxoniam in apparatu copioso, misitque rex de suis excusatores qui dicerent se, sicut¹¹¹⁷ eis convenerat, plurima resignasse; sibi nihil esse refusum, immo post pacem initam graves iniurias et enormia sibi damna illata, nec esse qui emendaret; preterea illos sic cum armis et in tanta multitudine, ad diem illum, qui pacis sperabatur, confluisse, ut non esset ei¹¹¹⁸ vel tutum vel consiliosum copiam sui facere.

¹¹⁰⁹ iam] *om. C*

¹¹¹⁰ treugas] *essent add. C*

¹¹¹¹ iterum] *interim A*

¹¹¹² tamen adhuc] *adhuc tamen MV*

¹¹¹³ nunc proceres] *om CM*

¹¹¹⁴ rex] *om. A*

¹¹¹⁵ eis] *ipsis CLM*

¹¹¹⁶ mediatione] *meditatione C*

¹¹¹⁷ se sicut] *sicut CLM*

¹¹¹⁸ ei] *om. CLM*

1215.20 Ostensum est autem¹¹¹⁹ ibi mandatum apostolicum, in quo districte precipiebatur archiepiscopo et eius suffraganeis, omnes regis Anglie impugnatores et expulsores excommunicare, vel ipsos ad concilium suspensos venire, commissa mandati executione episcopo Wintoniensi, abbati Radinggensi, et Pandulpho sancte Romane ecclesie subdiacono, et domini pape familiari.

1215.21 Hic est Pandulphus qui ante hoc¹¹²⁰ biennium regem sancte Romane ecclesie reconciliavit. Qui ultro citroque¹¹²¹ discurrens, et pro alterutra parte plurimum laborans, dum pro denario Sancti Petri ex integro et absque diminutione sancte Romane ecclesie reddendo, apud Anglos moram faceret, in episcopum Norwicensem iam electus erat.

1215.22 Et quoniam rumor erat quod rex regno vellet cedere, rebus suis ut videbatur diffisus, protracto¹¹²² per triduum colloquio, sic inter proceres et episcopos convenit, ut sententia ad modicum suspenderetur; et interim episcopi ad¹¹²³ regem adirent, tentantes si quo modo eum ad colloquium Londoniis, vel saltem usque villam que vocatur Stanes trahere possent; ibi enim ex condicto conventuri erant.

1215.23 Recesserunt itaque ab invicem proceres Londonias petentes, ubi quidam complicum suorum resederant, episcopi apud Portesmue cum festinatione regem adeuntes. Quem cum vix a navi, quam, ut dicitur, iam ascenderet¹¹²⁴, revocarent, nihil aliud impetrare potuerunt nisi ut quosdam suorum in episcoporum conductu mitteret, qui in audientia episcoporum et procerum protestarentur non stare per eum quin pax iuxta quod inter eos convenerat¹¹²⁵ procederet. Ergo iiii feria post festum Sancti Bartholomei convenerunt in unum episcopi et proceres apud villam que vocatur Stanes¹¹²⁶, ubi post multam¹¹²⁷ deliberationem, quoniam periculum episcopis

¹¹¹⁹ autem] *om. A*

¹¹²⁰ hoc] *om. A*

¹¹²¹ ultro citroque] *ultra citoque CM*

¹¹²² protracto] *pertracto A*

¹¹²³ ad] *om. AM*

¹¹²⁴ ascenderet] *conscenderat CLM*

¹¹²⁵ convenerant] *CM*

¹¹²⁶ que vocatur Stanes] *Stanes dictam C*

imminebat, lata est sententia in regis et regni perturbatores, secundum mandatum apostolicum, sic eam interpretantibus plurimis, quod in caput regis converteretur, et in verticem ipsius descenderet, eo quod ipse, ut dicebant, regnum turbaret et se ipsum factis suis expelleret.

1215.24 Reversi igitur¹¹²⁸ Londonias proceres non absque fastu quidem, diviserunt inter se partem illam regni que iam ad se declinasse videbatur: Gaufrido videlicet de Mandevilla Essexam, Roberto filio Walteri, comitatum Northamptonie; Rogero de Cresci, Nortfolk et Suthfolk Sero, comitatum¹¹²⁹ Wyntonie, comitatum de Grantebriggia¹¹³⁰ et de Huntingdonia; Willelmo de Albeni¹¹³¹, comitatum Lincolnie; Iohanni constabulario, Cestrie comitatum, Eboraci et Notingham; Roberto de Ros, Northumberlande.

1215.25 Quilibet autem in provincia sibi assignata iusticiarium se exhibens paci provincialium providere debebat. Ecce autem post paucos dies nunciatum est regem cum aliquibus alienis qui ei in subsidium iam¹¹³² venerant prope Dovram exercitum convocasse. Ibi enim commodum videbatur reliquos quos venturos sperabat opperiri. Preterea quoniam ibi mare ex facili transitur, putabat exinde facilius inimicorum suorum resistere moliminibus. At¹¹³³ illi eum iam pro deposito vel deiecto habentes, de domino eligendo tractare ceperunt; et quoniam hoc ex communi consensu¹¹³⁴ totius regni fieri oportuit, edicto peremptorio et sub protestatione prestiti iuramenti et comminatione gravi, optimates omnes convocandos statuunt prefixis die et loco.

1215.26 Interim hii quibus mandati supradicti a domino papa commissa est executio, aliter multo sententiam latam interpretati sunt quam supradicti; eos omnes in eam incidisse protestantes, qui sic dominum suum expellere nitebantur, ex maioribus et

¹¹²⁷ multam] *om. C*

¹¹²⁸ igitur] *om. A*

¹¹²⁹ comitatum] comite *C*

¹¹³⁰ Grantebriggia] Canthebruggia *C*

¹¹³¹ Albeni] Albaneio *CLM*

¹¹³² iam] *om. CLM*

¹¹³³ at] et *L*

¹¹³⁴ communi consensu] consensu communi *MV*

capitaneis plurimos nominatim excommunicatos denunciaverunt una cum civibus Londonie, quam etiam interdicto subiecerunt. Sed pro nihilo habebatur eorum sententia, pretendentibus aliis quod ad concilium generale appellassent. Et quoniam instabat tempus¹¹³⁵ quo¹¹³⁶ necesse habebant concilium adire, quasi medio Septembri transfretabant episcopi, abbates et prelati Anglie fere omnes, per regem transitum facientes plurimi.

1215.27 Secutus autem Pandulphus archiepiscopum in transmarinis, eum ab officio episcopali suspendit, obiiciens quod mandatum apostolicum minus reverenter implesset, quod proceribus in plurimis¹¹³⁷ communicasset¹¹³⁸, quod regi debitum honorem substraxisset. Dicitur enim custodiam presidii Rovestrensis¹¹³⁹ usque ad reditum suum primo ei concessisse, et postmodum, nescio qua de causa hoc non adimpluisse¹¹⁴⁰; quosdam etiam procerum nuncios sub suo conductu ad Francorum regem deduxisse. Hanc sententiam ille ut vir prudentissimus humiliter servavit, sicque Romam profectus est.

1215.28 Citati igitur, ut diximus, magnates qui ab initio istis non consenserunt, post dilationes et deliberationes multas, tandem ex sententia responderunt se ex iuramento non teneri ad regis depositionem vel expulsionem, maxime cum ipse pacem initam servare paratum se protestetur. Sicque divisi sunt ab invicem, et multiplicata sunt mala in terra.

1215.29 Regem sequebantur ex maioribus regni Ranulphus scilicet¹¹⁴¹ comes Cestrie, Willelmus comes de Warena cognatus regis, Willelmus Marescallus comes de Penbroc, quamvis primogenitus eius staret¹¹⁴² ex adverso; Willelmus comes Saresbirie frater regis, Willelmus comes de Ferrariis, Willelmus comes de Arundel, Willelmus comes de Albermalia, comes Warewik, cum aliis multis et magnis.

¹¹³⁵ tempus] *om. LM*

¹¹³⁶ quo] quod *C*

¹¹³⁷ plurimis] pluribus *CM*

¹¹³⁸ communicasset] et] *add. CM*

¹¹³⁹ Rovestrensis] Rovecestrensis *CM*

¹¹⁴⁰ adimplesse] adimplisset *CM*

¹¹⁴¹ scilicet] videlicet *CLM*

¹¹⁴² staret] stetisset *C*

1215.30 In parte adversa erant Gaufridus de Maundevilla comes Essexe, quem rex cingulo militari donaverat, qui que regi in xix millibus marcarum obligatus erat pro comitissa Gloucestrie quondam uxore sua, quam iste nuper acceperat; Saer comes Wintonie, quem rex pro hereditate uxoris comitem creaverat; Rogerus comes Clarensis; Henricus comes Herefordie; Rogerus Bigot comes Nortfolkie; et David comes, et comes Robertus de Ver; ex episcopis autem Egidius Herefordensis, qui regi in ix. millibus marcarum tenebatur pro hereditate paterna, quam rex confiscaverat primo et postmodum illi reddiderat. Ex proceribus autem Robertus filius¹¹⁴³ Walteri, Eustacius de Vesci, cum aquilonaribus supradictis et pluribus aliis quos longum esset enumerare.

1215.31 Hii itaque etsi multi essent, tamen in se ipsis parum confisi confugerunt ad Philippum Francorum regem, elegeruntque Lodovicum primogenitum eius in dominum, petentes et obsecrantes ut in manu robusta veniens eos de manu tyranni huius eriperet; sic enim iam habebatur. Dumque intercurrentibus nunciis conventiones et securitates mutuo firmarentur, apposuerunt¹¹⁴⁴ presidium quod est apud Northamptonam obsidere, vocatis a Francia artificibus ad machinas bellicas construendas. Quod videntes ex complicitibus eorum quidam, obsederunt et ipsi presidium quod est apud Oxoniam.

1215.32 Rex autem qui circa Dovram diebus aliquot quasi delituerat, iam caput erigere cepit. Confluxerant quippe¹¹⁴⁵ quos dudum promissis ingentibus sollicitaverat, Picti, Gascones, Bribanzones, Flandrenses, et ex transmarinis nationibus in multitudine gravi. Venissentque ad eum multo plures nisi subito orta procella eos in transfretando una cum aliquibus ex¹¹⁴⁶ nunciis regiis submersisset. Dicitur enim et ipse papa scripsisse pro eo, utpote qui ipsum totis viribus tuendum susceperat; et hoc certis ex causis, tum quia cruce signatus erat, tum quia causa ipsius et procerum ad eum iam delata fuerat; tum quia sancte Romane ecclesie regna duo subiecerat. Multiplicatis itaque viribus, misit rex ex suis qui utramque

¹¹⁴³ Robertus filius] filius Robertus *C*

¹¹⁴⁴ apposuerunt] apposuit *MV*

¹¹⁴⁵ quippe] ad eum *add. CM*

¹¹⁴⁶ aliquibus ex] *om. CLM*

obsidionem, Oxonie videlicet et Northamptonie, dissiparent; ipseque civitatem Roffensem occupans, quam contra se proceres firmare moliebantur, etiam presidium civitatis obsedit.

1215.33 Erat quippe¹¹⁴⁷ presidium archiepiscopi, incluserantque se in ea viri multi et magni, milites videlicet lxxx et xv ex melioribus et fortioribus totius multitudinis: promittentibus aliis quod si rex eos obsideret ipsi in manu valida citum et efficacem eis succursum facerent. Nec distulit rex; sed con fractis pontibus unde aliquid subsidii sperare possent, erectis machinis omnibus modis presidium expugnare conabatur; at illi e contra tanquam viri strenui et fortes omnino adversantibus omnino¹¹⁴⁸ resistentes plurimam ex oppugnantibus stragem fecerunt.

1215.34 Vocatis autem complicibus universis, egressi sunt Londoniis die Martis proxima ante festum Omnium Sanctorum equites quasi septingenti. Veneruntque ad villam que vocatur Derteford¹¹⁴⁹, tanquam succursuri obsesis. Sed cum audissent quod rex iam acie ordinata occurrere disposuisset, relictis nihilominus qui obsidionem continuarent, consiliosum rati tempus opportunius expectare, eo quod paucos haberent pedites, et rex multitudinem maximam, cum festinatione reversi sunt Londonias, condicentes ut in festo Sancti Andree fortius et melius instructi convenirent, quia usque ad id temporis putabant obsessi se posse resistere.

1215.35 Miserunt autem Serum comitem Wintonie cum aliis pluribus ad maturandum domini Lodowici adventum, et ne aliqua eum retineret ambiguitas, unanimiter tactis sacrosanctis iuraverunt quod in perpetuum terram de Iohanne rege non tenerent. Reversi sunt plures ad sua, residentibus aliis apud Londonias.

1215.36 Eo tempore obiit Egidius episcopus Herefordie, qui tamen antea, vel metu domini pape vel aliis nescio quibus causis, regi conciliatus¹¹⁵⁰, etiam obsidioni illi aliquantulum interfuit.

¹¹⁴⁷ quippe] quidem *CM*

¹¹⁴⁸ omnino] *om. CM*

¹¹⁴⁹ que vocatur Derteford] Derteforde vocatam *CL*

¹¹⁵⁰ conciliatus] reconciliatus *CLM*

1215.37 Artabantur interea apud Roucestriam obsessi, et, urgente rege negotium, nulla eis dabatur requies, quinque machinis iaculatoriis¹¹⁵¹ non cessantibus per diem vel noctem lapides in eos mittere. Iam aliis confractis, sola arx restabat¹¹⁵², que quoniam pre operis antiquitate et soliditate parum lapidum iactu¹¹⁵³ ledebatur; immissi sunt suffossores, et cum media concidisset, ipsi tamen adhuc in altera medietate viriliter restiterunt. Talis quippe erat structura arcis, ut muro solidissimo hec medietas ab illa que ceciderat distingueretur. Nec meminit etas nostra obsidionis alicuius tam urgender facte, nec¹¹⁵⁴ tam viriliter defense. Cum enim per continuos _____ dies¹¹⁵⁵ nulla daretur eis requies, etiam infra arcis unum angustias compressi¹¹⁵⁶ fame laboraverunt acerrima, deficientibus quippe aliis, sola equina carne et aqua vescebantur, quod durum erat eis qui nutriti erant in deliciis. Tandem itaque ad extrema¹¹⁵⁷ perventum est; primoque eiectis qui minus bellicosi videbantur, quorum nonnullis rex manus vel pedes truncari fecit, non multo post capti sunt omnes, et preter eos qui se clericos asserebant, in vincula coniecti; milites et nobiliores rex sibi retinuit, inferiores aliis concessit. Unum solum suspendi iussit, arcubalistarium quem, ut fertur, a puero nutrierat, cum tamen putaretur pre ire magnitudine quod omnes simul morti amarissime mox traditurus esset. Deiecti sunt hoc audito reliqui omnes, et¹¹⁵⁸ pavore percussi¹¹⁵⁹ aut Londonias se contulerunt aut locis religiosis se abdidierunt. Pauci erant qui munitionibus se crederent¹¹⁶⁰.

1215.38 Interea Rome celebratum est concilium generale sub papa¹¹⁶¹ Innocentio tertio in basilica que appellantur¹¹⁶² Constantiniana, cui intererant ex patriarchis

¹¹⁵¹ iaculatoriis] iaculatoribus *M*

¹¹⁵² restabat] stabat *CLM*

¹¹⁵³ iactu] ictu *M*

¹¹⁵⁴ nec] vel *A*

¹¹⁵⁵ dies] *om. ACLM*

¹¹⁵⁶ compressi] *om CLM*

¹¹⁵⁷ extrema] extremum *CM*

¹¹⁵⁸ et] *om. MV*

¹¹⁵⁹ percussi] percussi *CLM*

¹¹⁶⁰ crederent] crediderent *V*

¹¹⁶¹ papa] *om. CM*

¹¹⁶² appellantur] appellatur *M*

maioribus Constantinopolitanus et Ierosolimitanus¹¹⁶³; episcopi diversarum nationum cccx, quorum lxxvii¹¹⁶⁴ erant primates metropolitani; abbates vel priores quasi dccc.

1215.39 Ibi promotus est Walterus de Grey a Wygornensi episcopo in archiepiscopum Eboracensem, cassata prius electione magistri Simonis de Langetune, unanimiter ut fertur electi¹¹⁶⁵, qui frater Stephani Cantuariensis archiepiscopi erat¹¹⁶⁶. Suggestum est autem domino pape quod dominus Cantuariensis inceptor esset tumultus huius¹¹⁶⁷ in Anglia orti, et de sententia quam eidem Pandulphus inflixerat, motusque est graviter vir apostolicus contra eum pro hac causa, et eo gravius, quo sibi ut credebat tanquam promotori suo magis tenebatur obnoxius esset¹¹⁶⁸. Absolutus est autem ibi a sententia suspensionis. Sed quoniam intellexit gratiam domini pape sibi subtractam, pauca verba in concilio de cetero fecit. At proceres Anglie, eo quod ad concilium appellaverant, miserunt aliquos qui pro sua¹¹⁶⁹ parte starent; quibus tamen quia¹¹⁷⁰ excommunicationis obiectus est titulus, non est audientia data. Excommunicati sunt igitur ibi non solum ipsi, sed omnes qui regem Anglie in hac parte infestabant cum adiutoribus et fautoribus eorum. Et quoniam iam pape revelatum est de Francorum rege filioque eius qualiter cum dictis proceribus fedus inierint, nunc patri, nunc filio, nunc episcopis vel prelatibus partium illarum crebras direxit¹¹⁷¹ epistolas, sententie illius mentionem facientes, monens et commonens ne aliquid in sancte Romane ecclesie iniuriam contra tam celebrem attentarent sententiam; sed frustra. Nam sive odio persone, sive quia turpe putabant referre pedem, acceptis ab Anglicis obsidibus, marescallum Francie cum manu valida armatorum Londonias miserunt, qui istis usque ad domini Lodowici adventum presidio forent, qui putabatur in proximo venturus.

¹¹⁶³ Very similar to Wendover

¹¹⁶⁴ lxxvii] lxx *CLM*

¹¹⁶⁵ unanimiter ut fertur electi] *om. A*

¹¹⁶⁶ qui frater Stephani Cantuariensis archiepiscopi erat] qui frater erat... *CLV*

¹¹⁶⁷ huius] huiusmodi *M*

¹¹⁶⁸ esset] *om. CLM*

¹¹⁶⁹ sua] *om. CM*

¹¹⁷⁰ quia] *om. CLM*

¹¹⁷¹ direxit] duxit *M*

1215.40 At rex Anglie capta, ut dictum est, Roucestria circa Decembris initium, inde versus Wintoniam divertit. Indeque versus Aquilonem quia¹¹⁷² per medium Anglie transiens, cor populi fluctuantis sua presentia solidavit; fautores suos, quos in oppidis vel munitionibus posuerat, confortavit: veniensque Notingham, ibi Natale Domini, non tamen ex more, sed sicut in expeditione positus, egit; quotquot autem castella aut munitiones habebant usque ad id locorum aut ea vacua reliquerunt aut ipsi reddiderunt¹¹⁷³.

1216

1216.1 Rex ultra progrediens, usque ad castrum quod Berwik dicitur¹¹⁷⁴ pervenit, captoque presidio et patria depopulata, rediit in¹¹⁷⁵ sua. In eundo autem et redeundo vastabat terras, cepit munitiones, nec erat qui resisteret. Nam rex Scottorum adhuc iunior, sicut et alii complices eius, in locis remotioribus se absconderat.

1216.2 ¹¹⁷⁶Eo tempore insulam que vocatur Ely¹¹⁷⁷ invaserunt quidam ex regis satellitibus, duce comite Saresbirie. Nam sive pro religione loci¹¹⁷⁸, sive pro munitione, confluxerat illuc matronarum et infantum nobilium multitudo¹¹⁷⁹ maxima, et cum eis¹¹⁸⁰ milites multi et magnatum¹¹⁸¹ nonnulli. Qui cum aditus preclusissent, et positis in locis opportunis custodibus ad resistendum se preparassent, dante opportunitatem gelu acerrimo quod ipsas paludes pervias faceret, irruentibus regiis¹¹⁸² copiis intercepti sunt. Salvati sunt¹¹⁸³ tamen ex militibus aliqui per glaciem fugientes, et ex matronis plures protegente eas comite. Hoc audito, territi sunt qui in locis religiosis occultabantur, et quotquot poterant Londonias¹¹⁸⁴ fugerunt.

¹¹⁷² quia] *om. CLM*

¹¹⁷³ reddiderunt] *dediderunt CLM*

¹¹⁷⁴ quod Berwik dicitur] *de Berewik C*

¹¹⁷⁵ in] *ad CM*

¹¹⁷⁶ Some also in Wendover, III, 358

¹¹⁷⁷ que vocatur Ely] *Hely vocatam C*

¹¹⁷⁸ loci] *om. V*

¹¹⁷⁹ infantum nobilium multitudo] *infantium multitudini L infantium multitudo C*

¹¹⁸⁰ eis] *illis MV*

¹¹⁸¹ magnatum] *magnates C*

¹¹⁸² regiis] *om. CLM*

¹¹⁸³ sunt] *om. V*

¹¹⁸⁴ Londonias] *Londoniis M*

1216.3 Rex autem in Estsexam proficiscebatur, eo quod quedam munitiones ibi dicebantur se defensionem preparare. Sed cum illuc venisset, non erat qui resisteret preter solum presidium Colecestrie, quod ipse in manu valida obsedit, et cepit quasi prima hebdomada Martii: et iam sola restabat civitas¹¹⁸⁵ Londonia, ubi se contulerant Franci cum hostibus regis. Cumque putaretur quod rex illuc¹¹⁸⁶ exercitum directurus esset, divertit versus Dovram, tentans si quo modo Lodowici prepediret propositum. Etiam¹¹⁸⁷ papa, preter epistolas quas frequentissime direxerat, etiam cardinalem misit nomine Walonem qui viva voce negotium illud procuraret, et in Anglia legati fungeretur officio. Sed nec regis providentia, nec domini pape epistole, nec legati persuasio dominum Lodowicum impedire poterant, nec ventus qui per multum temporis contrarius ei fuerat.

1216.4 Mense igitur Maio, xiiii die mensis, applicuit Lodowicus in insula Tanet, rege, ut aiunt, id vidente. Qui quoniam alienigenas et conductitios secum habebat, qui pro parte maiori de Francorum ditione erant, nec apposuit impedire applicantem, nec invadere iam litus tenentem. Mente igitur consternatus et vultu tristis, inde¹¹⁸⁸ versus Wintoniam cum suis¹¹⁸⁹ divertit in obviam Walonis legati, qui eodem tempore in Angliam applicaverat¹¹⁹⁰.

1216.5 At Lodowicus littore potitus Cantuariam adiit, expectans ibi suos quos a Londoniis vocaverat, ut scilicet iunctis copiis securius ultra progrederetur. Confluebant itaque ad eum Franci cum Anglis, et audito eius adventu ceperunt caput erigere, et de latibulis exire, qui eum tanto tempore expectaverant. Recesseruntque a rege non solum ex conductitis quos supradiximus, sed etiam ex Anglis plurimi qui cum rege steterant. Captis igitur¹¹⁹¹ in itinerando castellis aliquibus, v feria hebdomade Pentecostes venit Londonias, exceptus cum omni alacritate¹¹⁹² et letitia: facteque sunt ei fidelitates et hominia, putabaturque mox totam insulam capturus, et

¹¹⁸⁵ civitas] *om. CLM*

¹¹⁸⁶ illus] ille *V*

¹¹⁸⁷ etiam] dominus etiam *CLM*

¹¹⁸⁸ inde] unde *V error in V*

¹¹⁸⁹ cum suis] *om. V error in V*

¹¹⁹⁰ applicaverat] applicuerat *CLM*

¹¹⁹¹ captis igitur] captisque *CM*

¹¹⁹² alacritate] hillaritate *C*

hoc omnes fere preconabantur, credentes ipsum regem desperasse eo quod paulo ante castella plurima per Angliam demoliri iussisset; inter que erat Bealveir (Belvoir)¹¹⁹³ castellum famosum et nobile.

1216.6 Legatus vero assumptis secum episcopis et ecclesiarum prelati, quos a concilio generali remeantes in auxilium regis in regnum vocaverat, presente rege, Lodovicum excommunicavit ex nomine ipso die Pentecostes, cum adiutoribus et fautoribus, terras eorum subiiciens interdicto, et maxime civitatem Londoniarum. Non destitit propter hoc Lodovicus, sed insecutus regem Wintoniam cepit cum munitionibus circumpositis, quam mox comiti Nivernensi dedit, qui cum ipso venerat.

1216.7 Dehinc viribus multiplicatis castellum Dove arte et natura munitissimum obsedit, missis preterea cum comite Nivernensi ex magnatibus Anglie, castellum de Windesoure obsideri fecit. Sed et Aquilonares Lincolniam occupantes presidium obsidere et expugnare conati sunt. Liberavit autem se ab hac obsidione matrona cui presidii custodia commissa erat, Nicholaa nomine¹¹⁹⁴, pacta pro dilatione¹¹⁹⁵ pecunia; profectique sunt ad dominum Lodovicum Aquilonares una cum¹¹⁹⁶ rege Scottorum, feceruntque et ipsi ei fidelitates et hominia.

1216.8 Mortuus est¹¹⁹⁷ eo tempore Innocentius papa; succeditque ei Cincius cardinalis, iam evo grandior, elictusque¹¹⁹⁸ est Honorius. Quod ut auditum est in Anglia letati sunt omnes qui ex adverso regis steterunt, putantes et predicantes quod novus papa nova¹¹⁹⁹ faceret, nec in viis predecessoris sui ambularet.

1216.9 Eo tempore recesserunt a rege amici multi et proximi; comes videlicet de Warena cognatus regis, et comes Saresbirie frater regis, et comes de Arundel, et

¹¹⁹³ Bealveir] Beaver *CL* Beauveir *M*

¹¹⁹⁴ Nicholaa nomine] *om. MV*

¹¹⁹⁵ dilatione] dominatione *CM*

¹¹⁹⁶ cum] *om. M*

¹¹⁹⁷ est] autem *add. C*

¹¹⁹⁸ elictusque] factusque *C*; et vocatus est *M*

¹¹⁹⁹ nova] *om. CV*

Robertus comes de Ver; et comes de Albemarla, qui tamen cito rediit. Et ceteri qui stabant cum Lodowico, magis, ut post¹²⁰⁰ claruit, ex metu quam ex animo, stabant.

1216.10 Rex igitur cum diu siluisset considerans domini Lodowici facta, vidissetque eum in obsidione Doverensi diutius detineri, minusque quam primo putabatur prosperari, movit castra versus Norfolkiam, occupavitque loca per que transiturus erat rex Scottorum in sua. Quo audito perrexerunt qui apud Windesovere sederant ei¹²⁰¹ obviam¹²⁰², solutaque¹²⁰³ est obsidio: ipse autem cum suis Lincolniam recessit. Dehinc cum insulam que Axiholm vocatur ferro flammaque vastasset, movit castra per Lindesiam, transiensque per¹²⁰⁴ Hoilandiam, Lincolniam usque devenit, ubi non paucis diebus rex Scottorum et ex magnatibus multi stationem fecerant¹²⁰⁵. Ubicunque autem¹²⁰⁶ in hoc itinerario hostium terras reperit, direptioni eas dedit; facteque sunt in combustionem et cibum¹²⁰⁷ ignis, ita ut non meminerit etas nostra tantillo tempore talem combustionem nostris in partibus factam fuisse.

1216.11 Savaricus autem de Malo Leone et alii plures armati a rege Johanne missi, ut milites et servientes regis adversarios in locis abditis et remotioribus latebras foveas inquirerent et comprehenderent, in crastino Sancti Michaeli improvisi Croilandiam venerunt et non inventis ibi ipsis quos querebant, monasterium invaserunt et per ecclesiam et claustrum et officinas monasterii equites et armati discurrentes, coram altari inter Sacra Missarum sollempnia homines ceperunt et ab ecclesia abstraxerunt et quoque sibi placita quocumque reperta diripuerunt. In recessu vero suo predam infinitam tam in armentis quam peccoribus secum abduxerunt.¹²⁰⁸

¹²⁰⁰ post] postea *V*

¹²⁰¹ ei] *om. V*

¹²⁰² obviam] *om. ALM*

¹²⁰³ solutaque] solitaque *V*

¹²⁰⁴ per] *om. CLM*

¹²⁰⁵ fecerant] habuerant *CLM*

¹²⁰⁶ autem] *om. V*

¹²⁰⁷ et cibum] et cibum *add. L*

¹²⁰⁸ Savaricus...abduxerunt] *om. CLMV*

1216.12 Fugatis itaque a facie domini regis¹²⁰⁹ qui apud Lincolniam¹²¹⁰ congregati erant, reversus est dominus rex¹²¹¹ cum festinatione, eo quod morbo ut fertur dissinterie graviter fatigaretur. Et cum venisset ad castellum cui nomen Lafford, quod episcopo Lincolnensi occasione werre ad tempus abstulerat, morbo ingravescente in lectica iactari se fecit ad¹²¹² Neuwerccastellum itidem¹²¹³ Lincolnensis episcopi, sed ea ratione qua prius in manu regis tunc temporis existens.

1216.13 Ibi igitur morbo invalescente, diem clausit extremum xiiii kalendis Novembris postquam regnaverat annis xvii mensibus v diebus iii: princeps quidem magnus, sed minus felix, et cum Mario fortunam utramque expertus; munificus et liberalis in externos, sed suorum depredator, plus in alienis quam in suis confidens, unde et a suis ante finem derelictus est, et in fine modicum luctus. Et quoniam secuta fuerat eum armorum multitudo qui fere omnes conductitii et exteri erant, convenerunt festinato ad locum, et funus regium sicut armati erant usque ad¹²¹⁴ Wygorniam detulerunt, non quod ipse sepulturam ibi delegisset, sed quod¹²¹⁵ is locus securior tunc temporis videretur, ubi fautores eius convenirent quid facto opus esset deliberaturi. Intestina tamen eius, eo quod corpulentior esset, in domo Premonstratensis ordinis que Croxtone vocatur condita sunt.

1216.14 Intererat regis exequiis¹²¹⁶ Silvester tunc temporis episcopus Wigornensis, qui, translato in concilio Lateranensi generali ad archiepiscopatum Eboracensem Waltero de Grey, eidem in predicta sede successit. Hic a prioratu predictae ecclesiae ad pontificatum electus, Romanam sedem adiit, ibique a papa Innocentio curam pastorem et consecrationem suscepit episcopalem.¹²¹⁷

¹²⁰⁹ fugatis...regis] Sed cum a facie eius fugissent *CLM*

¹²¹⁰ Lincolniam] Linniam *CLM*

¹²¹¹ Dominus rex] *om. CLM*

¹²¹² ad] apud *V*

¹²¹³ itidem] *om. M*

¹²¹⁴ ad] *om. CL*

¹²¹⁵ quod] quia *CLM*

¹²¹⁶ exequiis] obsequiis *CM*

¹²¹⁷ episcopalem] Savaricus de Malo Leonum et alii plures armati a rege Iohanne missi, ut milites et servientes regis adversarios in locis abditis et remotioribus latebras foventes inquirerent et comprehenderent, in crastino Sancti Michaelis improvisi Croylandiam venerunt, et non inventis ibi quos querebant monasterium invaserunt, et per ecclesiam et claustrum et officinas monasterii equites et armati discurrerent, coram altari inter sacra missarum sollempnia homines ceperunt, et ab ecclesia

1216.15 Hiis diebus antequam de obitu regis mentio fieret, impetraverunt, qui apud Dovram obsessi erant, inducias usque post Pascha et soluta est obsidio.

1216.16 Videbatur autem tunc temporis¹²¹⁸ Lodowicum non multum approbasse adventum suum in Angliam, eo quod aliter se haberet regnum quam hii promiserant qui eum asciverant. Nam castella regis multa erant et munita valde, et ipse fere totius terre¹²¹⁹ dominatum obtinens. Rex Scottorum et Aquilonares exclusi a finibus suis, satellites regii possessiones eorum qui sibi adheserant pro libitu¹²²⁰ conculcantes. Anglos preterea mutabiles existimabat et mobiles, et Franci pauciores erant quam qui ad tantum regnum occupandum et obtinendum sufficerent. Hec attendens Lodowicus circa maritimam illam versabatur, ut si forte quid insperatum accideret, facilem haberent ipse et sui ad sua regressum.

1216.17 Sed rumor de obitu regis omnem illam partem¹²²¹ erexit, reversique sunt mox¹²²² Aquilonares cum rege Scottorum ad sua, et Lodowicus se Londonias recepit; cepitque turrim Londonie, que quasi in sequestro posita fuerat, conniventibus, ut ferunt¹²²³, hiis quibus commissa fuerat.

1216.18 Hiis diebus comes Britannie Petrus cognatus eius ad eum cum manu valida venerat, cui ipse omnia que uxorem eius iure hereditario contingebant, plenarie concessit. Duxerat quippe filiam comitisse Britannie, sororem videlicet Arthuri dudum mortui, ex parte matris.¹²²⁴

1216.19 Mortuo ergo, ut dictum est,¹²²⁵ rege et sepulto, convenerunt qui cum eo steterant, tam exteri quam procures¹²²⁶ regni; et procurante id legato, primogenitum

abstraxerunt. In recessu vero suo predam infinitam tam in armentis quam in pecoribus secum abduxerunt *add. CLM (inserted previously in A)*

¹²¹⁸ tunc temporis] ipsis *C*

¹²¹⁹ terre] regni *CLM*

¹²²⁰ libitu] linitu *L*

¹²²¹ partem] patriam *CLM*

¹²²² mox] *om. CLM*

¹²²³ ferunt] fertur *CLM*

¹²²⁴ matris] Initium regni Henrici III filii Iohannis *add. MV*

¹²²⁵ est] *om. C*

regis Henricum nomine¹²²⁷ in regem promoverunt. Imposuit autem ei manus¹²²⁸ ex iussu legati episcopus Wintoniensis¹²²⁹, die apostolorum Simonis et Iude, apud Gloucestriam, assistentibus ei episcopis qui in regno erant.

1216.20 Dominus Cantuariensis aberat in curia Romana detentus, et Lincolnensis in transmarinis moras nectens. Ceteri cum proceribus fidelitatem¹²³⁰ fecerunt novo regi et hominia. Commissaque est ex communi consilio cura¹²³¹ regis et regni legato, episcopo Wintoniensi, et Willelmo Marescallo comiti de Penbroc. Erat autem rex adhuc puer annorum circiter novem. Hoc audito, indignati sunt illi qui de parte adversa erant, et ne quid spei possit regi novo superesse, unanimiter tactis sacrosanctis iuraverunt se de nullo heredum Iohannis quondam regis Anglie¹²³² terram unquam tenturos, nam istum nec¹²³³ regis nomine dignabantur. At legatus pro viribus partes regis fovebat, mandans et monens, rogans et obsecrans, arguens et increpans, in contradicentes vel inobedientes gladium Petri exerens; acceperat etenim hoc in mandatis.

1216.21 Nam ut Rome mors regis Iohannis audita est, decrevit curia pro pupillo rege viriliter standum, Angliam tanquam patrimonium Beati¹²³⁴ Petri, contra Lodovicum et suos defendendam, pro causa hac non solum sententiis sed etiam armis, si ita necesse erat, agendum. Unde novus papa non solum legatum ipsum confirmavit, sed et omnia que cause isti annexa erant vel necessaria eius discretioni, omni appellatione vel contradictione remota, commisit. Hac auctoritate fretus, legatus prelatos ecclesiasticos ad novi regis fidelitatem compellebat, resistentes graviter puniebat, terras que in manus Lodowici vel complicum suorum devenerant, interdicto subiciebat. At contra Lodowicus auctoritatem eius nullam esse dicebat, eo quod ipse pro se¹²³⁵ et suis contra ipsum appellaverit. Prelatis ecclesiarum sub gravi

¹²²⁶ proceres] precibus *L*

¹²²⁷ Henricum nomine] nomine Henricum *V*

¹²²⁸ autem ei manus] ei manus autem *V*

¹²²⁹ Wintoniensis] Wygornensi *V*

¹²³⁰ fidelitatem] fidelitatem fidelitatem *V*

¹²³¹ cura] cum *CMV*

¹²³² Anglie] *om. AM*

¹²³³ nec] non *L* vero *CM*

¹²³⁴ beati] *om. A*

¹²³⁵ pro se] *om. C*

comminatione inhibebat, ne aut ad ipsius vocationem accederent, aut novo regi in aliquo se obligarent; iniungens insuper ut sibi tanquam domino terre fidelitatem ad diem quem prefixerat facerent. Prevaluit autem in hac parte legatus. Nam convocato apud Bristoliam concilio, prelatos qui aderant in partem quam volebat inclinavit. At contra Lodowicus fecit quod potuit, possessionibus eos spoliavit, bona eorum¹²³⁶ diripienda reliquit. Nullum tamen prelatorum ecclesiasticorum ad fidelitatem vel hominum suum eo anno inducere potuit, aliis latentibus, aliis inducias pecunia impetrantibus. Movit autem castra a Londoniis versus interiora regni, trahens post se machinas iaculatorias et instrumenta bellica; obseditque presidium de Herefordia et cepit.

1216.22 Occupaverunt sui¹²³⁷ interim insulam de Hely, excepta munitione quadam ubi regales se incluserant. Occupata est etiam iterum¹²³⁸ Lincolnia, et presidium obsessum. Profectus ultra Londonias applicuit castra ad castellum cui nomen Berchamstede¹²³⁹ cepitque machinis erectis inclusos ad deditionem urgere.

1216.23 Sed quoniam Natale Domini instabat, firmate sunt treuge generales inter partes usque ad octavas Epiphanie, reddito quod obsidebatur castello pro treugarum impetratione. Recesseruntque etiam a Lincolnia qui obsidioni intererant.

1216.24 Obiit Radulphus abbas Thorneie, vir religiosus et timens Deum¹²⁴⁰.

1216.25 Gaufridus de Mandevilla ex vulnere quod in hastiludio Londoniis acceperat obiit. Eustachius de Vesci, spiculo percussus,¹²⁴¹ in castelli cuiusdam obsidione obiit. Hii duo, ut supra tetigimus, pro parte magna causam dederunt huius tumultus regni Anglie.¹²⁴²

1217

¹²³⁶ eorum] suis *add. CLM*

¹²³⁷ sui] *om. CLM*

¹²³⁸ iterum] *om. CLM*; verum *add. L*

¹²³⁹ applicuit castra ad castellum cui nomen Berchamstede] *om. MV*

¹²⁴⁰ deum] obiit *add. C*

¹²⁴¹ percussus] *om. V*

¹²⁴² Anno Gratie *add. V*

1217.1 Post Natale Domini, durantibus adhuc treugis, convocaverunt fautores suos ad concilium Lodowicus apud Grantebriggiam, tutores regii apud Oxoniam, elaboratumque est ut aut inter partes pax firmaretur, aut treuge prolongarentur. Sed cum paci detrectarent Angli qui cum Lodowico erant, protendereturque de treugis ineundis consilium, obsedit ipse castellum cui nomen Hidingeham¹²⁴³. Redditum est autem¹²⁴⁴ ei tunc temporis castellum illud, et castellum Orefordie; presidium quoque¹²⁴⁵ Nortwici, et presidium Colecestrie, pro treugis usque ad mensem post Pascha. Sperabatur quippe quod occasione treugarum rediret in partes suas, possetque de facili casus accidere quo pars regia per hoc in melius promoveretur. Sic igitur omnis plaga orientalis in manus Lodowici devenit.

1217.2 Hiis diebus convocatum est concilium apud Melundunum a nunciis domini pape, interdicto, ut dicitur, totam terram regis Philippi pro hac causa subiecturus. Unde et ipse concilium procerum apud Laudunum convocavit in media Quadragesima. Vocavit autem filium suum¹²⁴⁶ mandato speciali et urgentissimo ad concilium. Molestae id tulerunt Angli qui ei adhererant. Sed ipse, tactis sacrosanctis, apud Londonias iuravit, quod ante finitas treugas in Angliam rediret. Dumque navigationi se et suos prepararet, infregerunt treugas quidam ex parte regia; unde iratus Lodowicus, illo¹²⁴⁷, licet paucos haberet, movit exercitum; distulissetque navigationem nisi patris urgens cegisset mandatum.

1217.3 Qui cum transfretasset, mox manifeste recesserunt in partem alteram comes¹²⁴⁸ Salesbirie et multi alii. Incitaverat quippe eos legatus, iniungens in remissionem peccatorum tam hiis quam aliis ut pro rege starent, regis partes tanquam ecclesie proprias pro viribus promoverent; nec hoc solum, sed etiam ut tanquam contra infideles pugnaturi, cruce se in pectore signarent. Signatusque est in primis ipse¹²⁴⁹, et episcopi et ecclesiarum prelati, etiam¹²⁵⁰ abbates, ut ferunt,

¹²⁴³ Hidingeham] Odingham *CLM*

¹²⁴⁴ est autem] autem est *M*

¹²⁴⁵ presidium quoque] presidiumque *CL*

¹²⁴⁶ suum] in *add.* *CLM*

¹²⁴⁷ illo] illico *C*

¹²⁴⁸ comes] comites *C*

¹²⁴⁹ ipse] *om.* *CM*

¹²⁵⁰ etiam] et *CLM*

profectique sunt in expeditionem, et obsidionibus castellorum intererant. Qui votum peregrinationis Ierosolimitane¹²⁵¹ habuerant, aut illud commutabant¹²⁵² in istud, aut differebant propter istud.

1217.4 Non cessabat legatus comminari, excommunicare, interdicere, sed pro nihilo reputabatur apud illos eius sententia. Obiciebant non modo illi, sed etiam¹²⁵³ domino pape, quod muneribus excecatus et cupiditate devictus, subplantaret iudicium, et quod rectum est, perverteret¹²⁵⁴. Nihil enim iam agebat quod non sinistre interpretabatur. Habebant autem contra eum quod in expeditionem procederet, quod nomine procurationis ab ecclesiis vel monasteriis que non visitabat, pecunias exigebat.

1217.5 Erat autem ex hiis altius considerantibus et novissima providentibus iusta causa gemendi, et statum regni merito deflendi. Iam quippe in se divisum erat regnum; iam quidam qui se pridem *Exercitum Dei* nominaverant, et pro libertatibus ecclesie et regni se decertare iactaverant, filii Belial reputati sunt, et infidelibus comparati; et hii proni ad schisma suscitandum et ad inobediendum obstinati. Clerici fautores eorum temere tractantes immo contaminantes Divina, cum se certissime scirent non modo suspensos verum etiam excommunicatos.

1217.6 Cum igitur ante mediam Quadragesimam transfretasset Lodowicus, confortata est manus regalium, et divisus per loca sociis, plura simul¹²⁵⁵ obsidebant castella.

1217.7 Eo tempore recuperaverunt castellum de Merleberge, castellum de Farnham, presidium Wintonie, presidium Cicestrie, cum aliis quibusdam que fere omnia demoliti sunt.

¹²⁵¹ Ierosolimitane] Ierosolimitanum *C*

¹²⁵² commutabant] commitabant *A*

¹²⁵³ etiam] et *AL*

¹²⁵⁴ perverteret] diverteret *M*

¹²⁵⁵ simul] sibi *C*

1217.8 Comes autem Cestrie, adiunctis sibi multis ex maioribus partis illius, obsedit castellum cui nomen Muntsorel est¹²⁵⁶.

1217.9 Et quoniam mobile vulgus facile mutatur, parum profecto in Anglia Lodowicus¹²⁵⁷ remansisset, si ultra promissum tempus reditum suum distulisset. Sed nec pars illius interim otiosa fuit. Obsederunt enim et ipsi presidium Lincolnie circa mediam Quadragesimam. Confluxeruntque illus cotidie¹²⁵⁸ multi et magni, cum uxoribus etiam et liberis¹²⁵⁹, eo quod ibi tutiorem faciebant commorationem, tum loci opportunitas, tum virorum robustorum frequentia.

1217.10 Sabbato igitur quo finiende erant treuge applicuit apud Santwicum Lodowicus, ducens secum comitem Perticensem cum multis aliis, passusque est a galeis regiis damna suorum, eo quod viri nautici qui per portus et littora commorabantur in partem regis declinaverunt. Unde iratus Lodowicus portum ipsum ubi applicuit succendit igni. Audito eius adventu occurrerunt ei cum gaudio qui eius erant. Mandatumque est hiis qui apud Lincolniam erant, ut obsidionem viriliter urgerent. Unde erectis machinis non iam dabatur requies obsessis, nihil nisi solam captionem expectantibus. Sed quoniam et hii qui apud Munsorel obsidebantur iam fere usque ad deditionem pervenerant, ipsis cum summa festinatione succurrere decreverunt, instigante quos poterat ad hoc comite Seer¹²⁶⁰; erat quippe castellum ipsius. Profecti sunt igitur a Londoniis in manu valida Franci cum Anglis, et erat Robertus filius Walteri dux eorum: et cum appropinquassent castello quo ibant, subtraxit se comes Cestrie et qui cum illo erant; accensisque machinis, Nottingham diverterunt. Hoc successu elati alii insolentius se habebant; et facta mora in partibus illis per dies aliquot omnia pro libitu tractabant.

1217.11 Interim Lodowicus cum residuo exercitus sui castellum Dovre iterato obsedit. Nam robur exercitus eius¹²⁶¹, ut dictum est, in partibus aquilonaribus erat.

¹²⁵⁶ est] iuxta Leyrcestriam *add. C*

¹²⁵⁷ Lodowicus] Lodowico *M*

¹²⁵⁸ illuc cotidie] quotidie illuc *CLM*

¹²⁵⁹ liberis] suis *add. C*

¹²⁶⁰ Seer] Saero *CLM*

¹²⁶¹ eius] sui *CLM*

Qui enim ad succursum Mountsorel venerant¹²⁶² adiunxerunt se iam hiis qui apud¹²⁶³ Lincolniam presidium obsidebant, et multiplicatis viribus¹²⁶⁴ urgebatur solito amplius obsidio.

Interea considerans pars regia quod si Lincolnia cum presidio in manus Lodowici deveniret, plurimum detrimenti sustinerent; turpe etiam ducentes matrone tam viriliter se habenti non succurrere. Convenerunt in unum circa Pentecosten, profectique sunt Lincolniam, duce Willelmo Marescallo comite de Penbroc, concomitante legato cum episcopis nonnullis. Inter eundum se iunxerunt¹²⁶⁵ illis comes Cestrie, et alii qui apud Nottingham resisterant. Et quoniam civitas a parte australi munitior videbatur, gyrantes a longe a parte aquilonari, ubi et presidium situm est, applicuerunt ad eam; at alii de numero et fortitudine confisi, primum quidem dispositis cuneis obviam exierunt, sed mox¹²⁶⁶ mutato consilio se retrehentes, intra civitatem se receperunt. Quod videntes illi, et inde animosiores effecti, audacter irruunt et portam proximam, non tamen¹²⁶⁷ sine suorum damno, effringunt.

1217.12 Interea quidam de exercitu regio per posticum presidii admissi, repente advolant, et vociferantes rem gladiis¹²⁶⁸ cominus peragunt; attoniti alii et per¹²⁶⁹ angustia loci vix se movere valentes, minus viriliter restiterunt; ceperuntque regales undique irrumpere. Pugnatum est ibi in plateis civitatis, et in ipso atrio matricis¹²⁷⁰ ecclesie; et prevalente parte regia, terga verterunt alii.

1217.13 Occisus est ibi comes Perticensis; capti comes Seerus, comes Gilbertus, Robertus filius Walteri, et reliqui exercitus capitanei¹²⁷¹ fere omnes. Dicebatur autem numerus militum captorum ccclxxx: nam servientum, burgensium et medie manus hominum non erat numerus.

¹²⁶² venerant] erant *A*

¹²⁶³ apud] *om. A*

¹²⁶⁴ viribus] *om. C*

¹²⁶⁵ se iunxerunt] adiunxerunt *C*; adiunxisse *L*

¹²⁶⁶ mox] *om. A*

¹²⁶⁷ tamen] *om. A*

¹²⁶⁸ gladiis] gladii *M*

¹²⁶⁹ per] pre *CM*

¹²⁷⁰ matricis] *om. A*

¹²⁷¹ capitanei] capitanes *V*

1217.14 Post hec¹²⁷² prede inhiantes passim ecclesias civitatis violant, ipsi cathedrali ecclesie non parcentes. Illuc enim confugerant matrone cum liberis et supellectili sua, ibi¹²⁷³ substantiam suam tam burgenses quam alii reposuerant. Dicebatur hoc ex conniventia factum legati, qui in exercitu regio¹²⁷⁴ aderat, eo quod clerici civitatis rebelles ei extiterant, et ob hoc excommunicati, et ipse ecclesie contaminate, et ipsi nihilominus qui ad ecclesie immunitatem confugerant¹²⁷⁵ excommunicati, et capti quidem unusquisque a suo captore vinculis mancipati sunt. Fugientes autem hii ab insequentibus comprehensi, hii in itinere, quod periculosum valde et longum erat, insidias perpassi, aut spoliati sunt, aut certe trucidati. Reliqui, abiectis omnibus que fugientes honerare¹²⁷⁶ poterant, Londonias utcunque pervenerunt.

1217.15 At¹²⁷⁷ comes Cestrie ad castellum Muntsorel¹²⁷⁸ cum suis reversus illud cepit et solotenus prostravit.

1217.16 Lodowicum autem ut hoc audivit, relicta obsidione Doverensi, Londonias se recepit, ex hoc nusquam progrediens, nihil arduum aggrediens. Misit autem mox ad amicos transmarinos ad¹²⁷⁹ auxilium in tante necessitatis articulo efflagitans.

1217.17 At regales undique insurgentes prevaluerunt nimis; et occupatis quaquaversum finibus, captis et munitiunculis, Londonias cum manu forti appropinquabant, quasi Lodowicum in civitate obsessuri. Et cum ad resistendum se prepararent qui cum Lodowico erant, interponentibus se quibusdam ut pax inter partes fieret, discesserunt ab invicem qui convenerant sub spe pacis. Differerat autem eam Lodowicus pro succursu quem expectabat a partibus transmarinis, et regales, ut bona eorum qui ex adverso steterant liberius diriperent.

¹²⁷² hec] *om. A*

¹²⁷³ ibi] ubi *CLM*

¹²⁷⁴ regio] regis *V*

¹²⁷⁵ et ipsi ... confugerant] *om. MV*

¹²⁷⁶ honerare] onerare *CLM*

¹²⁷⁷ at] et *CM*

¹²⁷⁸ castellum Muntsorel] castellum de Mountsorel *CM*

¹²⁷⁹ ad] *om. CLM*

1217.18 Preparabatur interea succursus in ambitione magna et festinatione magna domino Lodowico et Londoniensibus a partibus transmarinis; nec latuit hoc regales. Unde et ipsi in littoribus ubi applicare putabantur, alii commorantes navesque bellicas viris et armis munientes, excubias continuas agebant. Quid multa? Die Sancti Bartholomei cum omni classe sua venientes illi cum regalibus non longe ab insula Thanet commiserunt¹²⁸⁰.

1217.19 Expugnatis igitur aliquot navibus eorum, occisus est Eustachius cognomento Monachus, qui nunc ad hos, nunc ad illos, ut fortuna ferebat divertens, a multis retro diebus mare illud et littora tam cismarina quam transmarina plurimum occupaverat¹²⁸¹, insulas etiam nonnullas plurimum turbaverat¹²⁸².

1217.20 Captis autem ex capitaneis illius partis nonnullis, reliqui fuge beneficio evaserunt, et occisis ex minoribus plurimis, confusique ab invicem dispersi non apposuerunt ultra aliquid tale aggredi.

1217.21 Ab illa die manifeste cepit pars regia prevalere et pars domini Lodowici deprimi. Unde convenientibus iterum cum armis prope Londinias regiis copiis, non distulit pacem facere Lodowicus, qualem sors obtulit. Initis igitur conditionibus desolvendis hiis qui capti erant; de malis consuetudinibus, que quasi causa fuerant huius guerre, abolendis; de libertatibus que petebantur a proceribus Anglie observandis, et pacta pecunia nomine expensarum quas in adventu in regnum fecerat; primum¹²⁸³ absolutus est die Mercurii proxima post Exaltationem Sancte Crucis apud Kingestoniam a legato, prestito iuxta canonicas sanctiones iuramento standi iudicio ecclesie. Sicque resignatis munitionibus quas tenebat, receptisque suis qui in vinculis tenebantur, et parte pecunie promisse, circa festum Sancti Michaelis rediit ad sua cum suis.

¹²⁸⁰ commiserunt] bellum cum Eustachio monacho *add. CM*

¹²⁸¹ occupaverat] turbaverat *CLM*

¹²⁸² turbaverat] occupaverat] *CLM*

¹²⁸³ primum] primo *C*

1217.22 Et erat pro miraculo quod primogenitus regis Francorum in tanta multitudine armatorum interiora regni admissus, occupata tanta parte regni, tot magnatibus partes eius iuvantibus, tam cito cum suis omnibus absque spe recuperationis regno est egressus, ne dicam eiectus. Sed causa in promptu est, quia manus Domini non erat cum eo, utpote qui contra sancte Romane ecclesie inhibitionem illuc venit, et sub sententia anathematis ibi moratus est.

1217.23 Absoluto itaque dictum est¹²⁸⁴ domino Lodowico, exemplo eius ad absolutionis¹²⁸⁵ beneficium confugerunt tam Londonienses quam¹²⁸⁶ proceres qui ex parte illa steterant; et sic regi conciliati¹²⁸⁷ terras suas receperunt. Nam et hoc conditionibus comprehensum erat, ut nullus occasione huius werre exheredetur, sed omnes in eodem sint statu quo fuerunt in initio eius.

1217.24 Verum hoc tantum laicis concessum est. Nam clericos et presertim beneficiatos sibi legatus reservans, hos degradavit, illos excommunicatos ad limina apostolorum transmisit, nullum in quantum inquirere potuit, impunitum preteriens, qui Lodowico aut eius complicitibus auxilium, consilium aut¹²⁸⁸ favorem palam impendisset, vel qui sententias a domino papa vel a se latas non observasset.

1217.25 Igitur post domini Lodowici recessum, veniens rex Londonias, receptus est cum gloria, et facte sunt ei fidelitates et hominia. Ibi a regis tutoribus regnique capitaneis, de regni ordinatione, de pacis stabilitate, de malis consuetudinibus abolendis, frequentes habebantur tractatus. Difficile quippe erat omnium desideriis cito satisfieri; tot dissidentium rancorem subito sedari; adhuc enim quasdam discordiarum reliquias in frequentibus exercuere torneamentis.

1217.26 Ricardus episcopus Cicestrensis ad sedem translatus est Saresbiriensem; successit ei Ranulphus monachus Norwicensis.

¹²⁸⁴ itaque dictum est] ut diximus *CLM*

¹²⁸⁵ eius ad absolutionis] eius absolutionis ad *V*

¹²⁸⁶ quam] quaque *V*

¹²⁸⁷ conciliati] reconciliati *M*

¹²⁸⁸ aut] an *M*

1218

1218.1 Stephanus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in Angliam est reversus, qui post generale concilium usque tunc¹²⁸⁹ temporis in partibus Romanis est moratus.

1218.2 Obit Otho imperator quondam Romanorum.

1218.3 Comes Simon de Monteforti in obsidione Tholose lapidis ictu percussus obiit¹²⁹⁰.

1218.4 Silvester episcopus Wigornensis ecclesiam cathedralem Wigornie dedicavit .vii. idus Iunii; et ipso die corpus beati Wlstanti episcopi a terra levatum prope altare magnum ipsius ecclesie honorifice recondidit; presentibus episcopis Wintoniensi, Saresbiriensi, Exoniensi, Cicestrensi et Herefordensi, et abbatibus pluribus¹²⁹¹ et magnatibus multis; et plebe multa tam clericorum quam laicorum. Qui post paululum in partes remotas profectus, egritudinem incurrit, et ipsa invalescente apud Rameseie lecto decubuit, et infra dies paucos est defunctus xvii kalendis Iulii. Corpus autem eius cum magno provincialium dolore ad sedem propriam est delatum. Successit ei in episcopatu¹²⁹² magister Willelmus Blesensis archidiaconus de Bukingham.

1218.5 Gualo¹²⁹³ apostolice sedis legatus per diversas Anglie provincias inquisitionem fecit de observatione interdicti per eum tempore werre promulgati; pro cuius transgressione tam clericis quam religiosis varias et graves penas inflixit; quibusdam suspensis ab officio, aliis suis¹²⁹⁴ omnino beneficiis spoliatis, nonnullis tam insontibus qua reis gravi sua pecunie redimentibus quantitate.

¹²⁸⁹ tunc] nunc *C*

¹²⁹⁰ obiit] *om. ALM*

¹²⁹¹ pluribus] plurimis *C*

¹²⁹² in episcopatu] *om. C*

¹²⁹³ Gualo] Sualo *C*

¹²⁹⁴ suis] *om. CLM*

1218.6 Ranulphus comes Cestrie, et Willelmus comes de Ferrariis¹²⁹⁵, et Iohannes constabularius Cestrie, cum¹²⁹⁶ aliis magnatibus Anglie cruce signatis, peregrinationem suam versus Terram Sanctam arripuerunt.

1219

1219.1¹²⁹⁷ Gualo legatus Anglie, vocatus a domino papa, Romam reversus est cum infinita pecunia, quocunque modo adquisita, destinato loco eius in Angliam Pandulpho Nortwicensi electo.

1219.2 Hugo Herefordensis episcopus obiit. Successit ei Hugo Foliath archidiaconus Salopesbirie.

1219.3 Obierunt Willelmus Marescallus comes de Penbroc, et comes David frater Willelmi regis Scotie, scilicet comes de Huntingdone.

1219.4 Magister Robertus de Eboraco ad episcopatum Eliensem electus suscepit et curam regiminis in temporalibus et spiritualibus, rege concedente et archiepiscopo confirmante. Qui postea cum archiepiscopo transfretavit, intendens ab ipso munus consecrationis accipere, sed impedimento casu interveniente ad concilium simul profecti sunt. Sed etiam quidam monachi de Ely Romam venientes pro Gaufrido archidiacono Norwicensi a quibusdam de Ely electo, consecrationem alterius ibidem impediabant. De assensu vero partium scripsit dominus papa abbati de Waltham et quibusdam aliis, qui indagatione facta super electione acta sibi renunciarent; sicque factum est quod utriusque electio quassata fuit coram summo pontifice, magistro R. itidem presente personaliter cum procuratore dicti G. archidiaconi Norwicensis.¹²⁹⁸

1219.5 Postmodum vero dominus papa scripsit domino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et Pandulpho legato Anglie et Saresbiriensi, ut ecclesie de Ely virum idoneum providerent. Qui mandati formam prosequentes post varias altercationes elegerunt in

¹²⁹⁵ Willelmus...Ferraris] om. *V*

¹²⁹⁶ cum] magnis *add. L*

¹²⁹⁷] dictus *add. C*

¹²⁹⁸ magister...Norwicensis] Eodem anno quassata fuit a summo pontifice electio magistri Roberti de Eboraco qui curam regiminis in temporalibus et spiritualibus rege concedente et archiepiscopo confirmante quassato similiter adversario suo Gaufrido archidiacono Norwicensi *A*

episcopum Iohannem abbatem de Fontibus. Obiit Adam de Tillene archidiaconus Eliensis in festo Sancti Leonardi.¹²⁹⁹

1219.6 Mense Novembris, nonis eiusdem mensis¹³⁰⁰, die videlicet precedente festum Beati Leonardi, intempeste noctis silentio¹³⁰¹, furtive et in via miraculose capta est civitas Damietta a Christianis, adeo quod in captione eius nec unus ex Christianis extitit interfectus¹³⁰², nec etiam leviter vulneratus. De Saracenis vero tot ceciderunt in ore gladii, quod etiam Christianis displicuit, secundum tenorem litterarum domino pape Honorio tertio transmissarum ex parte P[elagii] Albanensis episcopi tunc in exercitu Christianorum apostolice sedis legati, et ex parte R[adulphi] patriarche, et Iohannis regis Ierosolimorum, et ex parte Burdegalensis et Nichoforiensis archiepiscoporum, et ex parte magistrorum Templi et Hospitalis, et Randulfi¹³⁰³ comitis Cestrie, et aliorum magnatum qui tunc primi in exercitu erant. Admiralis tamen et alii maiores Saraceni, qui ad quandam munitissimam turrim confugerant, usque ad meridiem se reddere noluerunt, sperantes quod Soldani Babilonie et Damasci in castra Christianorum prosultum facerent: et si contingeret Christianos succumbere, ipsi per turrim illam civitatem recuperare sperabant. Sed totus exercitus Christianorum, preter paucos qui civitatem invaserunt, adeo plene¹³⁰⁴ currebant ad liceas et fossata que inter Christianos et Saracenos facta fuerant ad munitionem exercitus Christiani, quod Saraceni in castra Christianorum irruere nullatenus ausi fuerant. Facto autem mane die Martis, et vere Martis gloriosi, cum intellexissent prefati Soldani quod civitas capta esset, laniatis vestibibus, iniectis manibus in capillos, amarissime flentes, non de succursu sed de fuga cogitaverunt, timentes ne exercitus Christianus faceret insultum in eos. Et ut Christiani manifesto divini favoris letarentur et confortarentur indicio, cum timerent¹³⁰⁵ ne ipsis civitatem intrantibus circumdans Saracenorum exercitus castra invaderet, eorundem fluvius ex una parte civitatem circumdans Divino nutu subito adeo¹³⁰⁶ inundavit, ut

¹²⁹⁹ obiit...Leonardi] *om. CLM*

¹³⁰⁰ mensis] *om. C*

¹³⁰¹ silentio] silentium *A*

¹³⁰² extitit interfectus] interfectus fuit *CLM*

¹³⁰³ Randulfi] Ranulphi *M*

¹³⁰⁴ plene] *om. CLM*

¹³⁰⁵ timerent] caverent *CLM*

¹³⁰⁶ adeo] *om. C*

inaccessibilia reddiderit castra ipsa¹³⁰⁷; et manifeste patuerit quod pro Christicolis contra insensatos¹³⁰⁸ ipsa elementa pugnabant.

1219.7 Plurimis aliis miraculis factis ibi, que longum esset per singula enarrare, tamen ad honorem sanctorum Anglie quedam que ibi contigerunt hic inserere dignum duximus.

1219.8 Cum capta esset civitas a Christianis, archiepiscopi et episcopi fana Maumeti que plura in ipsa civitate erant in ecclesias sanctorum consecraverunt, ad instantiam vero quorundam militum Anglie¹³⁰⁹ qui ibi aderant, consecrate sunt due ecclesie in honorem¹³¹⁰ duorum martyrum Anglicanorum¹³¹¹, scilicet Sancti Edmundi regis et martyris, et Sancti Thome archipresulis Cantuariensis. Quidam vero miles egregius de Anglia, nomine¹³¹² Ricardus de Argenteim¹³¹³ infra ecclesiam beati Edmundi super parietem depingere fecit martyrium eiusdem. Contigit autem ut, die quadam inter sacra missarum sollempnia astante multitudine Christianorum, intraret quidam Flandrensis in eandem ecclesiam¹³¹⁴. Qui cum respiceret ad¹³¹⁵ picturam passionis beati martyris, cerneretque effigiem corporis ipsius nudam et undique sagittarum densitate confossam, corpusque excapitatum, in verba blasphemie erga martyrem tali modo prorupit; Nullus debet credere ipsum regem fuisse qui tali morte et tam ignominiosa occisus fuerat. Hoc autem dicebat, quia Flandrenses exosum habent martyrem propter infortunium quod eis in Anglia tempore Henrici regis secundi Anglorum infra licias ipsius evenit. Sed eius temerariam et probrosam presumptionem Dei et martyris repentina subsecuta est ultio. Nam antequam de ecclesia ipsa egrederetur, lapis magnus, super caput ipsius cadens, ita illud attrivit ut semivivus ibi¹³¹⁶ remaneret¹³¹⁷; unde crevit ibidem¹³¹⁸ timor et reverentia erga martyrem gloriosum.

¹³⁰⁷ ipsa] illa *CL*

¹³⁰⁸ insensatos] insentanos *C*

¹³⁰⁹ Anglie] Anglorum *M*

¹³¹⁰ honorem] honore *L*

¹³¹¹ Anglicanorum] Anglie *M*

¹³¹² nomine] dictus *CLM*

¹³¹³ Argenteim] Argentonio *CLM*

¹³¹⁴ eandem ecclesiam] eadem ecclesia *A*

¹³¹⁵ ad] *om. C*

¹³¹⁶ ibi] *om. CL*

1220

1220.1 Sanctus Hugo de Avaluns, natione Burgundus, sextus a Remigio episcopo qui sedem episcopalem de Dorcestrie transtulit Lincolniam, a domino papa Honorio tertio canonizatus est. In huius canonizatione mirum et quasi miraculum contigit, quod audita sanctitate vite eius et miraculis ad eius tumbam patratis, que coram venerabili patre Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et Iohanne abbate de Fontibus, per sacramentum testium veridicorum examinata fuerant; idem papa omnibus in curia Romana existentibus inhiuit, ne quis eorum pro hoc negotio exequendo aliquod munusculum presumeret¹³¹⁹ accipere.

1220.2 Circa mediam Quadragesimam Pandulphus apostolice sedis legatus apud Londonias convocavit concilium archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, abbatum, et procerum Anglie propter quedam negotia regis et regni. Ibidemque consecratus est Iohannes abbas¹³²⁰ de Fontibus, Dominica mediana Quadragesime, in episcopum Eliensem, a venerabili patre Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ministrantibus ei quibusdam ipsius¹³²¹ ecclesie suffraganeis. Idemque episcopus in sede sua¹³²² receptus die Annunciationis Dominice que illo anno contigit feria quarta ante Parasceven.

1220.3 Post octavas Pasche iterum coadunatum est concilium apud Londonias, sicut in media Quadragesima, ubi Robertus quondam abbas de Torneya, sed propter quosdam excessus¹³²³ depositus, de Roma veniens, litteras domini pape secum detulit in quibus idem papa¹³²⁴ predicto Pandulpho legato suo et Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, precipiens mandavit, ut rex Henricus, regis Iohannis primogenitus, secundum consuetudinem regni debita sollempnitate secundo in regem sublimaretur, quia coronatio eius prima, propter regni turbationem et eius intestinam

¹³¹⁷ remaneret] ibidem *add. C*

¹³¹⁸ ibidem] ibi *C*

¹³¹⁹ presumeret] presumerent *CM*

¹³²⁰ Iohannes abbas] abbas Iohannes *V*

¹³²¹ ipsius] eiusdem *C*

¹³²² sua] positus est et *add. C*

¹³²³ excessus] excessu *A*

¹³²⁴ secum detulit in quibus idem papa] *om. CM*

divisionem, minus sollemniter quam debuit vel decuit, et in alio loco quam mos regni exigebat, facta fuerat. Dominus autem Cantuariensis, quia regem propter ipsius innocentiam affectuose diligebat, ex hoc mandato plurimum exhilaratus, cum consilio domini legati diem statuit in quo preceptum apostolicum exequeretur, et honorem quem regi optaverat¹³²⁵ adimpleret. Dies vero statutus per universum regnum¹³²⁶ divulgatus est; premonitique sunt et baronis¹³²⁷ premuniti tam ecclesiarum prelati quam proceres regni, ut ad sollemnitatem hanc faciendam¹³²⁸ apud Londonias sine omni occasione cum debita regi reverentia occurrerent.

1220.4 In illo igitur sacramentali die, scilicet Pentecostes, in presentia domini Pandulphi legati, Stephanus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, astantibus eiusdem ecclesie suffraganeis aliisque ecclesiarum prelatibus, cum magnatibus regni plurimis, in ecclesia Sancti Petri Westmonasterii, a rege Henrico sacramentum exegit, scilicet quod ecclesiam Dei tueretur, pacemque tam cleri quam populi et bonas regni leges custodiret illesas. Prestito itaque sacramento, archiepiscopus eundem regem schemate regali¹³²⁹ et diademate sanctissimi regis Edwardi insignivit, anno etatis ipsius tertio decimo non tunc ex toto completo. Coronatio autem ista regis cum tanta pace et munificentia facta est, quod hii qui interfuerunt ex senioribus procerum Anglie asserebant, se nunquam vidisse¹³³⁰ aliquem predecessorum ipsius¹³³¹ in tanta concordia et tranquillitate coronatum.

1220.5 Rex igitur cito post coronationem suam¹³³² apud Londonias factam, cum pedagogis¹³³³ suis per regnum suum peragravit, sciturus utrum hii quos pater suus in vita sua custodes munitio per Angliam fecerat, easdem munitiones sibi tanquam domino cum tranquillitate reddere deliberassent. Contigit autem quod in omni regno suo nullius munitio negaretur ei ingressus, preterquam unius scilicet de Rokingham, quam Willelmus comes de Penbroc, marescallus Anglie, custos regis et

¹³²⁵ optaverat] adoptaverat *CLM*

¹³²⁶ regnum] mundum *A*

¹³²⁷ baronis] *om. CLM*

¹³²⁸ faciendam] perficiendam *CLM*

¹³²⁹ regali] *om. CM*

¹³³⁰ vidisse] *om. CLM*

¹³³¹ ipsius] suorum *CLM*

¹³³² suam] *om. CLM*

¹³³³ pedagogis] pedagis *A*

regni, ante obitum suum et ante coronationem istam regis¹³³⁴, Willelmo de Forz, comiti de Albermalia, cum quibusdam aliis munitiunculis in custodiam tradiderat. Unde se in vita sua plurimum penituit propter querelas que emerferunt ex malefactis prefati comitis et ministrorum suorum in hoc castro et aliis existentium, et iacturas graves tam¹³³⁵ divitibus quam pauperibus patrie inferentium. Negato itaque sibi et suis huius munitionis aditu, et ut dicebatur per preceptum comitis, regnum perturbare¹³³⁶ molientis, ut postea patuit, dominus rex ad illam expugnandam se et suos preparavit. Unde ad summonitionem ipsius festinanter confluerunt tam pauperes quam divites ex illo comitatu, leti effecti eo quod ab opprimentibus se sperabant liberari. Nec eos in¹³³⁷ isto fefellit spes articulo. Hii etenim qui in¹³³⁸ munitione erant videntes se in arto positos et quod sibi vires deficerent ad resistendum, ignominiose exeuntes libertum¹³³⁹ regi reliquerunt ingressum, in vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

1220.6 Eodem etiam die¹³⁴⁰ redditum est regi munitiunculum de Sauuee, quod idem comes ad patrie detrimentum in custodia habuerat; positis autem custodibus in eisdem munitionibus ad patrie securitatem et pacem, rex festinus apud Cantuariam iter direxit, quia instabat dies quo beati Thome, eiusdem civitatis archiepiscopi et martyris gloriosi, corpus de tumulo levaretur et in feretro decenter collocaretur.

1220.7 Die igitur¹³⁴¹ proxima post octavas apostolorum, scilicet nonis Iulii, que illo anno die Martis contigit, presente domino Pandulpho apostolice sedis legato, et rege Anglorum Henrico quarto, presentibus etiam tribus archiepiscopis, scilicet, Remensi, Cantuariensi et uno de Hungaria¹³⁴², astantibus decem et septem episcopis, sed et aliis ecclesiarum prelatibus atque magnatibus, qui tam de Anglia quam de omnibus fere mundi partibus cum plebe innumerabili confluerant, translatus est beatus Thomas

¹³³⁴ Willelmus comes de Penbroc, marescallus Anglie, custos regis et regni, ante obitum suum et ante coronationem istam regis] *om. A*

¹³³⁵ tam] in *add. M*

¹³³⁶ perturbare] turbare *C*

¹³³⁷ in] *om. C*

¹³³⁸ in] *om. MV*

¹³³⁹ libertum] liberum *M*

¹³⁴⁰ die] *om. C*

¹³⁴¹ igitur] Dominica *add. M*

¹³⁴² Hungaria] Ungeria *C* Ungaria *MV*

martyr Cantuariensis archiepiscopus quintus ante venerabilem Stephanum qui eius translationem procuravit, anno martyrii ipsius I. Convenienter autem provisum fuit ut quemadmodum ipse ante martyrium pro libertate ecclesie conflictus varios et eventus, die Martis sepius variata, sustinuerat, et sicut angeli in celis gavisus sunt die Martis de eius martyrio, ita in terris populi undique confluentes exultarent de eius corpore¹³⁴³ die Martis in feretro collocato.

1220.8 Dominus vero papa omnibus qui in hac die translationis beati¹³⁴⁴ martyris ob reverentiam ipsius Cantuariam venerant, vel infra xv dies sequentes venturi essent, xl dies iniuncte penitentiae¹³⁴⁵ relaxavit; similiter et legatus suus xl dies, quilibet etiam trium archiepiscoporum xl, sed et singuli episcoporum xx dies indulserunt. Computatis igitur summatim diebus, inventi sunt¹³⁴⁶ quingenti quadraginta¹³⁴⁷. De liberalitate autem et sumptuosa dapsilitate quam prefatus Stephanus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus omnibus¹³⁴⁸ ad martyris translationem devote venientibus, tam divitibus quam pauperibus, et tam advenis quam indigenis, mente hilari studuit pretendere, superfluum esset per singula enarrare. Sed ut hoc¹³⁴⁹ factum commendabile ei ad memoriam perpetuam ascribatur, nullus Anglorum tunc in carne vivens meminisse potuit ante eiusdem archiepiscopi tempora per aliquem predecessorum ipsius talem in Anglia sollempnitatem fuisse celebratam, seu tantam multitudinem divitum et pauperum semel coadunatam. Idem vero Stephanus archiepiscopus, per consilium domini Pandulphi legati et archiepiscoporum et¹³⁵⁰ episcoporum, ceterorumque prelatorum ecclesie, qui huic celebritati intererant, constituit ut dies translationis beati Thome martyris perpetuo tanquam dies Dominicus per Angliam festive celebretur.

¹³⁴³ de eius corpore] de eius corpore *add. M*

¹³⁴⁴ beati] Thome *add. C*

¹³⁴⁵ iniuncte penitentiae] de iniuncta penitentia *CLM*

¹³⁴⁶ sunt] *om. C*

¹³⁴⁷ quingenti quadraginta] D et xl *L* d et xl dies *C*

¹³⁴⁸ omnibus] *om. C*

¹³⁴⁹ hoc] *om. C*

¹³⁵⁰ et] *om. M*

1220.9 Ranulphus comes Cestrie de Damietta rediit. In cuius obsidione se et suos cum expensis largissimis¹³⁵¹ ob amorem Crucifixi viriliter et laudabiliter exposuerat. Unde coram Deo et hominibus gloriam et honorem sibi adquisivit.

1220.10 Saerus¹³⁵² de Quency comes Wintonie, cum Roberto filio Walteri et cum aliis ex Anglia apud Damietam post eius captionem applicans, ibidem obiit.

1220.11 Obiit Alexander abbas Sancti Augustini. Successit ei _____ de eadem ecclesia rege annuente electus.¹³⁵³

1220.12 Stephanus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus propter quedam negotia Anglicane ecclesie Romam profectus est; et quia reliquias beati Thome martyris secum detulit, a domino papa Honorio et cardinalibus honorifice susceptus est, et antequam in ecclesiam ingrederetur, de beato Thoma eiusque corpore iubente eodem papa, sermonem ad populum fecit.

1220.13 Ricardus de Marisco Dunelmensis episcopus, de quibusdam excessibus tam a conventu Dunelmensis ecclesie quam a clero et populo eiusdem episcopatus apud¹³⁵⁴ dominum papam accusatus, curiam Romanam adire compulsus est.

1220.14 Fredericus dominus Apulie, filius Henrici imperatoris et Constantie regine, qui Othone reprobato a domino papa Innocentio ad imperium electus fuerat, a domino papa Honorio coronatus est Rome in imperatorem Dominica prima Adventus Domini, que illo anno contigit in vigilia Sancti Andree apostoli scilicet¹³⁵⁵ iii kalendis Decembris.

1221

1221.1 Post Natale Domini, Willelmus de Forz comes de Albemarla, nondum satiatus de malignitate sua, sed tanquam canis ad vomitum, ita ad pristinam

¹³⁵¹ largissimis] amplissimus *A*

¹³⁵² Saerus] Saerius *M*

¹³⁵³ Successit ... electus] *om. C*

¹³⁵⁴ apud] ad *V*

¹³⁵⁵ apostoli scilicet] scilicet *C*

stultitiam reversus et pertinaciam, pacem regiam violenter et impudenter infregit. Hoc autem faciebat, ut dicebatur, per consilium plurimorum magnatum Anglie tam indigenarum quam alienigenarum, qui plus regni perturbationem desiderabant quam pacem; et hii tamen occulti ut rei exitus postea declaravit. Comes itaque non contentus de malefactis que facta fuerant vel tunc ad presens fiebant, per castellum de Biham, quod ipse in werra preterita¹³⁵⁶ iniuste occupaverat, sed iniquitati adaugens iniquitatem, castellum de Fodringhem quod iustitarius Anglie tunc in custodia habuerat¹³⁵⁷, inpreunitis hiis qui intus erant, insidiosose¹³⁵⁸ occupavit et tam in illa munitione quam in alia, scilicet de Biham, custodes posuit protervitatibus ministros, qui et depredationi patrie imminerent, et sine ulla miseratione homines captos usque ad mortem cruciantes, guerram motam ex parte domini sui publice predicarent. Et ut nomen suum magnifice extolleret, misit litteras sigillo suo signatas ad maiores civitatum Anglie, mandans, quasi solus dominaretur in regno, quod pacem suam mercatoribus omnibus ad negotiationes exercendas, et licentiam libere eundi et redeundi per castella sua concessisset. Sed frangens Deus omnem¹³⁵⁹ superbum, totam machinationem istam, de qua plurimam sperabat acquirere laudem, ei ad maximam vertit confusionem. Dominus namque¹³⁶⁰ legatus, in concilio quodam quod apud Londonias post octavas Epiphanie coadunaverat, cum septem episcopis, prefatum comitem et quosdam suorum nominatim, et generaliter omnes qui eius in hoc facto coadiutores et consilarii fuissent¹³⁶¹, vel futuri essent, candelis accensis publice et sollempniter anathemati subiecit. Quod cernentes quidam regni proceres, et comitem ab errore suo revocare sperantes, ad reformandam pacem inter dominum regem et illum mediatores se exhibuerunt. Sed illis inaniter laborantibus, comes Cestrensis, qui cum aliis proceribus in hoc concilio presens aderat, audita comitis excommunicati et suorum obstinatione et violenta tam divitum quam pauperum depredatione, multipliciter exacerbatus est, tum quia cernebat dominum suum regem propter ipsius iuventutem contemptui haberi, tum propter castelli de Fodringhe, quod ius hereditarium erat nepotis sui, fraudulentam occupationem. Unde domino legato et regi fideliter promisit, quod omnes vires suas

¹³⁵⁶ preterita] pretenta *CM*

¹³⁵⁷ habuerat] habebat *CLM*

¹³⁵⁸ insidiosose] insidione *C*

¹³⁵⁹ omnem] omne *A*

¹³⁶⁰ namque] itaque *V*

¹³⁶¹ fuissent] existerent *CLM*

exponeret ad comitis prefati et suorum expugnationem. Sed et quamplures Anglie magnates ipsius commendabilem audientes promissionem¹³⁶² fidelemque constantiam, pari modo ad regis obsequium se devoverunt, quia comes excommunicatus et sui a multo tempore exosi habebantur tam¹³⁶³ ab ecclesiastiis quam a secularibus personis, quibus damna et contumelias graves ingesserant, nullo existente qui errata corrigeret.

1221.2 Ante recessum domini Pandulphi legati a Londoniis, die Conversionis beati Pauli, Willelmus de Sancte Marie Ecclesia, episcopus Londoniensis, in cathedrali ecclesia eiusdem civitatis resignavit episcopatum eidem legato, quoniam pre nimia senectute laborem diutius ferre non potuit.

1221.3 Rex igitur post concilium Londoniis habitum, comitante secum domino legato et quibusdam episcopis qui in comitem rebellem sententiam promulgaverant, confluentibus etiam ad eum tam comite Cestrensi quam aliis magnatibus, in manu valida ad comitem insequendum et perturbandum iter arripuit. Cernens itaque quod dominus suus rex simul cum regno et sacerdotio in ipsum certissime insurgeret, et quod hii quos complices fidissimos habere speraverat, sibi in consilio et auxilio deficerent, apud aquilonares partes citissime fugam iniit. Mente tamen induratus, reliquit post se in castello de Biham homines effrenatos, qui de castello de Fodringhe ocius recedentes, securitati sue consulere festinarunt. Cum vero¹³⁶⁴ exercitus regis cum machinis bellicis quamplurimis ad prefatum castellum obsidendum congregatus esset, admoniti sunt per proceres regni hii qui intus sese receperant, ut sine mora illud regi reddentes, se et sua illius misericordie per omnia subiicerent. Illis autem hoc facere renuentibus, dominus legatus una cum ecclesiarum prelatis ibidem existentibus, sententiam in comitem et complices suos Londoniis datam, coram toto exercitu innovavit¹³⁶⁵, iniungens tunc presentibus vel postea venturis, in remissionem peccatorum suorum, ut in hoc negotio pro ecclesie honore et regni tranquillitate fideliter et viriliter se exercerent. Facto igitur ab exercitu unanimi insultu et machinis regiis irremediabiliter iacentibus, captum est castrum de Biham merito omnibus

¹³⁶² promissionem] compromissionem *CLM*

¹³⁶³ tam] quia *add. L*

¹³⁶⁴ vero] ergo *C*

¹³⁶⁵ innovavit] renovavit *CM*

odiosum; et omnibus que infra illud inventa sunt igne consumptis, funditus eradicatum. Ministri vero comitis iusto Dei iudicio in hac munitione capti, sicut absque miseratione per aliquod tempus quamplures patrie circumiacentis¹³⁶⁶ tam vinculis quam carceribus et aliis contumeliis afflixerant, et¹³⁶⁷ ita et ipsi¹³⁶⁸ turpiter vinculati per diversa loca incarcerati sunt; hoc evangelico in eis evidenter adimpleto, eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis remetietur vobis.

1221.4 Dominus Pandulphus legatus, resignato in manu sua episcopatu Londoniensi, precepit canonicis ecclesie beati Pauli, ut de pastore sibi substituendo concorditer tractarent. Qui post multas altercationes in unum consentientes, feria .vi. ante Dominicam primam Quadragesime, scilicet iiii kalendis Martii, elegerunt ad regimen eiusdem ecclesie unum ex confratribus suis, scilicet Eustachium de Fauchumberge¹³⁶⁹, domini regis thesaurarium, virum utique commendabilem et discretum. Impetratoque favore regio, a domino legato confirmata est eiusdem¹³⁷⁰ electio. Et quia dominus Cantuariensis nondum de Roma reversus fuerat, per preceptum prefati legati consecratus¹³⁷¹ idem electus in episcopatum Londoniensem, Dominica secunda post Pascha, qua cantatur Misericordia Domini, a tribus episcopis Batoniensi, Saresbiriensi et Roffensi, in ecclesia Beati¹³⁷² Petri Westmonasterii, quamvis monachi Cantuarienses inde premuniti contra antiquam¹³⁷³ et usitatam ecclesie sue dignitatem illud fieri reclamarent.

1221.5 Obiit Robertus abbas Sancti Kenelmi de Winchecumbe; successit ei Thomas¹³⁷⁴ eiusdem cenobii prior.

1221.6 Alexander rex Scotie, regis Willelmi filius, in civitate Eboracensi¹³⁷⁵ duxit in uxorem Iohannnam primogenitam filiarum Iohannis regis Anglie, sororem regis

¹³⁶⁶ circumiacentis] circumiacentes *CM*

¹³⁶⁷ et] *om. AC*

¹³⁶⁸ ipsi] episcopi *M*

¹³⁶⁹ Fauchumberge] Faucheberge *CLM*

¹³⁷⁰ eiusdem] eius *C*

¹³⁷¹ consecratus] est *add. CM*

¹³⁷² beati] sancti *CLM*

¹³⁷³ antiquam] aliquam *M*

¹³⁷⁴ cui successit] cui successit *C*

¹³⁷⁵ Eboracensi] Eboraci *CLM*

Henrici quarti; Waltero de Gray, prefate civitatis archipresule, in presentia plurimorum magnatum utriusque regni¹³⁷⁶ sollemnitatem illam exequente.

1221.7 Hugo abbas Sancte Marie de Abbendoniam obiit; successit ei¹³⁷⁷ Robertus eiusdem ecclesie monachus, per assensum regum de camerario in abbatem electus.

1221.8 Abbas Sancti Germani de Seleby resignavit eandem abbatiam propter senectutem suam, et propter difficultatem regendi domum illam et defendendi; successit ei¹³⁷⁸ magister Ricardus, monachus ecclesie Sancti Benedicti de Rameseya, per communem electionem conventus de Seleby, rege Henrico annuente.

1221.9 Apud Damietam peregrini Christi commorantes, sed minus Christo servientes, despicabiles sunt effecti, quia ad sinistram a dextera¹³⁷⁹ declinantes, nimis facti sunt viles, iterando vias illicitas, et carnis curam perficiendo in desideriis. Unde, illorum meritis exigentibus, versus est in luctum chorus illorum. Nam mutata dextera Excelsi, civitas nefandis tradita est Saracenis circa¹³⁸⁰ festum Assumptionis Beate Marie. Sed non modico recreati sunt solatio, dum iactura illa recompensatur; salutifere crucis ligno eis reddito cum universis captivis, cuiuscunque conditionis extiterint, libertati restitutis.

1221.10 Stephanus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, de Roma rediens, circa festivitatem Assumptionis Sancte¹³⁸¹ Marie in Angliam applicuit; ante cuius ingressum Pandulphus 1221.11 Norwycensis electus, apostolice sedis legatus, presentibus quibusdam archiepiscopi suffraganeis, apud Westmonasterium signa legationis sue deposuit, et cito post ab Anglia recessit.

¹³⁷⁶ regni] *om. CLM*

¹³⁷⁷ successit ei] cui successit *C*

¹³⁷⁸ successit ei] cui successit *C*

¹³⁷⁹ ad sinistram a dextera] a dextera ad sinistram *CLM*

¹³⁸⁰ circa] circiter *A*

¹³⁸¹ sancte] beate *C*

1221.12 Hubertus de Burch, iustitarius totius Anglie duxit in uxorem Margaretam primogenitam Willelmi regis Scotie, sororem regis Alexandri.

1221.13 Petrus de Roches Wintoniensis episcopus, quadam Dominica ante festum Sancti Michelis, in cathedali eiusdem civitatis ecclesia missam sollemniter celebrans, cruce se signavit; pluresque eius familiares, exemplo ipsius provocati, eodem signo se signari fecerunt.

1221.14 Petrus de Maule, Pictavus natione, qui a rege Iohanne castellum de Corf cum maxima thesauri summa in custodiam acceperat, de prodicione regis Henrici irretitus, et ab eodem in festo Pentecosten apud Wintoniam¹³⁸² captus, in quodam colloquio ab archiepiscopo et episcopis regni proceribus Londoniis habito, in misericordia regis se ponens, cum eodem pacificatus est, accusatoribus ipsius de probatione erga eum mota resipiscentibus.

1222

1222.1 Post octavas Epiphanie Stephanus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis adunavit episcopos et proceres Anglie apud Londonias propter quasdam simultates et dissensiones¹³⁸³ ortas inter Randulphum comitem Cestrie et Willelmum¹³⁸⁴ Saresbiriensem regis patruum et Hubertum de Burch iustitiarium Anglie. Dicebatur enim, et plures per Angliam suspicantes predicabant, quod alienigene, qui plus regni perturbationem desiderabant quam pacem, prefatum comitem Cestrie ad domini sui regis infestationem et regni inquietationem inducere conarentur. Comes vero Saresbiriensis et iustitarius, regis rectores et regni, ad resistendum viriliter se cum sequela sua preparabant. Dominus etiam Cantuariensis regis iuventutem miseratus et impotentiam, cum consilio suffraganeorum suorum, in regni perturbatores et regis impugnatores gladium spiritualem vibrare¹³⁸⁵ comminatus est. Unde ad ipsius et episcoporum instantiam utraque pars in hoc colloquio ad pacem et concordiam¹³⁸⁶ revocata est.

¹³⁸² apud Wintoniam] *om. CLM*

¹³⁸³ dissensiones] defensiones *V*

¹³⁸⁴ Willelmum] comitem *add. C*

¹³⁸⁵ vibrare] vibra *L*

¹³⁸⁶ in hoc colloquio ad pacem et concordiam] ad concordiam et pacem *CLM*

1222.2 Celebratum est concilium provinciale apud Oxoniam a domino Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, cum episcopis suffraganeis et abbatibus, in conventuali ecclesia de Oseneya, in xv. dies post Pascha: ubi quedam instituta concilii generalis sub Innocentio papa celebrati, cum quibusdam adiectionibus pro emendatione cleri et populi, sollemniter sunt recitata et promulgata. Sacerdos quidam et diaconus ibi degradati fuerunt in ecclesia coram concilio a domino Cantuariensi; sacerdos pro homicidio perpetrato, diaconus pro sacrilegio et furto commisso. Diaconus vero alius enormius delinquendo, quoniam¹³⁸⁷ Christiane religionis professionem abnegavit, et blasphemando atque apostatando circumcidi se fecit, Iudeorum ritum imitando, extra ecclesiam fuit degradatus a dicto¹³⁸⁸ domino Cantuariensi coram populo, et post degradationem a clero relictus, velut laicus et apostata captus, traditur iudicio curie laicalis condemnandus. Qui statim incendio traditus morte miserabili hac luce est privatus.

1222.3 In degradatione sacerdotis et diaconorum, cum dominus Cantuariensis casulam vel stolam vel aliud quid baculi pastoralis extremitate sublevando amoveret, hiis verbis usus est, exautoramus te. Ductus est ibi in concilio laicus quidam qui se crucifigi permisit, in quo omnia cicatricum¹³⁸⁹, vestigia in manibus et pedibus et latere perforatis, et in capite, apparuerunt. Adducta est cum eo mulier quedam, que se appellari fecit Mariam matrem Christi, nomine suo proprio mutato¹³⁹⁰, que quibusdam dedit intelligi quod missam celebrare potuit, sicut per indicia quedam reperta probavit quia calicem et patenam ex cera¹³⁹¹ ad usum talem composuit. Hiis duobus concilium penam condignam inflixit, ut muris lapideis inclusi vitam ibi indignam¹³⁹² terminarent et infelicem¹³⁹³.

1222.4 Obiit Willelmus abbas Westmonasterii, ; cui succesit Ricardus prior eiusdem loci.

¹³⁸⁷ quoniam] *om. C*

¹³⁸⁸ dicto] *om. M*

¹³⁸⁹ cicatricum] vulnera *add. CLM*

¹³⁹⁰ mutato] imitato *AC*

¹³⁹¹ ex cera] ex *L* ('cera' in a different hand written above)

¹³⁹² indignam] *om. C*

¹³⁹³ et infelicem] *om. C*

1222.5 Obiit Ranulphus episcopus Cicestrensis; cui successit Radulphus de Nevilla¹³⁹⁴

1223

1223.1 Philippus rex Francie viam universe carnis ingressurus,¹³⁹⁵ Terre Sancte non immemor effectus, legavit Templo et Hospitali pecuniam per magnam videlicet _____: cui successit in regno primogenitus suus Lodowicus.

1223.2 Iohannes de Brethnes rex Ierosolimorum applicuit in Angliam circa festum Nativitatis beate Marie, ibique aliquamdiu moram faciens, et Terre Sancte subsidia procurans, a regali munificentia repatriando munera secum detulit copiosa in auro et argento, cum donis largissimis ab archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus atque baronibus sibi collatis.

1223.3 Provisum est communi consilio regni ad Terre Sancte succursum, ut a singulis comitibus tres marce darentur, a singulis baronibus una marca, a singulis militibus xii. denarii, et a singulis habentibus domos unus denarius.

1223.4 Magister Rogerus de Rollestone decanus Lincolniensis obiit¹³⁹⁶.

1223.5 Pandulphus consecratus est in episcopum Norwicensem.

1223.6 Obiit Willelmus de Cornhill episcopus Cestrie. Successit magister Alexander de Staveneby.

¹³⁹⁴ obiit...Nevilla] *sub* 1223 *CLM*

¹³⁹⁵ Terre Sancte non immemor] non immemor Terre Sancte *V*

¹³⁹⁶ Magister ... obiit] Obiit... *ALMV*

1224.1 De Falcasio et de obsidione de Bedefordia¹³⁹⁷

1224.2 Henricus rex Anglie, cum ad annos discretionis pervenisset, ut de regno suo disponeret, consilio fretus subtiliori, castella multa, ab alienigenis et indigenis pluribus diu detenta, ad suum revocavit dominium. Habebat enim eos suspectos, et verebatur per illos sibi damna irrogari immania, si eorum potestas, qui presidia tenebant, moram caperet prolixiore, sicut postea experimento probavit. Nam hii qui erant regi suspecti hoc facto plurimum indignantes et moleste nimis ferentes¹³⁹⁸ presidia sibi ablata, terrore confusi sunt. Nec tamen malitia eorum sedata est.

1224.3 Nam Falcasius de Breaute, natione Normannus, quem pro strenuitate virilis obsequii Iohannes rex Anglie a satellite paupere in militem cum aliis sublimavit, et postea comiti parificavit¹³⁹⁹, donando illi comitissam de Wyth, cum videret statum suum supra modum subito prosperato¹⁴⁰⁰, dedignabatur habere¹⁴⁰¹ parem; erat enim ei persepe in operibus frequentibus pro ratione voluntas. Tantam siquidem¹⁴⁰² gerebat confidentiam in pecunie thesauris qualicunque sorte adunatis, et in castris murorum ambitu studiose muratis¹⁴⁰³, et armorum hominumque¹⁴⁰⁴ copiis munitis, ut regnum Anglie turbare presumeret. Dicebatur a nonnullis, quod ipse cum suis fautoribus Francorum regi Lodowico suggestit, ut Pictaviam invaderet, et ut hoc libere¹⁴⁰⁵ et sine metu et periculo attentaret, promisit quod regem Anglie Henricum circa tam urgentissima negotia in medio terre sue adeo redderet occupatum, quod terras transmarinas militaribus copiis relinqueret destitutas, et dum pluribus esset intentus minus sufficeret ad singula. Interim Willelmus de Breaute, frater ipsius Falcasii, qui ex parte Falcasii prefuit castro illo nobili Bedefordie, quod arte, opere, et opera Falcasii studiosa credebatur inexpugnabile, et de iure spectabat ad Willelmum

¹³⁹⁷ De Falcasio...Bedefordia] om. *CLM*

¹³⁹⁸ ferentes] propter *add. CM*

¹³⁹⁹ parificavit] pacificavit *V*

¹⁴⁰⁰ prosperato] prosperatum *M*

¹⁴⁰¹ habere] *om. C*

¹⁴⁰² siquidem] igitur *C*

¹⁴⁰³ muratis] mutatis *C*

¹⁴⁰⁴ hominumque] et hominum *CLM*

¹⁴⁰⁵ libere] liberere *M*

de Bello Campo, assumptis secum satellitibus, iustitiarium domini regis itinerantem H[enricem] de Braibroc, cum aliquibus suorum vi captum, in dicto castro coniecit in vinculis. Unde et regis ira vehementer accensa est, et communicato consilio cum proceribus, qui tunc temporis apud Northamptoniam convenerant, quinto die ante Nativitatem Sancti Iohannis Baptiste, ad prefatum presidium cum ingenti properat multitudine, machinas et tormenta iaculatoria, quibus obsessa solent flagellari presidia, secum deferens, castris circumpositis, locum obsidione¹⁴⁰⁶ vallant¹⁴⁰⁷; ubi plures interfuere¹⁴⁰⁸ Falcasii fautores, sed ficte. Rex igitur, locata circa dictum oppidum obsidione, more hostili machinis frequentibus et ordine congruo dispositis, turrets concutit et menia debilitat; sed non sine cede magna nobilium suorum et plebis, ab illis qui intus se receperant illata. Nec mirum. Nam qui obsessi erant, omnino adversantibus, omnino resistere certatim student, et missilium imbre passim nocent et necant. Perpenderant utique obsidentium augeri exercitum, viresque robur assumere; nam maiores habentes numeros, qui alternatim sibi succedere precipiebantur, eos qui unde vires repararent, penitus non habebant, ad defectum, anxietatibus quotidianis compellebant. Tandem post congressus varios ad invicem habitos, obsessi quamvis inviti se dederunt¹⁴⁰⁹, regalibus in eos viriliter irruentibus. Capto igitur castro in Assumptione beate Virginis¹⁴¹⁰ Marie, fere omnes in eo repertos, tam milites quam servientes, vita privavit sententia ignominiosa. Nam iussu regio circiter lxxx in patibulis sunt suspensi. Uxor dicti Falcasii custodie committitur comitis Warannie, et alie mulieres in custodia liberantur. Sed nec sic penitus regis ira¹⁴¹¹ deferbuit, quin castrum dirutum terre cequaret. Prefatus Falcasius cum a pluribus se persequi videret, et facultas fugiendi ei denegaretur, perpendens longas regibus esse manus, posuit se in misericordia domini regis apud Alnestowe, ibique commissus fuit custodie episcopi Londoniensis, usque ad concilium apud Londonias celebrandum in xv dies post festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens. Ubi publice facta abiuratione de regressu in Angliam¹⁴¹², transfretavit, et applicuit apud Fescamp; ibique captus adductus est ad regem Francorum Lodovicum, precepto

¹⁴⁰⁶ obsidione] *om. L*

¹⁴⁰⁷ vallant] vallavit *CLM*

¹⁴⁰⁸ interfuere] fuerunt *CLM*

¹⁴⁰⁹ dederunt] dediderunt *CLM*

¹⁴¹⁰ Virginis] *om. C*

¹⁴¹¹ regis ira] ira regis *CLM*

¹⁴¹² Angliam] Anglia *CLM*

cuius incarceratus est apud Compendium, nec absolutus donec de mandato apostolico regi Francie destinato restitui meruisset libertati.

1224.4 De quodam auxilio pro obsidione de Bedeford¹⁴¹³

1224.5 In obsidione Bedefordie provisum fuit de quodam auxilio regi faciendo per dominum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum eiusque suffraganeos et abbates ibi moram facientes; videlicet de singulis carucis episcoporum atque abbatum tenentium in baronia, simul et hominum suorum, dimidium marce; et a singulis carucis abbatum atque priorum non tenentium in baronia, et hominum suorum¹⁴¹⁴, ii. solidi darentur. Et ne huius auxilii occasione aliqua consuetudo indebita possit oriri in posterum, dominus rex cartam suam singulis dedit episcopatibus sub hac forma:

1224.6 *Henricus¹⁴¹⁵ Dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, comes Andegavie, omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, salutem. Cum propter graves et manifestos excessus Falcasii de Breaute, quibus nos et regnum nostrum multipliciter perturbavit, de consilio fidelium nostrorum castrum de Bedefordia obsideremus, venerabilis pater Stephanus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Anglie primas, et sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalis, et suffraganei sui qui nobiscum venerunt ad exercitum, aliique prelati provincie¹⁴¹⁶ Cantuarienses¹⁴¹⁷, sola ducti devotione qua sui gratia nos fuerant amplexati, de mera gratia et liberalitate sua auxilium nobis providerunt faciendum, ad tantos excessus fortius et facilius corrigendum, ordinantes per se ipsos, ut singuli dictorum archiepiscopi, episcoporum et aliorum prelatorum, qui separatas habent portiones a conventibus suis, a singulis carucis terrarum quas tenent in dominico darent nobis dimidium marce, item de carucis militum et libere tenentium et rusticorum predictorum archiepiscopi et suffraganeorum eorum¹⁴¹⁸ et aliorum prelatorum memoratorum; et de carucis similiter eorum qui tenent de dictis militibus et libere tenentibus ipsorum, duo solidi nobis conferentur de carucis etiam*

¹⁴¹³ om. CLM

¹⁴¹⁴ dimidium ... suorum] om. V

¹⁴¹⁵ Henricus] In L, the painted initial is an 'I', presumably an abbreviated "Iohannes", although a pencilled "h" was left in the margin for the illustrator, who ignored it.

¹⁴¹⁶ provincie] om. CM

¹⁴¹⁷ Cantuarienses] provincie add. C

¹⁴¹⁸ eorum] suorum M

abbatum, priorum et aliorum prelatorum qui non habent separatas portiones a conventibus suis, et militum, libere tenentium, et rusticorum suorum, et similiter de carucis eorum qui tenent de dictis militibus et libere tenentibus, darentur nobis duo solidi; preterea de sola gratia et mera liberalitate sua concesserunt quod homines¹⁴¹⁹ de dominicis et feodis suis venirent in exercitum ad trahendum ingenia et ad alia negotia quantum in ipsis esset expedienda, que ad expugnandum¹⁴²⁰ castrum necessaria viderentur. Qui quidem per ballivos nostros alicubi infra libertates ecclesie et ipsorum prelatorum, aliter quam hactenus fieri consueverit, summoniti fuerunt, et compulsi ut accepimus ad hoc faciendum. Nos igitur nolentes occasione gratie et liberalitatis nobis, ut diximus, impense, ecclesie Dei vel archiepiscopo vel aliis prelati predictis vel successoribus suis, terris, feodis vel hominibus eorum preiudicium libertatis sue vel gravamen aliquod unquam generari, nec gratiam nobis sic exhibitam ad debitum vel consuetudinem posse retorqueri, omnia premissa per has¹⁴²¹ litteras nostras patentes protestamur ex sola gratia et liberalitate processisse, et hoc nunquam occasione predicta in consuetudinem trahi posse vel debere. Et in huius rei testimonium has litteras nostras patentes inde fieri fecimus et sigillo nostro signari¹⁴²². Teste me ipso, apud Bedeforde xviii die Augusti, anno regni nostri viii. Presentibus Huberto de Burgo, iusticiario nostro Willelmo comite Saresbirie, Willelmo comite Warenne, Gaufrido comite Gloucestrie et Herefordie, Willelmo de Mandevilla, comite Essexie, Hugone Bigot, H. comite Herefordie, Henrico Warrwici, I. constabulario Cestrie, Willelmo Briwer, Petro filio Hereberti Willelmo de Albineio, Thomaso de Muletonia, I. de Munemue, Roberto de Curtenai, I. filio Roberti, Ricardo de Munfichet, Willelmo de Lancastre, Petro de Bruis, Ricardo de Percy, Willelmo de Ros, et aliis.¹⁴²³

¹⁴¹⁹ homines] *om. CLM*

¹⁴²⁰ expugnandum] expugnadum *A*

¹⁴²¹ has] *om. L*

¹⁴²² testimonium...signari] *om. C*

¹⁴²³ iusticiario...et aliis] *om. C*

1225.1 De auxilio quintedecime pro libertatibus habendis¹⁴²⁴

1225.2 In Purificatione beate Marie convocantur apud Londonias proceres Anglie; ibique tractatu habito diffusiore cum clero et populo ibidem convocato, rex concessit libertates tam ecclesie quam regni quam foreste¹⁴²⁵, sicut carte sue inde confecte, et singulis comitatibus liberate¹⁴²⁶, plenius¹⁴²⁷ testantur. Ibidemque concessa est domino regi a comitibus et¹⁴²⁸ baronibus et clero et populo ibi¹⁴²⁹ presentibus, quintadecima omnium mobilium de communi assensu, preterquam de ecclesiis. Et hoc negotium dominus papa plurimum expediebat, qui pro competenti auxilio regi faciendo scribebat sub¹⁴³⁰ hac forma:

1225.3 *Littere domini pape de eodem:*¹⁴³¹

1225.4 *Honorius episcopus*¹⁴³², *servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis, episcopis, et dilectis filiis abbatibus, prepositis et aliis ecclesiarum prelati atque rectoribus per regnum Anglie constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum ecclesia secularium principum in necessitatibus sponte communicat, necessarium eis subsidium liberaliter impendendo, non est libertatis ecclesiastice*¹⁴³³ *preiudicium, sed officium potius caritatis. Cum ergo karissimus in Christo filius noster rex Anglorum illustris vestre subventionis auxilio dicatur quam plurimum indigere; universitatem vestram rogamus et hortamur attentius, ac per apostolica scripta vobis mandamus, quatenus iuxta facultates ecclesiarum vestrarum competens ei subsidium impendatis; proviso ut in singulis diocesis congrue fiant hac de causa collecte, et que collecta fuerint, sub litteris testimonialibus diocesani*

¹⁴²⁴ De auxilio ...abendis] *om. C*

¹⁴²⁵ foreste] forestarum *M*

¹⁴²⁶ liberate] libertate *V*

¹⁴²⁷ plenius] *om. A*

¹⁴²⁸ et] *om. A*

¹⁴²⁹ ibi] ibidem *CM*

¹⁴³⁰ sub] in *V*

¹⁴³¹ *om. CLM*

¹⁴³² episcopus] episcopo *L*

¹⁴³³ ecclesiastice] ecclesie *CM*

episcopi et aliquorum abbatum aliorumve prelatorum diocesis, assignentur viris fidelibus et discretis, quos huius cure videritis deputandos¹⁴³⁴: ipsique illa illibata conservent donec deliberato consilio expendantur, ubi, quando et quomodo regi et regno videbitur amplius expedire. Unde quemadmodum de receptis sicut litteras testimoniales recipient, de redditibus vel expensis, quatinus omnis suspicionis¹⁴³⁵ tollatur occasio. Et collecta pecunia non in superfluas et inutiles prodigatur expensas, sed in necessarias et utiles convertatur provide. Nolumus autem quod hec vestra gratia, vestraque caritativa subventio, trahatur in consequentiam vel exemplum. Vestra ergo sollicitudo provideat ut hec fiant hilariter, fideliter et diligenter, quod vestra caritas et prudentia ex hoc merito debeat commendari. Datum Laterani iii nonas Februarii, pontificatus nostri anno nono.

1225.5 Sumens igitur dominus archiepiscopus¹⁴³⁶ Cantuariensis originem huius negotii prosequendi, sic suis scripsit suffraganeis:

1225.6 *Stephanus Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus¹⁴³⁷, etc. Cum necesse sit obtemperare mandatis domini pape, et honestum domino regi in suis necessitatibus liberaliter subvenire, fraternitatem vestram in Domino commonemus quatenus omnes viros religiosos vestre diocesis, cuiuscunque sint ordinis, necnon et¹⁴³⁸ clericos vestros, quanta poteritis diligentia moneatis et inducatis, ut, cum fuerint requisiti, competens auxilium faciant domino regi de hiis de quibus quintamdecimam non dederint¹⁴³⁹, secundum formam mandati apostolici, ut sic necessitatem transferant in virtutem, et tam dominus papa quam rex ipse liberalitatem eorum possit et debeat merito commendare. Valete in Domino¹⁴⁴⁰. Ad hec vobis mando quatinus quintamdecimam de archidiaconatu vestro collectam per vos tuto et salvo deponi faciatis donec super premissis¹⁴⁴¹ receperitis mandatum¹⁴⁴². Valete.*

¹⁴³⁴ deputandos] *CLM*

¹⁴³⁵ suspicionis] suspicationis *M*

¹⁴³⁶ archiepiscopus] *om. A*

¹⁴³⁷ Cantuariensis archiepiscopus] *om. A*

¹⁴³⁸ et] *om. A*

¹⁴³⁹ dederint] dederunt *CLM*

¹⁴⁴⁰ Valete in Domino] *om. A*

¹⁴⁴¹ premissis] aliud *add. C*

¹⁴⁴² mandatum] in mandatis *C*

1225.7 Cum rex igitur benigne et hilariter libertates concessit¹⁴⁴³, comites et barones vice versa unanimi consensu cleri et populi quintamdecimam omnium mobilium concesserunt, preterquam de equitaturis et carectariis, et armis et granariis et¹⁴⁴⁴ lardariis, vasis, utensilibus, lapidibus, iocalibus, et libris clericorum et ornamentis ecclesiarum. Et ad hanc¹⁴⁴⁵ quintamdecimam fideliter solvendam obligati sunt per sententiam archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, priores, comites et¹⁴⁴⁶, barones et milites et¹⁴⁴⁷ universique alii et alii universi¹⁴⁴⁸ et singuli utriusque sexus, preterquam de ordine Cisterciensium¹⁴⁴⁹ et¹⁴⁵⁰ Premonasterii¹⁴⁵¹ et Templariorum et Hospitalariorum. Mercatores vero de omnibus mercandiis suis quindecimaverunt, preterquam de stauro domus et victualibus. Archiepiscopus autem et episcopi omnes excommunicaverunt in estimatione quindecime¹⁴⁵² fraudem facientes, vel eam impediens, cuius¹⁴⁵³ in festo Sancte Trinitatis soluta fuit, et alia medietas in festo Sancti Michaelis.

1225.8 De passagio in subsidium Terre Sancte¹⁴⁵⁴

1225.9 Iohannes Eliensis episcopus obiit¹⁴⁵⁵; successit Gaufridus de Burgo archidiaconus Norwycensis.

1225.10 Provisum est a domino papa, consilio et assensu cardinalium et aliorum magnatum imperii Romani, quod imperator Henricus transibit in subsidium Terre Sancte ab instanti Augusto in duos annos, et per biennium tenebit ibi mille milites ad suum; ita quod si aliquis de ipso numero statuto tempore deesse contigerit, l. marcis per annum defectus militis redimetur: pecuniam autem de huiusmodi redemptione

¹⁴⁴³ concessit] concessisset *C*

¹⁴⁴⁴ et] *om. C*

¹⁴⁴⁵ hanc] hunc *C*

¹⁴⁴⁶ et] *om. CLM*

¹⁴⁴⁷ et] *om. C*

¹⁴⁴⁸ et alii universi] *om. C*

¹⁴⁴⁹ Cisterciensium] Cisterciensi *CM*

¹⁴⁵⁰ et] *om. C*

¹⁴⁵¹ Premonasterii] Premonstratensi *C*

¹⁴⁵² quindecime] quintedecime *CLM*

¹⁴⁵³ cuius] medietas] *add. CM*

¹⁴⁵⁴ *om. CLM*

¹⁴⁵⁵ Iohannes Eliensis episcopus obiit] Obiit... *MV*

collectam ipse imperator, si ibi fuerit, ad testimonium et consilium regis et patriarche Ierosolimitane ac magistri domus Alemannorum et aliorum proborum virorum de terra, ibidem ad servitium Iesu Christi expendet in usus eosdem vel alios, ubi eis magis visum fuerit expedire. Quod si aliquo casu ipsum imperatorem contigerit tunc abesse, memorata pecunia in predictorum regis et patriarche et magistri domus Alemannorum manibus deponetur, per ipsos in Terre Sancte negotia expendenda. Passagium dabit, si venerint in primo passagio, vel in duobus sequentibus passagiis, duobus millibus militum et familiis¹⁴⁵⁶ eorundem, et pro milite duobus¹⁴⁵⁷ equis: ducet secum centum scelendros; et tenebit I. galeas similiter per totum biennium, si necesse fuerit, bona fide armatas. Quod si aliquo tempore illius biennii non esset necesse illas teneri, vel forsitan non possent inveniri homines necessarii apparatus eorundem, estimabuntur fideliter sumptus illi qui in eis tenendis necessarii haberentur, si tenerentur armati eodem modo quo debuissent armari; et tantundem in pecunia memorata¹⁴⁵⁸ persolvat in ipsius terre negotio expendendum¹⁴⁵⁹, eodem modo per omnia quod superius de I. marcis militum est expressum. Preterea deponet in manibus predictorum regis et patriarche ac magistri et fratrum domus Alemannorum centum millia unciarum auri, vel equivalentiam in argento, hiis terminis persolvenda; in instanti passagio Augusti xx. millia; in subsequenti passagio Martii xx. millia; sequenti passagio Augusti xx. millia; alia xl. millia in duobus subsequentiibus¹⁴⁶⁰ passagiis Martii et Augusti anni secundi; ita quod partes memorate pecunie, persolute per terminos antedictos, ultra mare in singulis passagiis deportentur. Si vero in aliquo termino plus solverit quam superius est expressum, tanto minus persolvere tenebitur passagio subsequenti¹⁴⁶¹. Quando autem ipsum in biennio ad passagium assignatum transfretare continget, reddentur ei dicta c. millia unciarum ad expendendum in servitio Iesu Christi et Terre Sancte. Et si eum, quod Deus avertat, in terra illa vel citra ante passagium memoratum obire contigerit, vel alias quacunque de causa forsitan non transierit, rex et patriarcha et magister domus Alemannorum predicti, ad laudem et consilium magistrorum Hospitalis et Templi, ac aliorum proborum hominum de terra, expendent eandem

¹⁴⁵⁶ familiis] famuliis *A*

¹⁴⁵⁷ duobus] tribus in *Hist*

¹⁴⁵⁸ memorata] numerata, *HIST*

¹⁴⁵⁹ expendendum] expendendam, *HIST*

¹⁴⁶⁰ subsequentiibus] sequentibus *CLM*

¹⁴⁶¹ subsequenti] subsequente *HIST*

pecuniam bona fide, sicut melius viderint expedire utilitati Terre Sancte, in servitio Iesu Christi et terre, pro salute anime imperatoris et antecessorum suorum. Si vero, quod absit, infra prescriptum terminum passagio assignatum quicquam¹⁴⁶² de ipso humanitus acciderit; et si quid vel aliqua forte deficerent de hiis que superius sunt expressa et promissa; regnum suum Sicilie remanebit ad ea omnia obligatum; ita quod quicumque illud tenebit ea integra tenebitur adimplere. Ipse autem imperator personaliter iuravit, quod transibit ultra mare in subsidium Terre Sancte in passagio suprascripto. Et vir illustris R. dux Spoleti in anima ipsius imperatoris iuravit ipsum imperatorem firmiter et fideliter servaturum reliqua omnia, sicut superius sunt expressa. Exnunc autem lata est sententia excommunicationis, in quam ipse incidet imperator, si non in passagio suprascripto¹⁴⁶³ vel non duxerit et tenuerit secum mille milites, vel non miserit prescriptam pecuniam sicut superius est expressum. Si autem defecerit in aliquibus vel in aliquo ceterorum, ecclesia Romana sententiabit in ipsum et in terram suam de spontaneo et iam prestito consensu imperatoris eiusdem. Quod si in alicuius termini solutione defecerit, lata sententia teneantur astrictus; ita quod, si post annum elapsum per testimoniales litteras illorum,¹⁴⁶⁴ qui pro rege ac¹⁴⁶⁵ patriarcha et magistro Hospitalis Alemannorum ad recipiendam¹⁴⁶⁶ statutis terminis ipsam pecuniam statuentur, ecclesie Romane constiterit, ipsum de huiusmodi satisfacisse defectu, statim super illo articulo absolvetur, nec super aliis occasione illius sententie gravabitur ullo modo¹⁴⁶⁷. De hiis autem omnibus fecit imperator ecclesie Romane litteras suas patentes aurea bulla munitas.

1225.11 Querimonia Falcasii coram domino papa

1225.12 Falcasius Romam profectus¹⁴⁶⁸ talem coram domino papa et cardinalibus deposuit querimoniam:

¹⁴⁶² quicquam] quicquid *A*

¹⁴⁶³ suprascripto] supradicto *A*

¹⁴⁶⁴ illorum] eorum *CM*

¹⁴⁶⁵ ac] et *C*

¹⁴⁶⁶ recipiendam] recipiendum *CM*

¹⁴⁶⁷ ullo modo] modo ullo *C*

¹⁴⁶⁸ Romam profectus] Rome prefectus *AC* Romam profectus *L*

1225.13 *Cum post tempus hostilitatis in Anglia habite, tam a domino Guala quam de regni consuetudine, custodia castrorum et rerum domini regis singulis baronibus qui videbantur idonei fuerint deputata, iustituario prout moris est personam regis et sigillum una cum episcopo¹⁴⁶⁹ Wintoniensi regente, cui episcopo ipsa regis persona commissa fuerat gubernanda, tandem dicto episcopo ad Sanctum iacobum causa peregrinationis profecto, dictus iustitarius cum complicitibus suis procuravit, ut dominus rex apud Wintoniam die Pentecostes curiam celebraret; ad quam vocari fecit dominum Petrum de Mauley, qui quam fideliter et constanter¹⁴⁷⁰ domino regi et patri suo servierit, testimonium extat et domini Gualae et omnium illorum qui sciunt que fidelitas in rebus sit adversis et prosperis exhibenda. Cumque dictus dominus Petrus ad ipsius domini regis mandatum sicut vir bonus debuit accessisset, et sumpta in ipsius curia comestione sollempni, vocatus fuerit in cameram domini regis tanquam ibi de aliquibus secretis esset tractandum ibi interpellatus est tanquam proditor regis, et quod fedus cum domino rege Francie pepigisset¹⁴⁷¹, certa assignata causa certisque illatis circumstantiis, ex quibus prodicionem quam falso confinxerant¹⁴⁷² probabilem et claram esse dicebant; videlicet quod que¹⁴⁷³ ipse dominus Petrus dominam Elionoram sororem Arturi promisit tradere in manu regis Francie, paratamque sibi navem esse dicebant per Wintoniensem episcopum, qui licet ut predictum est causa peregrinationis profectus sit, ad hoc tamen de regno Anglie dicebatur exisse, ut dictum fedus sive prodicionem inter ipsum Petrum et regem Francie proloqueretur; unde occasionem sumentes tam dictus iustitarius quam eius complices prefatum dominum Petrum tot iniuriis, probris, impulsionibus, scissura vestium, ac demum proprii corporis incatenatione, lacessere ausi sunt, ut difficilius sit hominibus bene compositis audire quam narrare. De qua captione non ante dictus nobilis evadere potuit, quam ea castra que sibi tam a domino Guala, quam etiam a patre domini regis¹⁴⁷⁴ commissa fuerant, restitueret contra pristinum¹⁴⁷⁵ iuramentum quod patri fecerat de non restituendis eisdem castris,*

¹⁴⁶⁹ episcopo] domino *CLM*

¹⁴⁷⁰ constanter] dicto *add. C*

¹⁴⁷¹ pepigisset] pepigerunt *L*

¹⁴⁷² quam falso confinxerant] quam falso confinxerant *add. L*

¹⁴⁷³ que] *om. CLM*

¹⁴⁷⁴ regis] regis *add. M*

¹⁴⁷⁵ pristinum] prestinum *C*

donec iste rex legitime foret etatis. Cum autem dominus¹⁴⁷⁶ Wintoniensis episcopus de partibus Hispanie esset reversus, ipsumque regem post excessum pupillaris etatis a sua fateretur custodia liberatum, propterea quia¹⁴⁷⁷ probare non poterat ut rex talibus applicaretur studiis ad que per quosdam emulos trahebatur, cepit idem rex iustitiarum complicumque suorum consillis inherere.

Postmodum cum a sede apostolica iussio processisset ut castra, ballie, et cetera que sunt regis, a cunctis tenentibus redderentur, adiecta clausula quod ipse rex iam adultus factus, compelli non posset habere tutorem vel curatorem, nisi ad causam, invitus; dictus iustitarius et complices sui a fundamentis concepte nequitiæ nullatenus recedentes, procuraverunt ut duo barones ad regis curiam¹⁴⁷⁸ vocarentur, scilicet Walterus de Lascy et Radulfus Musard, quorum fidelitas pro ipso rege in omnibus fuit approbata; quibus cum accessissent non antea recedere¹⁴⁷⁹ licuit quam castra qua¹⁴⁸⁰ causa custodie tenebant, dicto iustitiano assignarent. Quo audito, fideles domini regis, videlicet comes Cestrie, comites Gloucestrie et Albemarie et multis aliis¹⁴⁸¹, quorum sigilla fuerunt vobis exhibita per nuncios eorundem, indignati fuerunt, tam pro utilitate ipsius regis quam¹⁴⁸² pro ipsorum et regni salute¹⁴⁸³, timentes ne si dictus rex ad talia paulatim studia raperetur, singuli barones qui fideliter regi servirent, constituerentur in predam iustitiarum et suorum, et regem ipsum dolerent suorum aucupem, qui sperabatur tam eorum salus quam totius regni defensor; proposuerunt ad ipsum regem accedere, ut ei¹⁴⁸⁴ malitiam iustitiarum et demonstrarent. Quorum adventum idem iustitarius presciens nunciavit domino¹⁴⁸⁵ regi, quod dicti barones in hoc convenerunt ut ipsum regem raperent¹⁴⁸⁶ et victum tenerent. Tantumque ibi¹⁴⁸⁷ regi timorem incussit ut ad turrim Gloucestrie confugeret, et ibi tanquam obsidionem expectans, omne genus munimenti pararet; dictisque

¹⁴⁷⁶ dominus] *om. C*

¹⁴⁷⁷ quia] quod *LM*

¹⁴⁷⁸ regis curiam] curiam regis *M*

¹⁴⁷⁹ recedere] discedere *MV*

¹⁴⁸⁰ qua] que *C*

¹⁴⁸¹ et multis aliis] *om. CLM*

¹⁴⁸² quam] quamque *M*

¹⁴⁸³ salute] salutem *A*

¹⁴⁸⁴ ei] *om. CLM*

¹⁴⁸⁵ domino] *om. CLM*

¹⁴⁸⁶ raperent] caperent *AC*

¹⁴⁸⁷ ibi] ipsi *M*

baronibus ex parte regis denunciari fecit, ne ad ipsum accederent, utpote qui timebantur ab illo. Unde orta est discordia inter dictos barones et iustitiarium, qui tam ex supradictis causis quam ex multis aliis ad ipsius regis et regni regimen videbatur omnino suspectus, sicut qui pecuniam regis in usus non necessarios et in causas prorsus incognitas prodigebat, ita quod licet¹⁴⁸⁸ per septennium terra fuisset in pace; adeo tamen¹⁴⁸⁹ tenue monstrabatur erarium, quod de omnibus proventibus regni et debitis exactis, non resideret usque ad summam xxx. milia¹⁴⁹⁰ marcarum, cum deberet esse ultra. c. millia librarum.

Pro hac vero discordia sopienda Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et quidam episcopi simulaverunt interponere partes suas, qui postquam ex utraque parte ignem et fomentum dissensionis nutriverant¹⁴⁹¹, tamen in die Sancti Nicholai, quasi treugas inter eos usque ad octavas Sancti Hilarii prefigentes, totam ipsi discordie materiam, et eiusdem materie decisionem, provida ut videbatur deliberatione censuerunt differri. Interim tamen pendente negotio, cum rex apud Northamptoniam sollemnitatem natalis sicut moris est celebrasset, effectum est¹⁴⁹² per consilium iusticiarii et archiepiscopi ut tam comes Cestrie quam alii supranominati ad regis curiam vocarentur, quasi cum ipso rege et de ipsius regis et regni negotiis tractaturi. Quibus ad iussum principis, ut decet, venientibus, et in ipsius regis et archiepiscopi et quorundam episcoporum qui simul aderant presentia constitutis; exhibite fuerunt quedam littere apostolice in quibus continebatur quod esset domino regi rerum suarum restitutio facienda. Que cum perlecte fuissent¹⁴⁹³, statim dominus rex, consilio ductus iusticiarii et suorum, petiit a comite Cestrie ac ceteris quos evocaverat, ut sibi castra sua restituerent sine mora. Qui licet aliquamdiu dubitarent, utrum ad petitionem regis predictam facerent restitutionem, an sedem apostolicam super hoc consulere vellent, tamen ad archiepiscopi vocem et mandatum, qui etiam comminabantur¹⁴⁹⁴ super eos excommunicationis inferre sententiam, nisi predictam castrorum sine querela et tumultu restitutionem facerent, omnia castra que diu et

¹⁴⁸⁸ licet] *om. CLM*

¹⁴⁸⁹ adeo tamen] tamen adeo *V*

¹⁴⁹⁰ milia] millium *CLM*

¹⁴⁹¹ nutriverant] nutrierant *CLM*

¹⁴⁹² est] *om. C*

¹⁴⁹³ cum perlecte fuissent] perlecte fuissent cum] *C*

¹⁴⁹⁴ comminabantur] comminabatur *CLM*

fideliter ipsi regi servaverant, libere ac pacifice reddiderunt; protestantes nihilominus quod, sicut aperte fiebat eorum restitutio, et aperte iustitiarum et suorum similiter esset restitutio facienda, ne dispar eorum fieret conditio conditioni alterius qui pro regis honore contra iustitiarum decertabant. Quo audito archiepiscopus cum magno favore respondens ait¹⁴⁹⁵, Oportet, inquit, talem fieri distributionem castrarum, que sine scandalo faciat omnes equales. Unde cum ab omnibus¹⁴⁹⁶ per chirothecam vel per pilleum facta esset restitutio castrarum, idem archiepiscopus vocaliter castra distribuens, omnes barones equaliter possessione castrarum¹⁴⁹⁷ privavit. In hoc tamen dolus non defuit, quod comite Cestrensi¹⁴⁹⁸ et suis corporaliter castra¹⁴⁹⁹ restituentibus, iustitarius cum suis castra que tenebant sicut antea tenuerunt. Unde quia et in hiis et in multis aliis prefati comes Cestrensis et eius consortes statum regis et regni commutari sentierunt, rem gestam et periculum futurum sedi apostolice per nuncios suos, scilicet Robertum Passeleu et Robertum de Cancia militem nunciaverunt. Qui cum prohiberentur a transitu, tandem ab archiepiscopo et quibusdam episcopis compulsi sunt iuramentum prestare, quod nihil apud sedem apostolicam in ipsius regis et regni preiudicium attentarent, quod per interpretationem ipsorum ad articulum de legato petendo aperte quidem sed mirabiliter est restrictum. Qui nuncii qualiter apud¹⁵⁰⁰ sedem apostolicam pro meliorando regni statu persisterint, vestrum est, O patres conscripti, ad memoriam revocare, qualiter etiam dominus Wintoniensis clericum suum miserit Iohannem Lemovicensem, ut suggereret vobis quod ad regis honorem et utilitatem pertinere videbatur Cum autem dicti nuncii a curia recederent, ad regnum Anglie reverti non licuit, tanquam in sua petitione crimen lese maiestatis vel per¹⁵⁰¹ duellionis admisissent: sed eos usque ad diem presentem necesse est exulare.

Licet autem archiepiscopus cum quibusdam episcopis ob timorem mittendi legati tranquillitatem regni vobis semper et continue nunciaverit, non tamen cessavit in regno Anglie fovere discordiam; sicut ille qui patrem ipsius regis semel penitus

¹⁴⁹⁵ ait] *om. M*

¹⁴⁹⁶ omnibus] *hominibus V*

¹⁴⁹⁷ possessione castrarum] *castrarum possessione AMV*

¹⁴⁹⁸ comite Cestrensi] *comes Cestrense C*

¹⁴⁹⁹ castra] *om. A*

¹⁵⁰⁰ apud] *om. CLM*

¹⁵⁰¹ per] *om. C*

concutiens per¹⁵⁰² procurata sibi odia et contentionem super ipso regno compositam, in necessitatem mortis induxit, qui ut diadema regni corrumperet, et regale scinderet¹⁵⁰³ vestimentum, quod a rege sibi timebat in ultionem patris inferri, conatus est in ipsum duo perfundere, lapsum scilicet eius et confusionem, sub paterne pietatis pretextu intrinsecus et extrinsecus perquirendo. Ille, inquam, antiquus regni turbator ex provisione vestra periculo imminente paratum modicum¹⁵⁰⁴ esse presentiens, cum videlicet placuisset prudentie vestre ad partes Anglie magistrum Obicium¹⁵⁰⁵ pro exploranda huiusmodi rei¹⁵⁰⁶ materia destinare, iuxta versutiam suam procuravit, ut Londonias convenirent; ibique barones cum lacrymarum effusione deprecatus est ut in pace vellent esse conformes et utilitate; quod licet a benivolis et simplicibus et regni pacem et regis profectum super omnia desiderantibus facile obtinuerit, innata tamen et infida mentis custodia conservavit. Nam ad recordationem vel potius retentionem nuncii qui mittendus fuerat, litteras de pace facta ad vestram, venerande sedem, pater miserit, sicut etiam vestre littere apertissime protestantur; ego Falcasius in vestra presentia constitutus, licet appellationem sepius ab omni gravamine quod in regno parari posset interposuerim, causa patentis odii quo me tam iustitarius quam archiepiscopus et quidam alii persequebantur assignata, triduo post pacem ad regem ipsum, procurante iustitario et ceteris emulis meis, de capitali crimine sum accusatus, non quidem de recenti crimine, sed de eo quod¹⁵⁰⁷ viii. annis antea dicebatur commissum. Qua in re ego et alii qui sanctitati vestre statum regis et regni denunciaveramus composite dolositatis argumenta pullulare videntes, proposuimus cavere a menibus adversariorum devitando scandalum, ipsoque magis propter regis statum quam propter nostrum periculum formidantes. Cum autem Londoniis post illius simulate pacis tractatum ordinatum fuisset, ut apud Northamptoniam componeretur exercitus, falsa adiecta causa quod deberet subvenire Pictavie, missus est in partes castri de¹⁵⁰⁸ Bedefordie¹⁵⁰⁹ quidam miles iustitarius quem itinerantem more appellant, videlicet

¹⁵⁰² per] *om. V*

¹⁵⁰³ scinderet] scindere *M*

¹⁵⁰⁴ modicum] medicum *A*

¹⁵⁰⁵ obicium] obitum *MV*

¹⁵⁰⁶ rei] *om. CLM*

¹⁵⁰⁷ quod] *de add. CL*

¹⁵⁰⁸ de] *om. CL*

¹⁵⁰⁹ Bedefordie] *de Bedforde M*

Henricus de Breibrok, qui austerius et fervidius quam iustitia exigebat, officium suum exercens, fratrem meum terris, possessionibus, sine iudicio spoliavit, vetera recolens odia que contra eundem fratrem meum ex multis causis conceperat, que preter causam meam privatim inter eos iugiter versabantur. Quia vero¹⁵¹⁰ idem Henricus iurisdictione sua tam adversus dictum fratrem meum quam adversus me ipsum, cui exuscitabat undique adversarios, delinquere¹⁵¹¹ videbatur, idem frater meus, tam spiritu¹⁵¹² levitatis quam iustitie defectu concitatus, eundem iniustum iudicem, iuste de causa an iniuste, citra tamen lesionem corporis cepit. Cuius captio postquam mihi fuerat nunciata, ego apud Northamptoniam propter servitium regis cum aliis baronibus terre conveneram, ad castrum de Bedeforde pro exquirendo fratre meo, et ut dictum facerem liberare iustitiarium, tam cito perveni; ubi licet diligentiam apposuerim que potuit adhiberi, fratrem tamen meum, vel militem quem ipse ceperat, non potui invenire. Nam idem frater meus me ipsum timebat in casu predicto, et idcirco non ad castra redierat cum suo capto, sed in foresta de Vauberge, sicut mihi postea¹⁵¹³ innotuit, latitabat, ne forte si ad castrum rediret, ille qui captus fuerat per me de manibus suis ereptus in pristinam reduceretur, contra suum propositum, libertatem. Unde quia mihi semper animus fuerat famam meam, in hiis maxime que regem tangere videbantur, servare integram, feci quod potui, Deum¹⁵¹⁴ testor, quod frater meus veniret ad me. Sed inter huiusmodi evocationis moras, missi sunt ad me duo milites ex parte domini regis, per quos citatus fui ut in diem crastinum apud Northamptoniam comparerem coram domino rege, responsurus ibidem de captione dicti iustitiarii, et de omnibus aliis super quibus me contingeret accusari. Quibus nunciis cum rem gestam aperuissem omnino, et personam meam apud ipsos in captione monstrarem penitus excusandam, quia nec per me, nec mandato meo, nec me ratum habente, fuerat facta, ipsis quidem abeuntibus, ego per dilectos meos dominos, videlicet Wintoniensem et comitem Cestrensem, quantum ad illum diem apud dominum regem missis tam ad illos quam ad dominum regem¹⁵¹⁵ propriis nunciis excusari poposci, ut liceret interim perquirere fratrem meum. Per quos causis

¹⁵¹⁰ vero] *om. V*

¹⁵¹¹ delinquere] *derelinquere CLM*

¹⁵¹² spiritu] *om. V*

¹⁵¹³ mihi postea] *postea mihi C*

¹⁵¹⁴ Deum] *Deo C*

¹⁵¹⁵ missis...regem] *om. CLM*

absentie mee diligenter expositis, consilium regis fuit ut super hoc¹⁵¹⁶ plenior haberetur deliberatio; et sic ad propria hospitia singulis redeuntibus, ordinaverunt inimici mei ut sumpto cibo, versus castrum meum iter arriperent pro obsidione paranda; ita¹⁵¹⁷ quod diligenter inspiciatur tempus, die Lune dicti iustitiarum captio contigit, die Martis ad me pervenit citatio; die Mercurii misi nuncios pro allegandis absentie mee causis; atque eodem die licet spes plenioris deliberationis fuerit data, directe sunt acies contra castrum et¹⁵¹⁸ die iovis mane facta fuit obsidio in circuitu. Ego vero indiscretum timens adversariorum meorum insultum, ad terram comitis Cestrensis cum paucis effugi. Eodem autem¹⁵¹⁹ die archiepiscopus cum quibusdam episcopis qui in ipso erant exercitu, vocantes eos quibus ipsius castrum commissa erat custodia, instanter petierunt ut castrum domino regi traderent; respondentibus ex adverso castrum conservatoribus nullam esse legem vel consuetudinem que taliter reddi iubeat castra, et exhibuerunt nihilominus sicut licuit privilegia vestre sedis, per que tam ego quam ipsi sicut cruce signati, tam castra¹⁵²⁰ quam cetera bona nostra¹⁵²¹ sub protectione benignitatis vestre fuerant constituta, et appellaverunt ne quid in contemptum privilegiorum vel indulgentiarum vestrarum temptarentur¹⁵²² ab aliquo, donec a latere vestro destinaretur aliquis nuncius vel legatus apud quem et status terre et causarum merita pandi possent.

Dictus vero archiepiscopus, ut ostenderet affectionem quam habet ad regem et suos, convocatis quibusdam episcopis, tam in me quam in ipsos qui erant in castro, et fautores et coadiutores nostros, excommunicationis sententiam promulgavit. Quam sententiam infra vii. dies per universas regni ecclesias fecit publicari, faciens indulgentias¹⁵²³ illis qui ut castrum citius caperetur, operam facto vel consilio adhiberent. Cuius etiam consilio est factum, ut per universam Angliam collecta fieret, que per officiales episcoporum, ut penitus probarentur duces exercitus, fuit exacta, duos in hoc facto effectus intendens, ut videlicet per excommunicationem

¹⁵¹⁶ hoc] ut *add. C*

¹⁵¹⁷ ita] *om. V*

¹⁵¹⁸ et] in *add. C*

¹⁵¹⁹ autem] *om. M*

¹⁵²⁰ castra] castrum *CLM*

¹⁵²¹ nostra] mea *M*

¹⁵²² temptarentur] tentaretur *CLM*

¹⁵²³ indulgentias] indulgentiam *CLM*

subtraheret mihi auxilium, et per indulgentiam et collectam augmentaret potentiam inimicorum. Qui etiam sub excommunicatione precepit, ut quecunque mihi deposita conservabantur, domino redderentur. Tantaque fuit capiendi castris cupido, sive libido, quod ad proiectum¹⁵²⁴ lapidum aliqui episcoporum episcopalem facerent benedictionem.

Ecce vero cum iamdiu vestrum expectarem presidium et viderem huiusmodi oppressionem, nolens sub tanta infamia et periculo languescere diutius, composui¹⁵²⁵ quasdam litteras quas commisi¹⁵²⁶ domino regi per quendam canonicum de Seleby Robertum de Leyrcestria, in quibus supplicavi ut liceret mihi sub salvo conductu ad eum accedere, et pro crimine mihi imposito facere quicquid barones regni secundum morem et statuta patrie decernerent faciendum. Cum autem idem canonicus ad exercitum accessisset, et latam sententiam excommunicationis contra me et fautores meos per famam publicam didicisset, timens ne propter ministerium oblationis litterarum illa generali sententia ligaretur, sive supprimens litteras sive alii offerens quam oportuit, regi non obtulit ut decebat¹⁵²⁷. Unde idem canonicus, producta super hoc querela, de predicta fuit domo repulsus.

Procedente vero tempore contigit Coventrensem episcopum ad partes Cestrie ubi ego morabar¹⁵²⁸ accedere: an suo motu, vel¹⁵²⁹ aliorum mandato hoc fecerit, ignoro quidem. Sed ad me veniens verba pacis sicut honestum et prudentem decebat interposuit, ac devotionem meam proclivem in omnibus ad utilitatem regis intelligens, nuncium meum ad eundem dominum regem, necnon et ad archiepiscopum et ceteros duces exercitus perferendum, pia devotione¹⁵³⁰ recepit, quod ego videlicet paratus eram stare mandato et iudicio domini regis in omnibus, ita quod tres emuli mei quos ex causis evidentibus suspectos habebam non adessent, vel etiam pro reverentia ipsius domini regis, offerebam subire apud ipsum omne iudicium, et

¹⁵²⁴ proiectum] periectum *CLM*

¹⁵²⁵ composui] et posui *add. C*

¹⁵²⁶ commisi] misi *CLM*

¹⁵²⁷ decebat] dicebat *C*

¹⁵²⁸ morabar] morabat *A* morarer *MV*

¹⁵²⁹ vel] an *CLM*

¹⁵³⁰ devotione] devotionem *A*

recipere misericordiam, ita quod in tractatu misericordie, illi tres qui capitales inimici mei erant, de misericordia non tractarent. Que verba cum idem venerabilis¹⁵³¹ episcopus dictus domino regi et arhiepiscopo et ceteris retulisset, cum probris et conviciis tam ipsum quam verba indurato animo et superbifica potentia retulerunt. Verum etiam quia dictus episcopus ut me secundum formam ecclesie absolveret, a me fuerat¹⁵³² diligenter requisitus, id ipsum archiepiscopo nunciavit, adiiciens nihilominus ex parte mea quod ego petebam litteras per quas¹⁵³³ vestre sanctitati tota rei series narraretur; cum ego iure apellationis aut nullo modo ligatus essem, aut a vobis potius deberem absolvi quam ab archiepiscopo, cuius sententia et iudicium et appellatione suspensum fuerat, et multiplici ratione suspectum. Tandem vero idem archiepiscopus pro sua iurisdictione contendens, nihil aliud¹⁵³⁴ facere voluit, nisi quod ad ipsum accederem absolvendus: propter quod tam idem episcopus quam dominus comes Cestrie ad me pervenientes persuaserunt me dare locum malitie; opportunum dicentes coaptari et vitare scandalum, expectando tempora meliora. Quorum vocibus, ut amicorum, inductus, perveni Coventriam, et exinde sub fide litterarum domini regis, sed magis archiepiscopi et quorundam aliorum episcoporum de salvo conductu eundo et redeundo, Northamptoniam accessi, videlicet per machinationem et fraudem archiepiscopi et suorum, qui debilitatem castri avido querebant affectu, diutius scilicet spatio x. dierum expectaverant¹⁵³⁵; absolutionis tamen beneficium nullatenus assequi potui, licet per aliquos nuncios inter moras verba deceptionis prolata fuissent. Vigilia vero Assumptionis beate Marie, cum militibus meis ego nunciasset quod ego¹⁵³⁶ apud Northamptoniam detentus nullum eis prestare possem auxilium, iidem milites in manu domini regis et misericordia archiepiscopi et episcoporum¹⁵³⁷ se devotissime offerentes, sub tutela ecclesie sicut cruce signati; et quia sub appellationis ad vos facte credebant defendi subsidio, in¹⁵³⁸ exercitum de castro¹⁵³⁹ prodierunt. Quibus in die Assumptionis dato cum ignominia absolutionis beneficio, idem archiepiscopus cum episcopis Hugone

¹⁵³¹ idem venerabilis] venerabilis idem C

¹⁵³² fuerat] fuit CLM

¹⁵³³ quas] litteras add. M

¹⁵³⁴ aliud] om. MV

¹⁵³⁵ expectaverant] expectandam LM expectaveram C

¹⁵³⁶ ego] om. CLM

¹⁵³⁷ episcoporum] et add. A

¹⁵³⁸ in] de C

¹⁵³⁹ de castro] om. M

Lincolniensi, Iocelino Batoniensi et Radulfo Cicestrensi ad regem ingressus est, sueque feritatis non immemor, sed vivax violento animo recolens odium, ipsius regis adolescentiam ad indebitam producens¹⁵⁴⁰ iracundiam, talia verba profudit; Nos quidem ut nos decuit rigorem sumus ecclesiasticum executi, iam restat regem facere quod est suum. Cumque ad hec verba regis obstupesceret innocentia, et quereret quid ad maiestatem regiam pertineret, rursus idem¹⁵⁴¹ archiepiscopus, non pastor patrie sed tyrannus. 'iustitiarium' inquit, 'huius dicti oportet esse interpretem, quia quid ad vos pertineat edocebit.' Ne autem pro nihilo dictis comitatus esset episcopis, unus ex eis videlicet Batoniensis dixit, Si suspensi fuissent qui capti fuerunt apud Biham, isti qui nunc capti sunt nullatenus castrum adversus nutum regium tenuissent. Postea vero apud regem altercatione suborta, an expectandi essent barones regni pro iudicio faciendo, singuli qui aderant causa prandii ad propria tentoria secesserunt; ipsaque hora prandii milites, servientes, iuvenes cuiuscunque conditionis, quantecunque nobilitatis, ad numerum nonaginta vii., tam archiepiscopo quam dictis episcopis eminus¹⁵⁴² inspicientibus, in dedecus militie et perpetuum regis obprobrium, sunt suspensi. O dirum scelus¹⁵⁴³! O seva servitutis erecte rabies! Ne tantum nefas non rite fieret diem et iam sollemnem constituere voluerunt. Clamore autem tante crudelitatis audito, aliqui de mensis propriis accurrentes, de furcis et¹⁵⁴⁴ patibulis aliquos liberaverunt, qui tamen sub custodia adhuc detinentur. Quo facto, ne tanti sceleris participatio¹⁵⁴⁵ in aliqua sui parte perfectione careret, missi sunt ad me¹⁵⁴⁶ Karleolensis episcopus et Martinus de Pateshull, dicentes ex parte archiepiscopi, quod ego venirem ad ipsum archiepiscopum absolvendus. Me autem, ut fas erat, renitente et appellationem interpositam et causam suspicionis sicut supradictum¹⁵⁴⁷ est allegante, et iuxta formam conductus mihi dati recedere cupiente, effectum est tandem ut simplicitatem dolositas vinceret, et versutia pietatem, sicque ad ipsum deductus¹⁵⁴⁸ archiepiscopum, licet sepius protestatus sum quod a vobis potius quam ab illo vellem absolvi, ab eo tamen, cum regressus

¹⁵⁴⁰ producens] provocans C

¹⁵⁴¹ idem] om. A

¹⁵⁴² eminus] cominus A

¹⁵⁴³ scelus] telus A

¹⁵⁴⁴ et] que A

¹⁵⁴⁵ participatio] perpetratio A

¹⁵⁴⁶ ad me] om. CM

¹⁵⁴⁷ supradictum] predictum MV

¹⁵⁴⁸ deductus] ductus CM

mihi esset preclusus, absolvi oportuit, ne luctando ulterius in manus traderer impiorum¹⁵⁴⁹, et ex prima sententia occasionaliter traherer ad secundam¹⁵⁵⁰. iurato autem stare mandatis ecclesie, in ruborem et confusionem meam, Londoniis in die dedicationis eiusdem Sancte Trinitatis, affectata presentia plurimorum, idem archiepiscopus denudari¹⁵⁵¹ me faciens, sermone ad populum facto, in quo blasphemias infinitas in sui quidem confusionem, in dedecus autem ecclesie predicavit, tandem absolutum post verba multa et probra me dimisit. Ne autem vos lateat in quibus sue constiterit glorie fundamentum¹⁵⁵², hec eius verba fuerunt; Ecce flagellum terre! ecce indigenarum afflictio, cui totiens populus Anglie datus est in predam. Idem ipse, digno Dei iudicio, eiusdem populi factus est preda¹⁵⁵³. Sumite animos, sumite, et ne quid ulterius in vos extraneis¹⁵⁵⁴ liceat¹⁵⁵⁵ cogitate. O verba pontifice et theologo digna! adversus alios ex officio suo crucesignatum et appellansem tueri debuit. At ille plus ceteris illum impugnavit. Non stat hic scelus gradus est sceleris, finem attendi oportet. Nam qui plus qua¹⁵⁵⁶ apud iniquum iudicem obtentum est absolutionis beneficium, nova quidam¹⁵⁵⁷ et canonicis instructis prorsus incognita inducta est forma mandati; cum mihi falsis impositis criminibus, in emendationem Pictavie toti patrimonio meo, in rebus immobilibus seu mobilibus, in Anglia vel extra Angliam me renunciare cegerit, quasi amissionis Pictavie causa fuisset, cum apud ipsos potius resideat culpa periculi, qui multotiens ut amitteretur Pictavia procuraverant¹⁵⁵⁸; in quos eiusdem terre servande onus profunditur, cuius amissio liberos representat¹⁵⁵⁹. Sepe autem in Anglia fuerat disceptatum¹⁵⁶⁰, an homines terre rege¹⁵⁶¹ in Pictaviam prosequi tenerentur, et post disceptationem¹⁵⁶² contra regis¹⁵⁶³ voluntatem negaverunt omnino prosecutionem

¹⁵⁴⁹ impiorum] inimicorum C

¹⁵⁵⁰ secundam] sentiendam C

¹⁵⁵¹ denudari] nudari C

¹⁵⁵² fundamentum] fundamenta CM

¹⁵⁵³ Idem ipse, digno Dei iudicio, eiusdem populi factus est preda] om. A

¹⁵⁵⁴ extraneis] om. A

¹⁵⁵⁵ liceat] om. CM

¹⁵⁵⁶ qui plus qua] postquam M plus qua C

¹⁵⁵⁷ quidam] quedam CM

¹⁵⁵⁸ procuraverant] procuraverunt CM

¹⁵⁵⁹ representat] representes CM

¹⁵⁶⁰ disceptatum] deceptatum CM

¹⁵⁶¹ rege] regem CM

¹⁵⁶² disceptationem] deceptationem CM

¹⁵⁶³ regis] regem C

ipsam fieri¹⁵⁶⁴ debere. Unde iste fuit unus articulus quare adversus patrem, pro maiori parte procurante archiepiscopo, Anglia mota fuit. Est et alia causa que militiam Anglie a¹⁵⁶⁵ transeundo in Pictaviam retardabat, ne forte idem rex aliquos electos inde educeret, et in Anglie castris proficeret conservandis. Quare et si propter succursum Pictavie apud Northamptoniam paratus fuisse dicatur exercitus, due tamen cause proxime contrarium¹⁵⁶⁶ afferunt coniecturam. Nec pretermittendum arbitror quod ituri in Pictaviam inepte apud Northamptonia, que per quinque dietas distat a mari, paraverunt¹⁵⁶⁷ exercitum, cum progenitores regis et idem rex in simili apparatu, non in medio terre sed apud Portesmue vel alibi iuxta mare consuevit exercitum convocare, ne si aliter fieret eos qui de extremitatibus regni ad medium terre convenirent duplici contingeret fatigari labore. Nec pro tam levi causa tantum apparatus diverti oportuit, cum ego in medio terre sue non facile ipsi regi¹⁵⁶⁸ resistere possem, nec extant exempla quibus ego discrimen ipsius regis exquirere voluissem. Evidens autem est causa quare in suos¹⁵⁶⁹ arma regem movere docuerunt, ut vires que ab hiis et extra regnum fuerant opponende in vicinos, et eos oderant facilius superarent.

Taliter autem cum¹⁵⁷⁰ absolutionis, immo potius resolutionis, obtinuerim beneficium, non esse visum est satis pravorum tyrannidi, nisi adhuc me nudum, rebus spoliatum¹⁵⁷¹, amicis carentem, sub districta iuberent custodia detineri, de qua non credo¹⁵⁷² eripi potuisse, nisi vestre ad ipsum archiepiscopum et ipsius regni rectores sub increpatione littere processissent. Postquam vero sub Londoniensis episcopi custodia ix. septimanis et amplius conservabant, tractatu habito, post multas altercationes et rerum mearum indagaciones, quas ubique sub excommunicationis pena fuerunt, me detente decreverunt taliter liberandum, pronunciante archiepiscopo et iuramento exacto, quod nihil apud vos de illatis iniuriis impetrare deberem, vel apud vos deferre querimoniam, sed trans mare causa peregrinationis abire. Nec illud

¹⁵⁶⁴ fieri] nos *add.* M

¹⁵⁶⁵ a] *om.* CM

¹⁵⁶⁶ contrarium] contrariam AM

¹⁵⁶⁷ paraverunt] sibi *add.* CM

¹⁵⁶⁸ regi] *om.* C

¹⁵⁶⁹ suos] suum C

¹⁵⁷⁰ cum] *om.* C

¹⁵⁷¹ spoliatum] spoliatam M

¹⁵⁷² credo] me *add.* C

tacendum arbitror, quod post extortam¹⁵⁷³ liberationem, illatum est mihi in opprobrium ab archiepiscopo, Tu, Falcasi, volueras ecclesiam Cantuariensem diruere, que iam tibi relevationem¹⁵⁷⁴ procurasse videtur. Mihi autem admiranti, et in quibus confusionem vel ruinam Cantuariensis ecclesie procuraveram inquirenti, Batoniensis episcopus respondit, Romam¹⁵⁷⁵ misisti, ut legatus in Angliam mitteretur.' Cui¹⁵⁷⁶ ego, non credo propter hoc¹⁵⁷⁷ deliquisse, cum ab antiquis patribus sit statutum, ut ab ecclesia Romana tam Cantuariensis quam cetera per orbem ecclesie regerentur. Prosit itaque, venerande pater¹⁵⁷⁸, me¹⁵⁷⁹ sub vestra vixisse fiducia! Prosit, patres conscripti, me quantum ad dominum regem Anglie vixisse innocuum, et quid relatio vel appellatio prodesse soleat, cogitate¹⁵⁸⁰. Qualiter etiam vobis anno preterito per nuncios nostros fuerat intimatum, quod, si daretur archiepiscopo a vobis excommunicandi licentia, non remaneret in terra aliquis qui tempore guerre¹⁵⁸¹ causam regis et ecclesie defendisset. Faciatis itaque in presenti casu quod ad honorem¹⁵⁸² creditis pertinere, ne forte constitutum semel proverbium quod castro capto finxerant, videlicet, veniat legatus et liberet eos fiat eis per vestram dissimulationem in gloriam et honorem. Sed talem si placet curetis adhibere cautelam¹⁵⁸³, ut probetis que¹⁵⁸⁴ regis et ecclesie utilitatem exigant¹⁵⁸⁵ vel discrimen; et ego qui vulneratus ad vos et confusus accessi, spoliatus uxore et¹⁵⁸⁶, filio, rebus, amicis, veros et fideles videar medicos invenisse, cum sedem apostolicam post tot mala supremum mihi arbitrer presidium affuturum. Attentoque 'superbia eorum qui Te oderunt ascendit semper, nomulus vos gravare multis acclamationibus, licet negotii qualitas hoc exegerit¹⁵⁸⁷, sed factum ipsum damus vobis in scriptis, ut per ipsam scripturam facilius intelligere possitis, unde procedat radix malitie, et in quibus

¹⁵⁷³ extortam] exortam C

¹⁵⁷⁴ relevationem] revelationem C

¹⁵⁷⁵ Romam] Romae C

¹⁵⁷⁶ cui] cum A

¹⁵⁷⁷ hoc] hec A

¹⁵⁷⁸ venerande pater] pater venerande C

¹⁵⁷⁹ me] om. M

¹⁵⁸⁰ cogitate] cogitare C

¹⁵⁸¹ guerre] om. C

¹⁵⁸² honorem] hominem C

¹⁵⁸³ cautelam] cautelem A

¹⁵⁸⁴ que] qui C

¹⁵⁸⁵ exigant] agant C

¹⁵⁸⁶ et] om. CM

¹⁵⁸⁷ exegerit] exigerit A

per archiepiscopum et alios prelatos Anglie sit lesa Romana ecclesia; qui a principio ne venirent ad vos nuncii, conati sunt impedire, et postea per continuam mendaciorum illationem procuraverunt ut populus ille peculiaris Romane ecclesie desereretur a vobis, et distractus posset omnino confundi ab illis. Intreat utique in conspectu vestro gemitus populi vestri et adversus infidelitatem et fraudem ipsius archiepiscopi, qui me iurare cegit, ne aliquam ad vos perferrem querimoniam; iuste defensionis arma sumite¹⁵⁸⁸, ne si¹⁵⁸⁹ forte, quod absit, tantum scelus impunitum remanere contigerit¹⁵⁹⁰, impunitas ipsa non solum in Anglia verum etiam¹⁵⁹¹ in multis aliis regionibus incentivum prebeat delinquendi; cum autem homicidium in lege Cornelia per dolum, in lege publica per culpam, et in lege Aquilia¹⁵⁹² similiter, committi dicatur, considerate ex hiis que dicimus et notoria sunt, utrum archiepiscopus et episcopi supradicti¹⁵⁹³ salva conscientia post homicidium perpetratum potuerunt celebrare: nec tamen¹⁵⁹⁴, omnino conscientis propriis illos credimus committendos, cum ipsis post desideria cordis sui abire liceat, et si evaserint, omnia que¹⁵⁹⁵ instinctu Spiritus Sancti facta fuisse confingant; non attendentes quod nulla pernicies vite maior inveniri potest quam in malitia simulatio intelligentie; et quod in rebus certis locus non pateat coniecturis. Quia vero nec causa suberat ex qua in me fulmen excommunicationis immitti deberet, utpote que nullo modo ad iudicium ecclesie pertinebat, etiam si ego militem illum cepissem de cuius captione superius tractatum est, cum nec ipse crucesignatus esset, nec alias privilegiata persona, nec ex persona regis causa privilegium sortiri posset, cum idem rex legitime factus etatis ulterius ad custodiam ecclesie, sicut et nuncii eius sepius ad vos protestati sunt, nullatenus pertineret; dubitari non potest quin idem archiepiscopus et fautores eius illicite iurisdictionem suam prorogaverunt; qui etiam peccantes in ordine, quod me non citatum, non confessum, neque convictum, quarta die captionis facte excommunications vinculo innodaverunt, ex odio potius

¹⁵⁸⁸ sumite] resumite *CM*

¹⁵⁸⁹ si] *om. M*

¹⁵⁹⁰ remanere contigerit] contigerit remanere *M*

¹⁵⁹¹ etiam] *et M*

¹⁵⁹² Aquilia] Aquilea *MV*

¹⁵⁹³ supradicti] predicti *C* subpredicti *M*

¹⁵⁹⁴ nec tamen] necnon *C*

¹⁵⁹⁵ que] fecerunt *add. CM*

processisse quam iustitie zelo salvare animas voluisse probantur. Cum itaque¹⁵⁹⁶, piissime pater, ex iniusta ipsius archiepiscopi et episcoporum supra nominatorum sententia, multa mihi damna provenerunt¹⁵⁹⁷, sicut amissio castri mei et rerum interius contentarum, interfectio fratris mei et aliorum consanguineorum meorum, necnon et aliorum qui ad me iure familie pertinebant, et in quibus sepe debilitatem et temeritatem ipsius regis supportaveram, et infamia gravis quam inter vicinos meos apud quos clarueram per detestationem ipsorum prelatorum aspersus sum; spoliatio uxoris mee, filii mei, et aliorum consanguineorum meorum detentio; bonorum meorum publicatio, ac demum exilium, quod absque culpa mea sustineo, cum nulla ratio patiatur ut terra defensa per me carere debeam, supplico sanctitati vestre, quatenus mihi famulo vestro in honorem Crucifixi, et in memoriam devotionis quam semper habui ad ecclesiam Romanam et habiturus sum, Deo dante, talem mihi procuretis iustitiam reddi, quod manifeste pateat prodesse¹⁵⁹⁸ sub vestra vixisse fiducia, et periculosum esse iniustis et calumniosis prelati abiecta sedis apostolice reverentia, sanctorum patrum statuta infringere, et legem facere pro sue voluntatis arbitrio, qua¹⁵⁹⁹ bonum et¹⁶⁰⁰ malum et e converso¹⁶⁰¹ censeant; ponentes lucem tenebras et tenebras lucem. In omnibus autem predictis imploramus officium benignitatis, ut status meus, qui generaliter concussus est et lesus¹⁶⁰², per vestre pietatis auxilium reformetur.

1225.14 Instabat igitur constanter dictus Falcasius et perseveranter prece et pretio aures pulsare apostolicas, usque ad impetrationem litterarum a sede apostolica domino regi Anglie per se¹⁶⁰³ destinandarum sub huiusmodi tenorem¹⁶⁰⁴:

1225.15 *Honorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Henrico illustri regi Anglie, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Certum est, fili carissime, quod nos et fratres nostri honorem et statum tuum ac regni tui pleno zelamur affectu; idque adeo clare*

¹⁵⁹⁶ itaque] igitur *MV*

¹⁵⁹⁷ provenerunt] provenerint *CM*

¹⁵⁹⁸ prodesse] *om. CM*

¹⁵⁹⁹ qua] quam *M*

¹⁶⁰⁰ et] etiam *CM*

¹⁶⁰¹ converso] contrario *C*

¹⁶⁰² et lesus] *om. A*

¹⁶⁰³ per se] *om. CM*

¹⁶⁰⁴ tenorem] tenore *M*

patet ut venire¹⁶⁰⁵ non possit¹⁶⁰⁶ in dubium, tibi vel alii¹⁶⁰⁷ cognoscenti quam spiritualiter ipsum regnum ac Romanam spectat ecclesiam; et quamvis sollicitudines ac labores eadem pro tua et eiusdem regni defensione subiit recolenti, debes ergo nostris tanquam paternis monitis et consiliis adquiescere reverenter, et recogitare quando tibi¹⁶⁰⁸ pro tuis insistamus, non magis illorum quam tuum honorem et commodum procuramus. Notum est longinquis et proximis manifestum¹⁶⁰⁹, quod dilectus filius nobilis vir Falcasius de Breaute, clare memorie Iohannini regi Anglie patri tuo fideliter, viriliter et utiliter astitit eo¹⁶¹⁰ tempore quo fidelium suorum servitio maxime indigebat: eoque defuncto illam puritatem et constantiam fidei quam erga ipsum patrem¹⁶¹¹ tuum servaverat, erga te quoque inconcusse servavit, ita quod tranquillitas, que tandem tibi ac ipsi regno est tradita, ei pro magna parte potest post Deum et apostolicam sedem ascribi. Et ecce in tua regni pace quam toto studio totisque viribus procuravit, amaritudo eius amarissima, et qui grandia grandis laboris premia expectabat, penis e contra gravissimis est affectus. Et ut taceamus ea que reparari non possunt, ille qui se totum opposuit hiis qui te pene regno tuo spoliaverunt, nunc spoliatus est omnibus bonis suis, et reputatur hostis, qui hostiles incursus a te regnoque tuo tota virtute repulit, sicut scitum est. Et certe potest esse quod postmodum excessit in aliquo, quodque te imprudenter offendit, sed grandia merita que precesserant, sibi et gravis¹⁶¹² culpe¹⁶¹³ debuerunt veniam impetrare, et a pena eius commotionem tuam vel omnino retrahere, vel saltem digno moderamine mitigare. Nunc autem negari omnino¹⁶¹⁴ non potest quin modum excesserit medicina, cum contra eum et suos sit exercita tanta severitas, quantam exercuisse sufficeret si multa demerita et nulla eius merita precessissent. Sed nec sic quidem a sue fidei puritate recessit, quinimmo in ea firmus stabilisque persistit; nihilque nos et fratres nostros rogavit obnixius, quam ut¹⁶¹⁵ de honore tuo ac statu paternam habere

¹⁶⁰⁵ ut venire] quod tibi *CM*

¹⁶⁰⁶ possit] venire *add. CM*

¹⁶⁰⁷ tibi vel alii] vel aliter *CM*

¹⁶⁰⁸ tibi] quin tibi *A*

¹⁶⁰⁹ manifestum] manifestis *M*

¹⁶¹⁰ eo] ei *CM*

¹⁶¹¹ patrem] fratrem *C*

¹⁶¹² et gravis] etiam gravius *MV*

¹⁶¹³ culpe] pene *C*

¹⁶¹⁴ negari omnino] omnino negari *M*

¹⁶¹⁵ ut] *om. C*

sollicitudinem dignaremur. Quid igitur faciendum est tibi de tali viro, nisi eum plene in tuam gratiam recipere, eique restituere sic integre omnia¹⁶¹⁶ bona sua, ut operis exhibitione demonstres quod etiam ea¹⁶¹⁷ que reparari non possunt, si tibi esset possibile, reparares, et ita eius amaritudinem beneficiis dulcorare regalibus, ut eum¹⁶¹⁸ magis ac magis astringas quem neque mors, neque vita, neque tribulatio¹⁶¹⁹, neque angustia potuit a tue fidelitatis constantia separare. Rogamus igitur serenitatem tuam, monemus et obsecramus attentius, ac petimus pro munere speciali, quatenus omnia supradicta recogitans, eundem nobilem pro nostra et sedis apostolice reverentia, ac timore denique Iesu Christi, Cuius est caractere insignatus, in plenam gratiam reassumas, sique¹⁶²⁰ restituas uxorem, filium, terram et omnia bona sua; monitiones nostras et preces taliter curans effectui mancipare, quod cognoscamus in presenti articulo quantum de tua devotione confidere debeamus. Ut autem agnoscas quantum nobis et fratribus nostris cordi sit restitutio nobilis memorati, quantoque affectu id a tua celsitudine rogamus, ecce dilectum filium nostrum magistrum¹⁶²¹. Othonem, subdiaconum et capellanum nostrum, virum utique probitatis et honestatis, ex parte nostra, nobisque ac fratribus nostris carum satis¹⁶²² suis exigentibus meritis et acceptum, ad te propter hoc specialiter, et pro tranquillitate generaliter regni tui, de ipsorum fratrum nostrorum communi consilio duximus destinandum, serenitatem tuam rogantes et exhortantes attentius, quatenus eum sereno vultu respicias, et ea que tibi duxerit proponenda, tum super aliis, tum¹⁶²³ specialiter¹⁶²⁴ super restitutione nobilis sepedicti, cures¹⁶²⁵ audire hilariter et efficaciter exaudire.

1225.16 Harum baiulus litterarum pro Falcasio fuit Otho, domini pape subdiaconus et capellanus, litteras archiepiscopis et¹⁶²⁶ episcopis et clero Anglie alias, immo alienas, qui ut videbatur a rege et regno, clero et populo, libertates et iura non

¹⁶¹⁶ omnia] *om. A*

¹⁶¹⁷ ea] *om. A*

¹⁶¹⁸ eum] *om. CM*

¹⁶¹⁹ neque vita, neque tribulatio] *nec vita, nec tribulatio C*

¹⁶²⁰ sique] *eique CM*

¹⁶²¹ magistrum] *om. M*

¹⁶²² satis] *om. A*

¹⁶²³ tum] *tamen C*

¹⁶²⁴ specialiter] *om. M*

¹⁶²⁵ cures] *om. CM*

¹⁶²⁶ et] *om. M*

tantum auferentes, immo potius¹⁶²⁷ penitus alienantes, bulla intonante apostolica sub hac forma:

1225.17 *Honorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis, episcopis, et dilectis filiis universis ecclesiarum prelati per regnum Anglie constituti, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Super muros Ierusalem custodes positi, quanto eminentiorem speculam dignitatis ascendimus, tanto imminentiori debito sollicitamur officii, ut vigilantia custodia nobis et aliis vigilemus; nobis quoque¹⁶²⁸ per meritum, aliis quoque per exemplum, quatenus in conspectu Altissimi conscientie puritas conservetur, et in facie proximi fame integritas non ledatur. Multum enim cedit ad commodum animarum, ut et conscientiam fama non deserat et famam conscientia contemptui non exponat; sed potius mutuis promoveantur suffragiis et mutuis sibi promotionibus suffragentur; propter quod in vestibus Aaron mala punica cum tintinnabulis dependebant. Porro dum attentius quid bonus honoris exposcat, quid sarcina dignitatis desideret, multa nos cura sollicitat, multe sollicitudinis urgemur instantia, qualiter Deo satisfaciamus et homini, etsi non ut volumus et debemus, saltem porut permittimur et valemus. Sane multos multotiens et audivimus et vidimus murmurantes propter expensas quas venientes ad sedem apostolicam faciebant. Scimus autem quod ex talibus inferebat presumptio detractorum, quod labia dolosa et quod lingua maliloqua presumebant, cum nonnulli sermones in publico molientes et immitentes periculosius iacula in occulto, Romanam mordere niterentur ecclesiam, parati non solum ea que rigor iustitie sed etiam que iudicium equitatis necnon et¹⁶²⁹ benignitatis gratie consummabat, suis oblocutionibus depravare, presertim apud eos qui aures prurientes habebant, et gratis erectas ad malum. Illos quoque in talibus experti sumus frequenter offendere, qui missi procurare negotia, dum ea que illis ad necessarias deputabantur expensas suis voluptatibus applicabant, ad miserabile mendacii subsidium recurrentes, alienis manibus impingebant que proprie defraudaverant. Quia vero in hiis que contra sedem apostolicam detractoribus obrepebat occasio, et ecclesiis ecclesiarumque prelati, necnon et aliis videbatur*

¹⁶²⁷ potius] *om. M*

¹⁶²⁸ quoque] *om. A*

¹⁶²⁹ et] *om. AM*

imminere gravamen, cum fratribus nostris diligentem curavimus habere tractatum, quo studio, qua cautela, secundum¹⁶³⁰ Deum et hominem, inveniremus in talibus salubrem provisionis effectum: et tandem, prout Domino placuit, communi et unanimi deliberatione consilii, rem non novam nec inexcogitatum a predecessoribus nostris sumus aggressi, volentes quod illi salubri consilio providerunt, efficaci opere consummare, videlicet, ut ad opus sedis apostolice in singulis cathedralibus ecclesiis et aliis prebendalibus, prebende singule serventur, et interim donec id fiat competentes in eisdem redditus assignetur¹⁶³¹; in monasteriis vero et ceteris regularibus domibus, ac collegiatis ecclesiis, necnon de bonis episcoporum, secundum facultates suas constituentur certi redditus pro prebendis, quorum proventus in commune recepti, tam in nostras quam in fratrum nostrorum necessitates, necnon capellanorum, cancellariorum, hostiariorum, aliorumque sedis apostolice officialium, convertantur, ut sic provideatur¹⁶³² nostris in vite necessariis et gratis omnibus omnia pro quibuscunque negotiis venientibus ministrentur, nec sit qui per se vel per¹⁶³³ alium expresse vel aliquid tacite exigat, vel etiam oblata sponte recipiat, preter bulle redditum consuetum. Quod si quis Giezticus tante cupiditati animum audebit exponere, quod contra prohibitionis nostre rigorem manus ad munus quantumcunque gratuitum presumat extendere tante pene duritie subiacebit quod preter publice confusionis obprobrium, culpam in pena cognoscat. Quis igitur frater gratie, quis devotionis filius, quis Sponsi et sponse dilectus, ad huiusmodi statum ecclesie consilio et auxilio non assurgat? Annon licet, non decet, non expedit ut sic filie dexteram porrigant ad subsidia matris que pre occupationibus multis et magnis involvitur pro necessitatibus filiarum? Nonne idem quamplures ecclesiarum prelati magnique testimonii viri tempore generalis concilii suadebant? Ne igitur tam sancti propositi consummatio retardetur, per quod¹⁶³⁴ multum crescere poterit decor ecclesie Dei, multaque subtrahi occasio detrehendi¹⁶³⁵, universitatem vestram monemus, rogamus et exhortamur in Domino, per apostolica scripta vobis mandantes, quatenus ad executionem provisionis huiusmodi tam in cathedralibus in quam aliis, ut dictum est, ecclesiis impendatis sic opem et operam efficacem, quod

¹⁶³⁰ secundum] pro C

¹⁶³¹ assignetur] assignentur CM

¹⁶³² provideatur] provideantur C

¹⁶³³ per] om. A

¹⁶³⁴ quod] om. CM

¹⁶³⁵ detrehendi] detrahendi CM

interprete facto monstretur, quantum vos domus Domini decor aliciat, quantum Sponsi et sponse amor accendat, quantum multorum relevatio moveat, quantum utilitas generalis inducat. Ceterum cum ad relevanda ecclesiarum onera et prelatorum gravamina prout possumus intendamus, de prebendis clericis Romanis vel ab apostolica sede concessis duximus providendum, ut postquam fuerint predicta completa, cum eas vacare contigerit, ad proprias ecclesias revertantur, ne si successive conferantur extraneis, sicut aliquando consuevit, filiis ecclesiarum qui continuo servitio resident redderentur inutiles, et utilitate quo ad minus fierent aliene. Datum Laterani, v kalendis Februarii, pontificatus nostri anno nono.

1225.18 Dum autem talia vel prorsus similia per universarum terrarum spatia pontifici subiecta summo prius essent promulgata, et quicumque ea audierunt, tinnierunt¹⁶³⁶ ambe aures eorum, legatus quidam, Romanus nomine, a Roma directus in Galliam, concilium¹⁶³⁷ celebravit apud Lugdunum Gallie.

1225.19 Convenerunt igitur ad capitulum Lugdunensis, Senonensis, Remensis, Rotomagensis, Turonensis, Bituricensis, Axitanus archiepiscopi; Burdegalensis Rome fuit; Nerbonensis ecclesia vacabat. Convenerunt etiam novem provinciarum suffraganei circiter centum, cum abbatibus et prioribus et singulorum capitulorum procuratoribus. Quibus sedentibus, lectisque tunc primo litteris legationis in publico, dedit licentiam procuratoribus capitulorum redeundi ad propria, retentis tamen archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, unde non immerito timuerunt ne procurata eorum absentia, qui maioris erant prudentie et experientie, et pre multitudine potentiores contradicere, maxime cum etiam peccata multorum sint¹⁶³⁸ multa, habito tractatu cum singulis et non in communi, aliquid statueret in preiudicium omnium. Dicti ergo procuratores post diutinam deliberationem miserunt ad legatum procuratores metropolitanarum ecclesiarum, qui dixerunt:

Domine, audivimus quod habetis speciales litteras a curia de exigendis prebendis in omnibus ecclesiis conventualibus. Quapropter plurimum miramur quod nihil de hoc

¹⁶³⁶ tinnierunt] tinnuerunt *A*

¹⁶³⁷ concilium] directus concilium *C*

¹⁶³⁸ sint] fuit *V*

in concilio proposuistis, nobis audientibus, quos specialiter tangit, et rogamus et obsecramus in Domino, ne istud scandalum oriatur per vos in ecclesia Gallicana, scientes¹⁶³⁹ quod sine magno scandalo et damno inestimabili non¹⁶⁴⁰ posset istud cum effectu attentari; quia, esto quod aliqui consentirent, nullus esset consensus de re que omnes tangit, cum fere omnes¹⁶⁴¹ maiores et generaliter omnes subditi, necnon rex et omnes principes, parati sunt contradicere et resistere, usque ad capitis expositionem, et omnis honoris privationem, presertim cum videatur eis imminere per hoc subversio ecclesie et regni. Ratio nostri timoris est quod cum essetis Remis, ibi habuistis sermonem cum quibusdam, et aliquibus episcopis precepistis ut cum vacaverint prebende, reservent eas ad opus domini pape.

Cum autem niteretur legatus persuadere ut consentirent, allegavit commoda que inde possent provenire, videlicet quod amoveretur infamia ab ecclesia Romana¹⁶⁴² que est caput ecclesiarum, precipue cum nullus de curia etiam sponte oblata reciperet. Tunc respondit procurator Lugdunensis:

Domine, nullo modo volumus esse sine amicis in curia.

Et contra, ipsi procuratores sua allegaverunt incommoda, scilicet dampna rerum consiliorum et auxiliorum dominorum et obsequiorum, que in ecclesiis possent fieri per canonicos et amicos suos et domesticam sequelam maxime cum exigantur a singulis ecclesiis cathedralibus due prebende una a capitulo et altera a portione episcopi, et similiter in cenobiis ubi divise sunt portiones abbatis et conventus, et a conventibus tantum quantum pertinet ad unum monachum, equali facta distributione bonorum suorum, sic enim ipsemet interpretatus fuit Remis.

Item addiderunt oppressiones que fierent, esset enim in quibuslibet¹⁶⁴³ diocesis vel ad minus in provincia necessarius unus continuus procurator Romanus, qui non viveret de proprio sed procuraciones et graves exactiones exigeret ab ecclesiis

¹⁶³⁹ scientes] *om. M*

¹⁶⁴⁰ non] *ne C*

¹⁶⁴¹ omnes] *omnis A*

¹⁶⁴² Romana] *Rome A*

¹⁶⁴³ quibuslibet] *quibusdam M*

maioribus et forte minoribus, ut nullus remaneret impunitus; nomenque procuratoris habens fungeretur vice legati.

Item dixerunt imminere turbationes capitulorum, forte enim domum daret papa cui vellet, procuratori suo vel alii, ut vice sua interesset electionibus, qui eas turbaret. Et sic lapso tempore devolveretur ordinatio ad curiam, que in omnibus vel pluribus ecclesiis Romanos poneret, vel tales qui plurimum essent devoti. Et sic nulle essent partes indigenarum prelatorum vel principum, cum multi¹⁶⁴⁴ principes sint viri ecclesiastici, qui potius curie Romane quam regi vel regno providerent.

Insuper addiderunt quod si proportionaliter fieret distributio in curia, omnes fierent divites, cum multi plus de quolibet regno essent recepturi quam rex proprius, et sic maiores non solum divites sed ditissimi fierent. Cum igitur vermis divitum sit superbia, maiores vix causas audirent, sed in immensum eas protelarent; minores inviti scriberent cum scirent se nihil percepturos. Cuius rei signum in evidenti est, quia et modo protrahimur post obsequia precepta et securitatem de percipiendis, et sic periclitaretur iustitia et oporteret conquerentes mori in ianuis tunc plenissime dominantium¹⁶⁴⁵.

Item cum vix possibile sit fontem cupiditatis desiccari, quod nunc faciunt per se tunc facerent per alios, et suis procurarent munera dari multo¹⁶⁴⁶ maiora quam nunc; modica enim in conspectu divitum cupidorum nulla sunt¹⁶⁴⁷.

Post omnia pericula ipsius Romane civitatis non tacuerunt, facerent enim multe divitie cives insanire, et sic inter diversas parentelas tante orirentur seditioes quod possent timere de ruina totius civitatis, cuius nec etiam modo est omnino expers.

Item dixerunt quod licet qui modo possiderent se obligarent ad non recipiendum, forte successores ratam non haberent illam obligationem.

¹⁶⁴⁴ multi] multo *CM*

¹⁶⁴⁵ dominantium] dominationum *A*

¹⁶⁴⁶ multo] multa *C*

¹⁶⁴⁷ modica enim in conspectu divitum cupidorum nulla sunt.] *om. M*

Ultimo dixerunt: *Moveat vos zelus universalis ecclesie et sancte sedis Romane, quia si omnium esset universalis oppressio, posset timeri, ne immineret generalis discessio, quod Deus avertat.*

Hiis auditis respondit legatus, ut videbatur, plurimum motus in bono, se cum esset in curia nunquam exactioni huic consensisse, et ipsum litteras accepisse priusquam ingressus fuerat Galliam, et tunc plurimum super hoc doluisse. Addidit etiam quod quicquid precepit super hoc, se tali conditione licet tacita intellexisse, si imperium et alia regna consentirent, que omnia consimiles habuerunt litteras, ut putabat. Addidit etiam se nihil amplius de hoc attentaturum donec imperium et regna Anglie et Hispanie consenserint, quod minime creditur posse provenire.

APPENDIX.2
A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE *CROWLAND CHRONICLE*
NOTES

0.1 Cf. Gervase, i, 88: 'Inter ipsos etiam cronicae scriptores nonnulla dissensio est'

0.2

0.3 Here the author is rehearsing the different traditions for beginning the year, either setting from the Annunciation (*a Marcio*), from Christmas (*a Decembri*), from 1 September, as Bede had done in the *Historia Ecclesiastica (a Septembri)*, or from February, which we may believe referred to 22 February, the date that Isidore of Seville, followed by Bede, had assigned to the beginning of spring, Isidore, *De natura rerum*, 7.5, in J. Fontaine (ed.), *Traité de la nature* (Bordeaux, 1960), 203.46-51. See also Gervase's treatment of the same theme: 'Quidam enim annos Domini incipiunt computare ab Annuntiatione, alii a Nativitate, quidam a Circumcisione, quidam vero a Passione', Gervase, i, 88

0.4 The reference to Varro in 'quod Varro...dissentire.' is from Augustine, *City of God*, xxi.6. The author lists the various computations of the age of the world from the Creation to the Incarnation, according to Eusebius-Jerome (5199 years), Bede (3952 years) and Marianus (4182 years)

0.5

0.6 Contrast 'Licet autem in vere creatum mundum acceperimus nos tamen Romanorum auctoritatem sequentes a kalendis Ianuarii annum inchoamus' with Gervase's 'Cogitaveram quidem jam olim ab Annuntiatione Dominica annos meos incipere', i, 90

0.7

0.8

0.9

0.10

0.11

1.1

6.1

8.1

9.1

11.1

12.1

13.1

14.1

16.1*

16.1

17.1

18.1

19.1

20.1

22.1

23.1

24.1

26.1

27.1

29.1

31.1

31.2

32.3

34.1

35.1

36.1

42.1

43.1

[...]

450.1

450.2 JW, ii, 4

450.3

452.1 JW, ii, 6

453.1 JW, ii, 6

455.1 JW, ii, 6-8

457.1 JW, ii, 8

460.1 JW, ii, 12

461.1 JW, ii, 12

463.1

465.1

466.1 JW, ii, 14

467.1 JW, ii, 14

469.1 JW, ii, 14

471.1 JW, ii, 14-6

473.1 JW, ii, 16

474.1 JW, ii, 16

474.2

474.3 JW, ii, 16

477.1 JW, ii, 18 (s.aa. 476-7)

485.1 JW, ii, 20 (s.a. 483)

488.1 JW, ii, 22

491.1 JW, ii, 22 (s.a. 490)

493.1

493.2 JW, ii, 24

497.1 JW, ii, 24

498.1 JW, ii, 24

501.1 JW, ii, 26

503.1 JW, ii, 26 (s.a. 501)

506.1

508.1 JW, ii, 28 (s.a. 507)

511.1 JW, ii, 28 (s.a. 510)

513.1 JW, ii, 28

514.1 JW, ii, 30

516.1

518.1 JW, ii, 30

518.2

518.3 JW, ii, 30

521.1 JW, ii, 32

523.1 JW, ii, 32

524.1 JW, ii, 34

525.1

525.2 JW, ii, 34

525.3 JW, ii, 34

526.1 JW, ii, 34

529.1 JW, ii, 36 (s.a. 530)

530.1 JW, ii, 36 (s.a. 529)

531.1 JW, ii, 36

532.1 JW, ii, 38

532.2

532.3 JW, ii, 38-48 (Here, the author has avoided Marianus' extensive excursus in chronology)

533.1 JW, ii, 48

534.1 JW, ii, 50

535.1 JW, ii, 50

541.1 JW, ii, 52 (s.a. 543)

548.1

548.2 JW, ii, 52 (s.a. 541)

550.1 JW, ii, 54 (s.a. 547)

552.1 JW, ii, 54

553.1 JW, ii, 54

556.1 JW, ii, 56 (s.a. 555)

557.1 JW, ii, 58

561.1 JW, ii, 58 (s.a. 559)

563.1 JW, ii, 60 (s.a. 560)

564.1 JW, ii, 60

565.1 JW, ii, 60 (s.a. 564)

566.1 JW, ii, 62

571.1 JW, ii, 62

574.1 JW, ii, 62

575.1 JW, ii, 64

576.1 JW, ii, 64

577.1 JW, ii, 64

578.1 JW, ii, 64

579.1 JW, ii, 64

582.1 JW, ii, 66

587.1 JW, ii, 68

588.1 JW, ii, 68 (s.a. 589)

591.1 JW, ii, 68 (s.a. 590)

592.1 JW, ii, 68-70

595.1 JW, ii, 70-2

596.1 JW, ii, 72

597.1 JW, ii, 72-4

599.1 JW, ii, 72 (s.a. 597)

601.1 JW, ii, 74 (s.a. 600)

602.1 JW, ii, 74 (s.a. 601)

603.1 JW, ii, 74

603.2

604.1 JW, ii, 74

605.1 JW, ii, 74

607.1 JW, ii, 78 (s.a. 608)

611.1 JW, ii, 78

611.2 WT, 105-7.

612.1 JW, ii, 80

617.1

619.1 JW, ii, 82

623.1 JW, ii, 84 (s.a. 620)

625.1 JW, ii, 84 (s.a. 620)

626.1 JW, ii, 84

627.1 JW, ii, 86

628.1 JW, ii, 86

629.1 JW, ii, 88

632.1 JW, ii, 88 (s.a. 633)

634.1 JW, ii, 90

634.2

635.1 JW, ii, 90

636.1 JW, ii, 90-2

636.2

637.1 JW, ii, 92

638.1 JW, ii, 92

638.2

639.1 JW, ii, 94 (s.a. 640)

639.2 JW, ii, 94 (s.a. 640) +

643.1 JW, ii, 96 (s.a. 642)

646.1 JW, ii, 98

651.1 JW, ii, 100

655.1 JW, ii, 106

658.1 JW, ii, 106

660.1 JW, ii, 108

660.2

663.1 JW, ii, 110

664.1 JW, ii, 112

664.2

667.1 JW, ii, 116

669.1 JW, ii, 118

670.1 JW, ii, 120

671.1 JW, ii, 120

672.1 JW, ii, 120

673.1 JW, ii, 122

674.1 JW, ii, 124

674.2

675.1 JW, ii, 126

676.1 JW, ii, 128

676.2 JW, ii, 130

677.1 JW, ii, 132

679.1 JW, ii, 134

680.1 JW, ii, 136

682.1

684.1 JW, ii, 140

685.1 JW, ii, 140

686.1 JW, ii, 144

687.1 JW, ii, 146

688.1 JW, ii, 148

689.1

690.1 JW, ii, 152

691.1 JW, ii, 152

692.1 JW, ii, 154

693.1 JW, ii, 156

693.2

694.1 JW, ii, 156 (s.a. 695)

695.1 JW, ii, 156

696.1 JW, ii, 156-8

697.1 JW, ii, 158

698.1 JW, ii, 158

698.2

699.1 JW, ii, 160

704.1 JW, ii, 160

705.1 JW, ii, 162

705.2

705.3 JW, ii, 164

708.1 JW, ii, 164 (s.a. 707)

709.1 JW, ii, 166

711.1 JW, ii, 168

713.1 JW, ii, 170

714.1 JW, ii, 170

715.1 JW, ii, 170

716.1 JW, ii, 172

716.2

716.3 JW, ii, 172

717.1 JW, ii, 174

720.1 JW, ii, 176 (s.a. 719)

722.1 JW, ii, 176 (s.a. 721)

723.1 JW, ii, 176

725.1 JW, ii, 178

728.1 JW, ii, 178

729.1 JW, ii, 180

731.1 JW, ii, 180

733.1 JW, ii, 182

734.1 JW, ii, 184

735.1 JW, ii, 184 (s.a. 734)

741.1 JW, ii, 186

741.2

741.3 JW, ii, 190

742.1 JW, ii, 192

745.1 JW, ii, 192

745.2

748.1

750.1 JW, ii, 196

752.1 JW, ii, 196

753.1 JW, ii, 196

754.1 JW, ii, 196-8

755.1 JW, ii, 198

757.1 JW, ii, 200

758.1 JW, ii, 200

759.1 JW, ii, 202

760.1 JW, ii, 202

761.1 JW, ii, 202 (s.a. 760)

762.1 JW, ii, 202 (s.a. 761)

763.1 JW, ii, 202 (s.a. 762)

766.1 JW, ii, 204

767.1 JW, ii, 204

768.1 JW, ii, 206

768.2

772.1 JW, ii, 206

773.1 JW, ii, 206-8

776.1 JW, ii, 210

778.1 JW, ii, 210

779.1

780.1 JW, ii, 212

781.1 JW, ii, 212

782.1 JW, ii, 214

783.1 JW, ii, 214

784.1 JW, ii, 214

785.1 JW, ii, 218

786.1 JW, ii, 218

787.1 JW, ii, 218

789.1 JW, ii, 222

790.1 JW, ii, 222

791.1 JW, ii, 224

793.1 JW, ii, 224

794.1 JW, ii, 226

795.1 JW, ii, 226

796.1 JW, ii, 226

800.1 JW, ii, 230 +

800.2 JW, ii, 230; *sepe...gravantur*, WT, 108.

801.1. JW, ii, 230 (s.a. 800)

802.1

803.1 JW, ii, 230; *Sanctus...floret*, Waverley, 159.

805.1 JW, ii, 232

807.1 JW, ii, 232

808.1 JW, ii, 232

810.1 JW, ii, 232 (s.a. 809)

811.1 JW, ii, 234

812.1

813.1 JW, ii, 236

815.1

817.1 JW, ii, 238

819.1 JW, ii, 238

820.1 JW, ii, 240

820.2 JW, ii, 240

823.1 JW, ii, 242

824.1 JW, ii, 242

826.1 JW, ii, 246 (s.a. 828)

827.1 JW, ii, 244

829.1 JW, ii, 250

830.1 JW, ii, 250 (s.a. 831)

831.1 JW, ii, 250

832.1 JW, ii, 250

833.1 JW, ii, 252

834.1 JW, ii, 252 (s.a. 833)

835.1 JW, ii, 252

836.1 JW, ii, 252-4 +

837.1 JW, ii, 254

839.1 JW, ii, 256

840.1 JW, ii, 256

842.1 JW, ii, 258

842.2

842.3 JW, ii, 258

844.1 JW, ii, 258

848.1 JW, ii, 268 (s.a. 855)

849.1 JW, ii, 262

851.1 JW, ii, 264

852.1 JW, ii, 266

852.2

852.3 JW, ii, 266

855.1 JW, ii, 268

857.1 JW, ii, 270

860.1 JW, ii, 274 (s.a. 858)

861.1 JW, ii, 276 (s.a. 860)

862.1 JW, ii, 280 (s.a. 866)

864.1 JW, ii, 276 (s.a. 862)

866.1 JW, ii, 280

870.1 JW, ii, 284

870.2 GRA, i, 394-5

870.3 JW, ii, 286

870.4

871.1 JW, ii, 286

872.1 JW, ii, 300

873.1 JW, ii, 300

874.1 JW, ii, 302

875.1 JW, ii, 302-4

876.1 JW, ii, 304

877.1 JW, ii, 308

878.1 JW, ii, 308

878.2

878.3 JW, ii, 312

879.1 JW, ii, 312

880.1 JW, ii, 314

881.1 JW, ii, 314

882.1 JW, ii, 316

883.1 JW, ii, 316

884.1 JW, ii, 318

885.1 JW, ii, 318

886.1 JW, ii, 322

887.1 JW, ii, 324

887.2

887.3

888.1 JW, ii, 334

889.1 JW, ii, 334

891.1 JW, ii, 336

891.2 GRA, i, 192; GP, i, 588-9

892.1 JW, ii, 336

893.1 JW, ii, 338

894.1 JW, ii, 338

895.1 JW, ii, 346

896.1 JW, ii, 346

897.1 JW, ii, 348

898.1 JW, ii, 350

899.1 JW, ii, 352

900.1 JW, ii, 352

901.1 JW, ii, 352 (With *inclitus*, the author summarises the long list of King Alfred's epithets)

901.2 GRA, i, 124

901.3 JW, ii, 354

903.1 JW, ii, 356

904.1 JW, ii, 358 (s.a. 905)

905.1 JW, ii, 358

906.1 JW, ii, 360

908.1 JW, ii, 360 (s.a. 907)

910.1 WT, 109

911.1 JW, ii, 362 (s.a. 909)

911.2 GRA i, 204-5. It is remarkable how the author supplements the short notice from JW with the narrative from GRA. It suggests that the author may have had a special interest in this story.

911.3 JW, ii, 364

912.1 JW, ii, 366

912.2 GRA, i, 198

912.3 JW, ii, 362 (s.a. 910) ; JW does not mention Gloucester, but the generic Mercia. The reading *Gloucestriam* is taken from GRA i, 198.

913.1 JW, ii, 366

914.1 JW, ii, 368

915.1 JW, ii, 370

916.1

916.2

917.1 JW, ii, 372

918.1 JW, ii, 378

919.1 GRA, i, 170-1, 198-201. *Karolus iste gener... compelleret* GRA, i, 202.

920.1 JW, ii, 382 (s.a. 921)

923.1 JW, ii, 384

924.1 JW, ii, 384

926.1 JW, ii, 386

932.1

932.2 JW, ii, 388

933.1 JW, ii, 388

934.1 JW, ii, 388

935.1 JW, ii, 392

936.1 JW, ii, 392

936.2

937.1 JW, ii, 392

938.1 JW, ii, 394

939.1 JW, ii, 394

940.1 JW, ii, 394

941.1 JW, ii, 394

942.1 JW, ii, 396

943.1 JW, ii, 396

943.2

946.1 JW, ii, 398

949.1 JW, ii, 400

949.2 Orderic, ii, 340-4; the account also occurs in *Hist. Croy.*, iii, 30-6.

950.1 JW, ii, 400

951.1 JW, ii, 402

952.1 JW, ii, 402 (s.a. 953)

953.1 JW, ii, 402

955.1 JW, ii, 404

955.2 JW, ii, 404 + *iuvenis...fraudatus est*, GRA, i, 236.

955.3 JW, ii, 404

955.4 GRA, i, 128.

957.1 JW, ii, 406

958.1 JW, ii, 408

959.1 JW, ii, 408-10

960.1 JW, ii, 414

961.1 JW, ii, 412 (s.a. 959)

963.1 JW, ii, 414 (s.a. 961)

967.1 JW, ii, 416 (s.a. 965)

968.1 JW, ii, 418

970.1 JW, ii, 420

970.2

972.1 JW, ii, 422

973.1 JW, ii, 422

973.2 GRA, i, 254-6

973.3 JW, ii, 424

974.1 JW, ii, 424

975.1 JW, ii, 424

976.1 JW, ii, 428

977.1 JW, ii, 428

978.1 JW, ii, 428-30 +

980.1 JW, ii, 432

981.1 JW, ii, 432

982.1 JW, ii, 432

984.1 JW, ii, 434

985.1 JW, ii, 434 (s.a. 986) + et quorum...audivit, It bears some resemblance to Osbern's version in *Vita Dunstablestani* but the wording is rather different, while 'Dunstablestan's prayers' are not mentioned.

987.1 JW, ii, 436

988.1 JW, ii, 436

990.1 JW, ii, 436 (s.a. 989)

991.1 JW, ii, 438

991.2 GRA, i, 279-95

992.1 JW, ii, 440

993.1 GRA i, 268-9

993.2 JW, ii, 442 (s.a. 994)

997.1 JW, ii, (s.a. 995)

998.1 JW, ii, 448

1000.1 JW, ii, 450

1001.1

1002.1 Waverley, 170

1002.2 JW, ii, 450-2

1003.1 JW, ii, 454

1004.1 JW, ii, 454

1005.1 JW, ii, 456

1006.1 JW, ii, 456

1007.1 JW, ii, 460

1009.1 JW, ii, 462

1010.1 JW, ii, 464

1011.1 JW, ii, 466-70

1011.2

1011.3 GRA, i, 294-6

1012.1 JW, ii, 470

1013.1 JW, ii, 472

1014.1 JW, ii, 476

1015.1 JW, ii, 480

1015.2 GRA, i, 312 and i, 164

1016.1 JW, ii, 480

1016.2 GRA, i, 318 - *ut ventrem purgaret* is taken from 1Reg 24:3-4

1017.1 JW, ii, 502-4

1017.2 GRA, i, 320); cf. Tob 2:3 + JW, ii, 502

1018.1 JW, ii,

1018.2 *Sancti Edmundi...ampliavit* appears in a similar form in the Bury St Edmunds interpolation (JW, ii, 643)

1020.1 JW, ii, 506

1023.1 JW, ii, 508

1024.1 JW, ii, 508

1024.2 GP, i, 470

1026.1 JW, ii, 508

1028.1 JW, ii, 510

1029.1 JW, ii, 510

1030.1 JW, ii, 510

1031.1 JW, ii, 512

1031.2

1035.1 JW, ii, 520

1036.1 JW, ii, 522

1037.1 JW, ii, 524

1038.1 JW, ii, 526

1039.1 JW, ii, 528

1040.1 JW, ii, 528-30

1041.1 JW, ii, 532

1041.2 GRA, i, 188

1041.3 GRA, i, 384-5

1042.1 JW, ii, 534

1043.1 JW, ii, 534

1044.1 JW, ii, 540

1045.1 GRA, i, 368-77

1046.1 JW, ii, 542

1047.1 JW, ii, 542

1048.1 JW, ii, 544

1048.2

1048.3

1049.1 JW, ii, 548

1050.1 JW, ii, 552

1051.1 JW, ii, 556-62

1052.1 JW, ii, 566. *Stigandus...invadit*, GP, i, 46; *unde...potuit* WM GP, i, 46

1052.1 JW, ii, 568

1053.1

1054.1 JW, ii, 574-6

1055.1 JW, ii, 576-8

1056.1 JW, ii, 580

1057.1 JW, ii, 582

1057.2 GRA, §197.

1057.3 JW, ii, 582

1058.1 JW, ii, 584

1059.1 JW, ii, 586

1060.1 JW, ii, 586

1062.1 JW, ii, 588

1063.1 JW, ii, 588 (s.a. 1061)

1064.1 JW, ii, 594

1064.2

1065.1

1066.1 JW, ii, 598-600

1066.2 GRA, i, 225

1066.3 JW, ii, 600-6

1066.4 JW, ii, 606

1066.5 Waverley, 189

1067.1 JW, iii,

1068.1 JW, iii, 4

1068.2 GRA, I, 228

1069.1 JW, iii, 8

1069.2

1070.1 JW, iii, 10-18

1070.2 Cf. Waverley, 191

1070.3

1071.1 JW, iii, 18

1071.2 JW, iii,

1071.3 GRA, i, 384-5, JW, iii, 20

1072.1 JW, iii, 20 (s.a. 1071)

1073.1 JW, iii, 22

1074.1 JW, iii, 22

1074.2 GRA, i, 265

1074.3 JW, iii, 24

1075.1 JW, iii, 26-8

1075.2

1075.3 JW, iii, 28

1075.4 Orderic has that Ingulf was an Englishman but instead of the 'conversation with Normans' he says: 'hic natione Anglicus erat, scriba regis fuerat.', *Orderic*, ii, 344.

1075.5 *GRA*, i, 520-1.

1076.1 JW, iii, 28

1077.1 JW, iii, 28

1078.1 JW, iii, 30

1079.1 JW, iii, 30

1080.1 JW, iii, 32

1082.1 JW, iii, 38

1083.1 JW, iii, 38-40

1084.1 JW, iii, 40

1084.2

1085.1 JW, iii, 42

1085.2

1086.1 JW, iii, 44

1087.1 JW, iii, 46

1087.2 JW, iii,

1087.3 Cf. *Waverley*, 198.

1088.1 JW, iii, 48

1089.1 JW, iii, 56

1090.1

1091.1 JW, iii, 56-8

1091.2 Cf. *Orderic*, ii, 346.

1091.3

1092.1 JW, iii, 62

1093.1 *Liber Memorandorum Barnwell*, 38-9.

1093.2 JW, iii, 64

1093.3

1093.4 JW, iii, 66

1094.1 JW, iii, 68

1095.1 WT, 124-37

1095.2 JW, iii, 82 (s.a. 1096)

1095.3 WT, 137

1095.4 JW, iii, 76

1096.1 JW, iii, 82

1096.2 cf. Orderic, iv, s.a. 1097.

1097.1 JW, iii, 84

1097.2 cf. Waverley, 206.

1097.3 JW, iii, 86

1098.1 JW, iii, 88

1098.2 *lancia...invenitur*, WT, 325; *Willelmus...Londonie*, cf. Waverley, 207.

1098.3 JW, iii, 86

1098.4 GRA, i, 334-5.

1099.1 JW, iii, 90; The account of the capture of Jerusalem is in JW but the dating is from WT, 410); the Ides of July fell on a Friday, not Thursday, see JW, iii, 90, n.3

1099.2 JW, iii, 90

1099.3 JW, iii, 90; *placitator*, see Waverley, 208 (*qui prius tenuerat placita sua*).

1100.1 JW, iii, 92

1100.2

1100.3 JW, iii, 92

1101.1 JW, iii, 96

1102.1 JW, iii, 100

1103.1 JW, iii, 102-4

1103.2 *Mortalitas animalium*, cf. *Waverley*, 210; *fruges...perierunt*, JW, iii, 104

1104.1 JW, iii, 106

1104.2 Cf. *Thomas of Marlborough*, xlix; see also *ibid*, 153, n.6; Wulfius is also mentioned in JW, ii, 590-1, but without the place of burial or the Badbie detail.

1104.3 Cf. *Thomas of Marlborough*, 152-3

1105.1 JW, iii, 106

1106.1 JW, iii, 108-10

1107.1 JW, iii, 110-2

1108.1 JW, iii, 112

1109.1 JW, iii, 116

1109.2 Cf. *Waverley*, 213

1109.3

1109.4 JW, iii, 118

1110.1 JW, iii, 118

1111.1 JW, iii, 118

1112.1 JW, iii, 130

1113.1 JW, iii, 132

1114.1 JW, iii, 134

1114.2

1114.3 JW, iii, 134

1114.4 Cf. Waverley, 215.

1115.1 JW, iii, 136

1116.1 JW, iii, 138-40

1117.1 JW, iii, 140

1118.1 JW, iii, 142

1118.2

1119.1 JW, iii, 144-6

1120.1 Waverley, 217

1120.2 JW, iii, 146

1121.1 JW, iii, 148

1122.1 JW, iii, 152

1123.1 JW, iii, 152

1123.2

1124.1

1124.2 JW, iii, 156

1124.3 WT, 602-3

1124.4 JW, iii, 156

1124.5 JW, iii, 150 (s.a. 1121) 'Sutrii, ignominiose satis' and 'Cavee' are from GRA, 432-4

1124.6

1124.7 JW, iii, 156

1124.8 GRA, i, 435-7 + WT, 603-4

1125.1 JW, iii, 156-60

1126.1 JW, iii, 164

1126.2 GP, i, 468-70

1127.1 JW, iii, 168

1128.1 JW, iii, 176

1129.1 JW, iii, 186

1129.2 JW, iii, 188; 'Leonus' is from WT, 643

1129.3 WT, 623

1130.1 JW, iii, 192

1131.1 WT, 625, 631-2

1131.2 JW, iii, 196

1133.1 JW, iii, 208-10

1134.1 perhaps from HH, 488

1135.1 JW, iii, 214

1135.2

1135.3

1136.1 HH, 704-6

1136.2

1137.1 HH, 708

1137.2 WT, 704-5

1137.3 WT, 754; It seems that the author transcribed the beginning of William of Tyre's chapter headings.

1137.4

1138.1

1138.2 HH, 710

1138.3 HH, 720

1139.1 Cf. *Bermondsey*, 436; *ASC E*, 136

1139.2 HH, 722

1139.3 *Aeneid*, iv, l. 373, ii, 368-9

1140.1 HH, 738

1141.1

1141.2 HH, 740-2

1141.3 WT, 710-1

1142.1 HH, 742-4

1143.1 HH, 744-6

1144.1 HH, 748

1144.2 *Waverley*, 230

1145.1 HH, 748

1145.2

1146.1 HH, 748-50

1146.2 'Huius tempore iterum combusta est ecclesia cum officinis in die Nativitatis Sancte Marie sed iterum ab eo et fratribus in melius reedificata.', MS Douai 852, fol. 54v.

1147.1 HH, 750-2. There is none of Crowland's hesitation over the emperor's hindrance in Henry's account.

1147.2

1147.3 HH, 752

1148.1

1148.2 HH, 752

1148.3

1149.1 HH, 754. *Wintonie* must be a scribal error. The reading should be *Wirecestrie*, as Henry gives it.

1150.1 HH, 756

1150.2 HH, 756-8; *Aquitanniam*, Diana Greenway notes that it is 'strange that Henry does not here mention the duchy...' (HH, 758)

1150.3 *libellum repudii*, Deut 24:3; Marc 10:4

1150.4 HH, 758

1151.1 HH, 758

1151.2

1152.1

1153.1 HH, 768, 770

1153.2

1154.1 HH,774

1154.2 Cf. Waverley, 236

1155.1 Cf. Waverley, 237

1155.2 Cf. Waverley, 237

1155.3 Cf. Waverley, 236

1155.4

1156.1 Cf. Waverley, 237

1156.2

1157.1 Cf. Waverley, 237

1157.2 Cf. Waverley, 238

1157.3

1157.4

1158.1

1158.2 Cf. Waverley, 238

1158.3

1158.4 Cf. Waverley, 238

1158.5

1159.1 Cf. Waverley, 238

1159.2 Cf. Waverley, 238

1159.3 Cf. Waverley, 238

1159.4

1159.5

1160.1 Cf. Waverley, 238

1160.2 Cf. Waverley, 238

1160.3

1160.4

1160.5

1161.1 Cf. Waverley, 238

1161.2

1161.3

1162.1 Cf. Waverley, 238

1162.2

1162.3

1162.4

1163.1 Cf. Waverley, 238

1163.2 Cf. Waverley, 238

1163.3

1163.4 Cf. Waverley, 238

1163.5

1163.6

1163.7

1164.1

1164.2

1164.3 Cf. Waverley, 238

1165.1 Cf. Waverley, p.; cf. RH, i, 240

1165.2

1165.3

1166.1

1167.1

1167.2 Cf. Waverley, 239

1167.3

1168.1 Cf. Waverley, 239

1168.2

1169.1

1169.2

1169.3

1169.4

1170.1 GRHS, i, 5

1170.2

1170.3 GRHS, i, 6-13

1171.1 GRHS, i, 19-23, 29

1172.1 GRHS, i, 31-2

1172.2 GRHS, i, 34

1172.3

1172.4

1173.1 GRHS, i, 36, 41, 44, 55, 59-60

1173.2

1173.3

1174.1 GRHS, i, 64, 80-1

1174.2

1174.3 GRHS, i, 81

1174.4

1175.1 GRHS, i, 94-5, 102, 104

1175.2

1175.3 GRHS, i, 106

1176.1 GRHS, i, 108- 28

1176.2

1177.1 GRHS, i, 165, 173-5

1177.2 RH, ii, 148 (In Crowland's reckoning, this notice should belong under 1178)

1178.1

1178.2

1178.3

1178.4

1178.5

1179.1

1179.2

1179.3

1180.1

1180.2

1180.3

1180.4

1181.1 RH, ii, 263-4

1182.1 RH, ii, 267

1182.2

1182.3 RH, ii, 272

1183.1 Cf. Waverley, 243

1183.2 RH, ii, 278, 81

1184.1 RH, ii, 288. Howden mentions only the archbishop of Cologne under 1184. Patriarch Heraclius makes an appearance under the following annal (RH, ii, 299).

1184.2 RH, ii, 288

1185.1 RH, ii, 303-5

1185.2 Cf. Waverley, 243

1186.1 RH, ii, 309-10 (*Willelmus Herefordiensis*, cf. Waverley, 244)

1187.1 RH, ii, 319-21. Howden does not mention the date of the capture of Jerusalem.

1187.2 RH, ii, 325, 333

1188.1 RH, ii, 335-60

1189.1 RH, ii, 367

1189.2 Cf. *Liber Memorandorum Bernewelle*, (ed. Clark), 57: 'ideoque miro dei iudicio contigit ut qui patrem suum spiritualem impugnavit de femore eius carnaliter egressi illum hostiliter impugnarent'; see also *Brompton* (ed. Twysden), col. 1150

1189.3 RH, iii, 8-12, 16, 23

1189.4

1190.1 RH, iii, 39, 88

1190.2 See *Hist. Croy*, iii, 457

1191.1 RH, iii, 109-10, 120-1, 139, 155

1191.2

1192.1 RH, iii, 184-6

1192.2

1193.1 RH, iii, 194, 215-6

1193.2 RH, iii, 207

1193.3 RH, iii, 213

1193.4 RH, iii, 204

1193.5 RH, iii, 225

1194.1 RH, iii, 238

1194.2

1194.3 RH, iii, 252

1194.4

1194.5 RH, iii, 270 (There must be an error here, because Henry VI, not Roger, recently deceased, was crowned in Palermo in 1194)

1194.6 RH, iii, 284-5

1195.1 RH, 276, 306

1196.1

1196.2

1196.3

1196.4 RH, iv, 9

1197.1 RH, 17, 21, 26

1198.1 RH, iv, 41, 44-5

1198.2

1198.3 RH, iv, 78

1198.4

1198.5 RH, iv, 78

1198.6 RH, iv, 125

1198.7 RH, iv, 39

1199.1 RH, iv, 84

1199.2 *telo arcubaliste* may come from GRA, i, 368; *tremor...sua*, see *Brompton*, col. 1278; *Neque enim ...sua*, Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, I, 655

1199.3 RH, iv, 90. Howden has Duke Philip crowned in Mainz, *ibid*, iv, 122.

1200.1 RH, iv, 119-20, 128, 141, 148

1201.1 RH, iv, 160, 167-70, 170-2

1201.2

1201.3

1202.1

1202.2

1202.3

1202.4 Cf. Burton, 209; Tewkesbury, 56-7; Margam, 26, Coggeshall, 137-8; Winchester, 79

1202.5

1203.1 Cf. Oseney, 51; Dunstable, 28

1203.2 Cf. Tewkesbury, 57

1203.3 *de medio factus est*, cf. Seneca, ep. 94.10; Cf. Margam, 27; Coggeshall, 143

1204.1 Cf. Bermondsey, 449; Tewkesbury, 57; Margam, 27, Coggeshall, 144; Dunstable, 28

1204.2 Cf. Tewkesbury, 57

1204.3 Also in the Mortemer continuation of Sigebert de Gembloux's Chronicle, MGH, SS, 6, 466; Cf. Coggeshall, 161

1204.4 Cf. Bermondsey, 449; Margam, 26; Coggeshall, 145-6; Dunstable, 28

1204.5 Cf. Tewkesbury, 57, Coggeshall, 151

1204.6 The information about the abbot and the earl of Leicester may have been obtained through a source travelling from Leicester.

1205.1 Cf. Margam, 28; Osney, 51, Tewkesbury, 57, Coggeshall, 156; Dunstable, 29

1205.2 Cotton MS Cleopatra E.i, fol. 138r, Gervase, ii, liv-lv; cf. Bermondsey, 449; Coggeshall, 156-7

1205.3 Cf. Tewkesbury, 57; Coggeshall, 162; Dunstable, 29

1206.1 Cf. Tewkesbury, 58; Margam, 28; Osney, 52; Dunstable, 29

1206.2 Cf. Dunstable, 29.

1206.3

1206.4 A fuller version in Cotton MS Cleopatra E.i, fol. 138r, Gervase, ii, lv.

1206.5 Cf. Osney, 52, Coggeshall, 162; Dunstable, 29.

1207.1

1207.2 The writ (Rot. Litt. Pat, 72, addressed to all), copied in MS Cleopatra (f. 138v) and printed in Gervase, ii, lviii, (addressed to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, then Thomas

of Multon) has the words: '. provisum et concessum est ad defensionem regni nostri et ad recuperationem iuris nostri'; cf. Burton, 209; Bermondsey, 450; Osney, 52; Dunstable, 29; Winchester, 79.

1207.3 *Resistit...honoraret*, MS Cleopatra E.i, f. 139v (Gervase, ii, lxii); cf. Burton, 209; Bermondsey, 450, Tewkesbury, 58; Margam, 28; Osney, 52, Coggeshall, 163; Dunstable, 29; Winchester, 79

1207.4 A fuller version in Cotton MS Cleopatra E.i, f. 140r printed in (Gervase, ii, lxiii-lxiv; cf. Tewkesbury, 58; Margam, 28-9; Osney, 52; Dunstable, 30.

1207.5 Cf. Bermondsey, 450.

1207.6 Cf. Burton, 209; Bermondsey, 451; Tewkesbury, 58; Margam, 29; Dunstable, 29; Winchester, 80.

1207.7

1208.1 Cf. Dunstable, 30.

1208.2 Cf. Burton, 209; Bermondsey, 451; Tewkesbury, 58; Margam, 29; Osney, 52-3, Coggeshall, 163; Dunstable, 30; Winchester, 80.

1208.3 Cf. Dunstable, 31.

1208.4

1208.5

1208.6 Cf. Tewkesbury, 58.

1208.7 Cf. Tewkesbury, 59; Margam, 29.

1208.8 Cf. Tewkesbury, 58-9; Winchester, 80.

1208.9 Cf. Margam, 29; Bermondsey, 451; Tewkesbury, 59, Coggeshall, 163; Dunstable, 31.

1209.1

1209.2 Cf. Tewkesbury, 59; Margam, 29; Osney, 54.

1209.3 Cf. Coggeshall, 163; Winchester, 80.

1209.4 *admonitiones plurimas publice*, these words might be a reference to the papal letters contained in MS Cleopatra E.i (Gervase, ii, xcvi-c); cf. Dunstable, 32.

1209.5

1209.6 Cf. Winchester, 80.

1209.7 Cf. Bermondsey, 451; Margam, 29.

1209.8 Cf. Winchester, 80-1.

1209.9 Cf. Tewkesbury, 59.

1209.10

1209.11

1209.12 Cf. Osney, 54.

1209.13

1210.1 Cf. Tewkesbury, 59.

1210.2 Cf. Tewkesbury, 59.

1210.3 Cf. Bermondsey, 451; Tewkesbury, 59; Margam, 30; Osney, 54, Coggeshall, 163; Dunstable, 32.

1210.4

1210.5 Cf. Coggeshall, 163.

1210.6 *siluit terra in conspectu eius*, 1 Maccabees 1:3; cf. Bermondsey, 452; Tewkesbury, 59; Margam, 29-30; Osney, 54, Coggeshall, 163; Dunstable, 32.

1210.7

1210.8 Cf. Tewkesbury, 59; Osney, 54.

1210.9

1210.10

1210.11 Cf. Margam, 30-1, Coggeshall, 164.

1210.12

1210.13

1210.14 Cf. Bermondsey, 451; Margam, 29; Osney, 54; Dunstable, 32; Winchester, 81.

1211.1 Cf. Tewkesbury, 59.

1211.2 Cf. Osney, 54-5.

1211.3 Cf. Bermondsey, 452; Tewkesbury, 60; Margam, 31; Winchester, 81.

1211.4

1211.5 Cf. Burton, 209; Tewkesbury, 60; Winchester, 81.

1211.6

1211.7 Cf. Osney, 55.

1211.8

1211.9

1211.10

1212.1 Cf. Winchester, 82, Tewkesbury, 60; Margam, 31; Osney, 55.

1212.2 Cf. Tewkesbury, 60.

1212.3 *quorum nullus maior erat duodenne*, Cf. Anonymous Leobensis, *Anonymi Leobensis Chronikon*, ed. H. Pez, in *Scriptores rerum austriacarum* (Leipzig, 1721), i, 802

1212.4

1212.5

1212.6

1212.7 Cf. Tewkesbury, 60; Winchester, 82.

1212.8

1212.9

1212.10

1212.11 *sive regis iram metuentes, sive conscientie scrupulum timentes*, Cf. Rom 13:5; cf. Margam, 32; Osney, 56, Coggeshall 164-5; Dunstable, 33-4.

1212.12

1212.13

1212.14

1212.15

1212.16

1212.17 Cf. Tewkesbury, 60; Osney, 56; Dunstable, 34.

1212.18

1212.19 Cf. Tewkesbury, 60.

1212.20 Cf. Tewkesbury, 60; Margam, 32; Osney, 55.

1213.1

1213.2 *sub nomine culvertagii et perpetue servitutis*, See M. Strickland: *The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217* (Cambridge, 1996), 118; cf. Wendover, Flores, ii, 66; Paris, ii, 538-9 giving the writ in full; cf. Coggeshall, 166.

1213.3

1213.4 *inspiratus.... placito*, Cf *Hist Croy*, III, 473; *iuraverunt...iuraverant*, see Cheney, *Innocent III and England*, 331, n. 26.

1213.5 *addidit...successoribus*, see Cheney, *Innocent III...*, 332, n. 29; cf. Coggeshall, 166; Dunstable, 36; Winchester, 82.

1213.6

1213.7 Cf. Dunstable, 36.

1213.8 *litteras conductus*, RLP, 98-99; Original as Lambeth Palace Library ms. *Cartae Antiquae* XI.7; Bermondsey, 453; Tewkesbury, 60; Coggeshall, 166; Dunstable, 36; Dunstable, 36.

1213.9 cf. Wendover, Flores, ii, 143, *vacillabant corda multorum*

1213.10 Cf. Coggeshall, 167.

1213.11 Cf. Bermondsey, 453.

1213.12 Cf. Bermondsey, 453; Tewkesbury, 60.

1213.13

1213.14 *succeverint in vinea Domini*, The summons papal letter began with 'Vineam Domini' (19 Apr 1213), Reg. 16:30 = PL 216:823–827. The text with extended commentary is also in Alberto Melloni, 'Vineam Domini—10 April 1213: New Efforts and Traditional *Topoi*—Summoning Lateran IV,' in *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. John C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), 63–73. Text with English translation is in Cheney (ed.), *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England, 1198-1216*

(London, 1953), 144–7, n. 51; *terrore et tumult*, Livy, *Ab urbe*, 32:21; cf. Coggeshall, 167; Dunstable, 34-8.

1213.15 *timebant sibi arbores que inutiliter locum regiminis occupabant*, cf. Mat 3:10; Stubbs thought the chronicler was referencing Jer 46:22, Stubbs, *Memoriale*, ii, 215. Newman interpreted the text as the indignation of the native clergy, John Newman, *Lives of the English Saints*, (London, 1844-5), ix, 87; cf. Tewkesbury, 61

1213.16

1213.17 Cf. Coggeshall, 166; Dunstable, 39.

1213.18 Cf. Tewkesbury, 61, Coggeshall, 168.

1214.1 Cf. Burton, 224, Coggeshall, 168.

1214.2 *Chronicle of Mortemer*, MGH, SS 6:467.

1214.3 *Chronicle of Mortemer*, MGH, SS, 6, 467-8.

1214.4 *Chronicle of Mortemer*, MGH, SS, 6, 467-8.

1214.5 Cf. Burton, 223; Bermondsey, 453; Tewkesbury, 61; Osney, 58, Coggeshall, 169; Dunstable, 43; Winchester, 82.

1214.6

1214.7

1214.8 Cf. Coggeshall, 170.

1214.9 *scutati et galeati*, Ezek 38:5; see Steel, K and McCracken, P 'The animal turn: Into the sea with the fish-knights of *Perceforest*' in *Postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 2 (2011), 88-100.

1214.10 Cf. Coggeshall, 169-70.

1214.11

1214.12 Cf. Winchester, 82.

1214.13 Cf. Coggeshall, 170.

1215.1

1215.2 *erat vox hec omnium et sententia una*, Ailred of Rievaulx, 'Sermon 8' on Isaiah (cited by Nicholas Vincent, in 'Feature of the Month: January 2015 - The Conference at the New Temple, January 1215', The Magna Carta Project [http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk/read/feature_of_the_month/Jan_2015 accessed 26 January 2015]; *opponerent se pro domo Domini murum*, words also in Innocent III's letter to the bishops of London, Ely and Worcester, copied in Cotton MS Cleopatra E.i (printed in Gervase, ii, xci), which may have been in Roger's hands, because he also used other items from that volume.

1215.3

1215.4 Cf. Winchester, 82.

1215.5

1215.6 *presentate sunt littere domini pape*, see *Letters Innocent*, 167, n. 1001 (Grave gerimus et), March 19 1215; *omnes conspirationes vel coniurationes*, expression occurring in and most certainly taken from Innocent's bull of annulling

Magna Carta (Etsi karissimus, *Letters of pope Innocent III*, ed. Cheney, 170, n. 1018; original bull included in MS Cleopatra E.i, fol. 155.

1215.7 Cf. Coggeshall, 171; Dunstable, 43.

1215.8

1215.9 *invallescebant voces eorum*, Luc 23:23; cf. Coggeshall, 171; Dunstable, 43.

1215.10 *revelatis...cogitationibus*, Luc 2:35

1215.11

1215.12

1215.13

1215.14 Cf. Coggeshall, 172; Dunstable, 43.

1215.15

1215.16 *factus est...priore*, WT, 145 or Matt 27:64; *superseminante zizania*, Matt 13:25; *munitiunculas*, 2Maccab 16:15; cf. Coggeshall, 173.

1215.17

1215.18

1215.19

1215.20 *mandatum apostolicum*, from the papal bull *Miramur Plurimum* (7 July 1215) (cor. to *Mirari cogimur Et*, F. M. Powicke, 'The Bull 'Miramur plurimum' and a Letter to Archbishop Stephen Langton, 5 September 1215' in *EHR* 173 (1929), 87-93; *The*

Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England and Wales, ed. C. R. Cheney and M. G. Cheney, (Oxford, 1967), 169-70, n. 1016; cf. Coggeshall, 174.

Powicke, 'The Bull Miramur', 90: 'The situation early in September is described with much exactness by Walter of Coventry, who clearly had our document in mind.' Actually he surely had it in hand (Canterbury, Christ Church Archives, CCA-DsCc-ChAnt/M/247, 5 September 1215)

1215.21

1215.22 Cf. Tewkesbury, 61; Dunstable, 43.

1215.23 *in caput regis... descenderet*, Cf. Ps. 7:16

1215.24

1215.25

1215.26

1215.27

1215.28 *sicque divisi... mala in terra*, 1Mac 1:9.

1215.29

1215.30

1215.31 *videntes ex complicibus eorum quidam*, Mat 28:17; cf. Dunstable, 45.

1215.32 Cf. Osney, 58; Coggeshall, 175; Dunstable, 43-4.

1215.33

1215.34

1215.35

1215.36

1215.37 *operis antiquitate et soliditate*, WT, 206; *nutriti errant in deliciis*, 2Chron 10:10; *pavore percussi*, see Livy, *Ab Urbe*, 3.8, D. R. Shackleton Bailey, 'Textual Notes on Lesser Latin Historians', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 85 (1981), 170; cf. Tewkesbury, 62; Coggeshall, 176.

1215.38 Cf. Burton, 224; Tewkesbury, 62; Osney, 58; Dunstable, 44; Winchester, 82.

1215.39 Cf. Caesar, *De Bello Civili*, i, 44.

1215.40

1216.1

1216.2 Cf. Coggeshall, 177.

1216.3 Cf. Coggeshall, 178.

1216.4 Cf. Burton, 224; Tewkesbury, 62; Osney, 58-9, Coggeshall, 181; Dunstable, 45-6; Winchester, 82.

1216.5 Cf. Dunstable, 46; Winchester, 82.

1216.6 Cf. Winchester, 82.

1216.7 Cf. Coggeshall, 182; Dunstable, 47.

1216.8 Cf. Bermondsey, 454; Tewkesbury, 62; Osney, 60; Coggeshall, 183.

1216.9

1216.10

1216.11

1216.12

1216.13 Cf. Burton, 224; Bermondsey, 453; Tewkesbury, 62; Margam, 33; Osney, 60; Coggeshall 183-5; Dunstable, 48; Winchester, 83.

1216.14

1216.15

1216.16 Cf. Tewkesbury, 62.

1216.17

1216.18

1216.19 Cf. Winchester, 83.

1216.20

1216.21

1216.22

1216.23

1216.24

1216.25 Cf. Dunstable, 45.

1217.1 *plaga orientalis*, Ez 47:18.

1217.2

1217.3

1217.4

1217.5 Perhaps from William of Tyre who used it three times, WT, 144-5, 825, 1019); 1Kgs. (1 Sam) 2:12.

1217.6

1217.7

1217.8

1217.9

1217.10

1217.11 Cf. Dunstable, 49.

1217.12 *rem gladiis cominus peragunt*, WT, 255); cf. Dunstable, 49.

1217.13 Cf. Burton, 224; Bermondsey, 454; Tewkesbury, 62; Coggeshall 185-6; Dunstable, 50, Winchester, 83.

1217.14 *matrone... sua*, WT, 690; cf. Dunstable, 50.

1217.15 Cf. Burton, 224; Dunstable, 50.

1217.16 Cf. Dunstable, 50.

1217.17

1217.18

1217.19 Cf. Dunstable, 50.

1217.20

1217.21 Cf. Burton, 224-5; Bermondsey, 454; Tewkesbury, 63; Dunstable, 50-1.

1217.22 *sed causa... cum eo*, cf. Luc 1:66.

1217.23

1217.24

1217.25

1217.26

1218.1

1218.2

1218.3 Cf. Dunstable, 54.

1218.4 Cf. Bermondsey, 454; Tewkesbury, 63; Coggeshall, 186; Dunstable, 52.

1218.5

1218.6 Cf. Burton, 225.

1219.1 Cf. Coggeshall, 186; Dunstable, 53.

1219.2

1219.3 Cf. Coggeshall, 187; Dunstable, 55.

1219.4

1219.5

1219.6 *secundum tenorem litterarum*, The reference is to two papal letters also preserved in the Peter of Blois corpus (letters CXCV and CXCVI, PL 207 cols. 478c-480d). Letters also referenced in L. T. Belgrano and C. Imperiale (eds.), *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi Continuatori*, 5vols (Rome, 1890-1929), ii, 147-8; cf. Peter of Blois, Letters, CXCV (PL 207 cols. 478c-479d); letter also in Cronicon Tolosani Canonici Faventini (Cronache dei secoli 13 e 14, ed. M. Tabarrini, Firenze 1876), 704-6; Röhricht, *Studien* (1891), III, 39-40, n. 2.

1219.7

1219.8 Cf. T. Arnold, (ed.), *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, Rolls Series 96, 2vols (London, 1890), i, 376-377; cf. Burton, 225; Bermondsey, 454; 64; Coggeshall, 187; Dunstable, 55-6; Winchester, 83.

1220.1 *quasi miraculum*, 1Sam 14:15; cf. Dunstable, 57.

1220.2

1220.3 Cf. Bermondsey, 454; Dunstable, 57.

1220.4 Cf. Coggeshall, 187; Dunstable, 57; Winchester, 83.

1220.5

1220.6

1220.7 Cf. Burton, 225; Bermond, 454; Tewkesbury, 65; Margam, 33; Osney, 62; Dunstable, 58; Winchester, 83.

1220.8 Cf. Coggeshall, 188.

1220.9

1220.10 Cf. Coggeshall, 188.

1220.11

1220.12 *sermonem ad populum fecit*, perhaps in reference to 'Sermo de translatione beati Thomae martyris', 'Tractatus de translatione', in J. A. Giles, *Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis, Documenta historica*, (Oxford, 1845-6).

1220.13

1220.14 Cf. Winchester, 83.

1221.1 *tanquam canis ad vomitum*, Prov 26:11.

1221.2 Cf. Coggeshall, 188; Dunstable, 63-4.

1221.3 *eadem...vobis*, Luc 6:38.

1221.4 Cf. Tewkesbury, 65; Coggeshall, 188-9.

1221.5

1221.6 Cf. Tewkesbury, 65; Coggeshall, 190; Dunstable, 68-9; Winchester, 84.

1221.7 Cf. Abingdon Chronicle (ed. Halliwell, 1844), 1, 35; cf. Osney, 62.

1221.8

1221.9 *versus est in luctum*, Lam 5:15; cf. Tewkesbury, 66; Coggeshall, 189; Dunstable, 75.

1221.10 Cf. Coggeshall, 190.

1221.11

1221.12

1221.13

1221.14 Cf. Coggeshall, 190; Dunstable, 75.

1222.1

1222.2 Details of the council and the transmission of its canons are discussed in Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods* (Oxford, 1964), ii, 100-25; cf. Osney, 62; Coggeshall, 190; Dunstable, 76; Winchester, 84.

1222.3 Cf. Coggeshall, 191; Dunstable, 76.

1222.4

1222.5 Cf. Winchester, 84.

1223.1 Cf. Tewkesbury, 66; Osney, 63; Coggeshall, 193; Dunstable, 81; Winchester, 84.

1223.2 Cf. Bermondsey, 455; Tewkesbury, 67; Coggeshall, 193-4; Dunstable, 81; Winchester, 84.

1223.3

1223.4

1223.5

1223.6 Cf. Dunstable, 90.

1224.1

1224.2

1224.3 *a satellite...sublimavit*, Cf. J. Clark (ed.), *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle* (Cambridge, 1907), 60; *machinis frequentibus... debilitat*, WT, 832; *maiores...compellebant*, WT, 833; Cf. Burton, 225; Bermondsey, 456; Tewkesbury, 67; Osney, 65; Coggeshall, 205-8; Dunstable, 86-9; Winchester, 84.

1224.4

1224.5

1224.6 Patent Rolls, 464-5.

1225.1

1225.2 Cf. Dunstable, 93; Winchester, 84.

1225.3

1225.4

1225.5

1225.6

1225.7

1225.8

1225.9

1225.10 *provisum est a domino papa*, also printed in MGH LL 2:255-6.

1225.11

1225.12

1225.13

1225.14

1225.15

1225.16

1225.17

1225.18 *quicumque... eorum*, 1Sam 3:1.

1225.19 W. Lunt, *Financial relations of the papacy with England*, 2vols (Cambridge, MA, 1939-62) and R. Kay, R., 'An eyewitness Account of the 1225 Council of Bourges' *Studia Gratiana*, 12 (1967), 61-80; Kay, *The Council of Bourges, 1225: a documentary history* (Ashgate, 2002), 270-85.

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