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978-1-108-04303-8 - Bartholomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana (AD 449–1298)

Edited by H.R. Luard

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### **Bartholomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana (AD 449–1298)**

Bartholomaeus de Cotton, the Cellarer of Norwich Cathedral Priory, died in 1321/2. His most important work is the *Historia Anglicana*, written in 1292, with a few later additions. Book I, the history of Britain, taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, was omitted by H.R. Luard from this 1859 edition. Book II, the history of England, is divided into two sections, from 455 to 1066, and from 1066 to the end of the thirteenth century. The work is most valuable for the period after 1264, as one of Cotton's sources, an anonymous Norwich chronicle, contains material not found elsewhere, and he also quotes from ecclesiastical and royal documents. Book III gives the history of the bishops and archbishops of England, mostly taken from other sources but with some useful material relating to the Diocese of Norwich. A glossary is provided.

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**RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI  
SCRIPTORES,**

OR

**CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND**

DURING

**THE MIDDLE AGES.**

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**THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS**  
OF  
**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND**  
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE  
DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

---

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

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The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,  
December 1857.*

---



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BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON

MONACHI NORWICENSIS

HISTORIA ANGLICANA.





ascendens. Tu nec dicit es et es in qua sedeo mea es. nec dicit qui suppone meo vest-  
fretet impio. Supp g't ne in dnam meam ascendis. nec vestes ut dicit dominarous  
qui in adfata psumas. q'que no de morte confidens. pedes e'egit et quia si p'ficia  
madefert. rex autē respiciat. Gaude omf h'arantofe uanam et fructuam. p'  
ee potendā nec res' quap'iam nomine dignum p'd eum cui nra celum tra mare le-  
tib; obediunt. etius. Rex g' h'uit n'g' p'p'ra coronam auyeam d'ua sue ip'p'it. s'  
sup ymaginem d's que quicquid erat p'sint eam metuum i laudem dei regis' usq'm  
quus ma' h'uit. Regis anima quere p'suat' d'na. post eius morte regnauit h'ayal-

Dus filius. eius. **De Haroldo filio h'anni** anno g' 1034.

**H**aroldus filius h'anni rex et alpine filie alstini duos electus e' in rege cont'  
uoluntate quozdam. que t'p'icus consul et omf p'ncipes boreales plantū h'ue  
runt apud Exoniā. Nondominos uo electus h'ayaldum filium duos 1034 h'ni  
ut conseruaret regnū s'i suo h'ayaldenit qui erat in dacia. Consilio uo into d'ia  
alunt Emmam reginam i Westex i loco filii sui h'ayaldenit ap'd Vinest' of  
ueget de dacia. **H**ayaldens u' rex exaluit Emmam noiam suā q' dicit' ad  
baldeh'num ducē fland'ie honorifice suscep't. cui r' dicit et castri de beuges  
ut ibi p'ndinayer. C'itē n. notius adhuc teney etate manebat cum rege s'froy  
erat n. s'ctus regat. **E**odem anno. d' aredd' h'chiep't. et successit ei adius. **H**a-  
yaldus uo cum regnasset. iij. ann' et mensib; iij. mortem sensit ap' oxford. et sepul-  
tus est ap'd Westmonast'riū. In dieb; autē illis reddite filiant. xvi. puppib; ab unoq;

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**H**om. em. m. p. a. y. g. m. s. i. n. e. a. p. r. i. s. s. u. i. t. e. m. p. e. / **De Haroldo Rege Angl. & q. Regem.**  
 Haroldus filius Knuti & emne regine uelens a Dana. apud sancto Eick illico  
 suscepit & in regem electus siml ab anglis & danis / Eodem anno uenit ead.  
 Haroldus filius Etheledi Regi & emne p. d. de sermania ad regem Haroldus Hen  
 suum / Haroldus autem cum regnasset .ii. annis mortuus est / Flore iuuentutis sue  
 apud Lambetham / Tante namq. laigitatis filiar ut p. dia. .iii. girls in die omni ante  
 sue p. zandentibz facit apponi / Sepulchus .n. e. apud Gintona uel p. tem sua / Knut / Hro  
 de q. angloy iam a dominio danoy / Uelleyes fit sunt p. Alredo p. mo genito  
 filio ethedi / mittentes ut regni diademate coronaretur / At ille cum eet p. t. Angliat  
 & matre / Formatus ex formatus sanguines sup in angliam eorum addit p. des  
 ud anglie / dignati quod tantam copiam no. mannoz ferim. addit / confilio God.  
 Gni comitis danie & produide capti / sunt uozmani qui uelant cu. Alredo / & cu  
 i. ordie sedeyent / nouem semp. decipitati / sunt & demus remanfit ap. Gildesford /  
 cum autem no remanisset & omibz / il decima ps. ad huc nimum si fit e. angli. cot. fit  
 et fecerunt adhuc decimam decime & sic pauissimi remanferunt / q. & euasent & hoc

**Deinaco Neulle.**

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MS. BEKT. MUS. COTT. Nero, C. V.

(Bartholomew de Cotton)

Dug. &amp; Sen. Jith. to the Queen.

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MONACHI NORWICENSIS

HISTORIA ANGLICANA;

(A.D. 449—1298.)

NECNON EJUSDEM

LIBER DE ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIS  
ANGLIÆ.

EDITED

BY

HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A.,

FELLOW AND ASSISTANT TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S  
TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

L O N D O N :

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS.

—  
1859.

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**P R E F A C E .**  
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## P R E F A C E.

BEFORE anything is said respecting the Author and the extent of the very valuable and important chronicle now for the first time published, it will be necessary to explain at some length the manner in which the Editor's work has been performed, as the peculiar method adopted in the present volume is here for the first time tried, and thus to a certain extent partakes of the nature of an experiment.

That so valuable a history as that of BARTHOLOMEW DE COTTON, contemporary in the strictest sense of the word, should have slept in MS. for so long, (with the exception of the few extracts given by Wharton,) in spite of the expressions which have from time to time been made of the advisability of its publication, will seem strange at first sight; for this Historian has not, like some others, been seen at one period, and then been lost sight of, till accidentally found buried in one of our great MS. collections; but the work has been always accessible, and has been consulted with more or less advantage by almost all historians who have concerned themselves with original documents, from Tyrrell to Pauli. One cause may perhaps be found in the fact of so considerable a portion of our author being derived directly from older chronicles; and thus, while there are minute additions and alterations even in the early portions sufficient to make it appear scarcely advisable to omit them altogether, it may yet have been thought by some that to

Probable reasons why this work has never yet been published.

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publish an abridgment of a well-known work, where the language is frequently injured, and the facts occasionally distorted, by the careless way in which the abridgment is made, was in no way to be desired. And thus the way in which our author has hurried over his account of the early history of England, and indeed almost the whole work till he comes to his own time, has prevented the very important record of the last years of Henry III. and of the greater portion of the Reign of Edward I. from seeing the light.

Plan of the  
edition.

It was suggested to me, after I had observed how entirely the beginning of the present history is an abridgment of one earlier chronicler in particular, that it would be well to print such portions of the MS. in a smaller type than that which has hitherto been employed in the works of the present series. And on thinking over this, it occurred to me that if this plan of separating new matter from old,—what the author wrote and what he copied,—by means of a difference of type, were followed out into minute details, not only would the reader be able to see at a glance the new matter without the trouble of wading through the old, but that I could also show the manner in which these chronicles were sometimes compiled, by leaving out a sentence here, putting in a few fresh words there,—the chronicler sometimes abridging in his own language the author from whom he is copying, at others enlarging or amplifying it by the insertion of epithets, or fresh sentences altogether,—while at the same time the work could be read without any inconvenience exactly as the author has left it. And that thus, especially if a collation of the variations from the author that is being followed were given at the foot of the page, a far better idea of the character of the compiler would be obtained than by the most lengthy dissertation, or the most varied examples; while those who merely look into a chronicler for fresh facts, or a

Old matter  
disting-  
uished  
from new.

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## PREFACE.

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new recital of old ones, would be saved the trouble of reading over what they have already known elsewhere.

Another advantage, too, is to be gained by this process; a collation of the text of the author whom the chronicler takes for his guide in his abridgment, if done with sufficient care, will show which of the MSS., and so in some cases which revision of his author's text (in cases where there is known to have been more than one) he has followed; and thus will prove that such revision is at least as old as the date of the copyist, and most probably that one most in vogue at the time. And by this means it may be possible to recover the genuine text, or at least to ascertain which of the MSS. approaches nearest to it, of some of our older chroniclers. Again, it is most important in weighing the evidence for a historical fact to remember that the same principle according to which credit is given to a particular reading, also applies to the credit we attach to a particular fact. "If of twenty MSS. agreeing in any reading, nineteen can be proved to have been copied from the twentieth, the reading manifestly does not rest on the authority of twenty MSS. but of one."<sup>1</sup> So if we find a fact stated by any number of different chroniclers, and we can prove that all after the first are indebted for their knowledge of it to him, the fact must rest solely on the credit due to this one, and he alone should be quoted as its authority. Thus, for instance, it is surely incorrect to quote Henry of Huntingdon as an additional authority for those facts which he has manifestly taken from Bede or from the Saxon Chronicle.

The plan, then, which I have pursued is as follows. All the matter which is clearly directly derived from an older source I have printed in small type; all

Advantages to be gained by the process.

Account of the method pursued.

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<sup>1</sup> Arnold's *Thucydides*: Preface, p. vi.

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which I believe to be the compiler's own, in type of the ordinary size. It will be seen that he continually introduces single words, as pointing out more distinctly the person spoken of; affixing, for instance, the word *rex* to the name of a king, or *prædictus*, when applicable. These I have always printed in the large type, in which, of course, all the actual additions of the compiler appear. Where he has omitted anything, either words or sentences, as is continually the case, I have indicated the omission by the usual row of points. At the foot of the page will be found a collation of the author who is abridged or copied, sufficiently full to show all the differences of any importance, and at the same time to point out in what way the abridgment or copy has been made. I do not think that omissions of any importance will be discovered: the great difficulty has been to preserve perfect consistency in the plan adopted. Sometimes the most trifling variation will show which chronicler our author is following, while it would be clearly unadvisable always to give every variation of a conjunction or preposition. The difference in spelling of proper names, as being almost entirely due to the oscitancy of scribes, I have scarcely ever noticed; and the same may be said in the variations in giving the titles of kings, such as *rex Francorum* or *rex Francia*, and the like, which are indiscriminately employed.

In many cases the author gives an abridgment of a sentence of greater or less length, in his own language. In these cases, where it has been clearly derived from his original, I have printed it in the smaller type, though the words may be different, and have put the word 'abridged' in a note at the foot of the page. In all other cases it is to be supposed that the exact words of the original are followed by our author.

Difficulties  
of the pro-  
cess.

In the earlier portion of the work, where one chronicle has been the authority, the process described is tolerably



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easy, and not attended with much risk of error. It is where several historians have been used at the same time, involving the necessity of examining one after the other to see which is the one followed in each particular case, that especial pains have to be employed to insure correctness. And the labour is considerably enhanced by the author not always following the order in which his authorities narrate the facts described, but returning and mentioning a fact that the historian he is copying had given some pages back, or even under another year. It would perhaps be too much to hope that I have been successful in tracing back to their source every passage in my author which has been derived from an earlier one. I do not think, however, that many omissions in this respect will be discovered. The greatest vigilance has been found necessary in endeavouring to ascertain which of various chroniclers, who all mention a fact in nearly the same words, our author is copying; a single unimportant word or particle is often what determines the decision. This has been especially the case of the two chroniclers, Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris<sup>1</sup>; as

---

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps almost superfluous to add that I have received considerable assistance from Mr. Coxe's valuable collation of the texts of Wendover and Paris, which forms the appendix to his very able edition of the former Chronicler. At the same time, I have in all cases myself compared the two texts, as very often trifling variations which Mr. Coxe has omitted (see his preface, p. viii.) have been the means of showing me which of the two my author follows. A few instances are here subjoined:—

	R. W.	M. P.
T. ii. p. 21, l. 15,	gravi mugitu	gravi terræ mugitu.
„ „ 23, l. 5,	sum	deest.
„ „ 25, l. 15,	generavit	procreavit.
„ „ 302, l. 32,	se	deest.
„ „ 314, l. 33,	omnem	omnes.
„ „ 363, l. 8,	concurrunt	occurrunt.
„ „ 409, l. 7,	viginti duobus	duodecim.

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PREFACE.

I think it can be proved that he had both the MSS. on his desk, and continually turned from one to the other. Very apparently trifling changes have shown me which of the two is his original from time to time.

The object,  
to ascertain  
the author's  
authority.

One point must be especially borne in mind. My object is not to ascertain who is the original authority for any fact or statement, but—who is my author's authority? Which of the chroniclers we have now in print did he take as his guide for the facts he relates? For instance, in referring a fact to Roger of Wendover, and the next to Matthew Paris, I do not mean to imply *necessarily* that the second is not in the former's work, but that I believe my author to have changed from the one to the other in his compilation. The reasons for this, when the collation at the foot of the page does not show them, will at once be seen by a reference to the chronicler whose name is placed in the margin. The method followed has been to place in the inner margin of the page the name of the authority which is supposed to be continually employed, excepting at the passages which are printed in larger type, until another appears in its place. In some few instances (as in pp. 1, 2,) the names of authorities are given in the margin opposite to matter printed in larger type, because they seemed the actual source from which the facts had been obtained, though the author has by alteration made the passages entirely his own. In the latter portion of the work I have occasionally inserted the names of authorities in the

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	R. W.	M. P.
T. ii. p. 438, l. 30,	Ricardus	<i>addit</i> Par. commotus vehementer.
T. iii. „ 1, l. 12,	patris sui	patri suo.
„ „ 6, l. 6,	unum	<i>deest.</i>
„ „ 14, l. 19,	dotarium consuetum	dotem suam consuetam.
„ „ 15, l. 3,	dimisit	divisit.
„ „ 70, l. 12,	diligenter	diligentissime.

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margin where our author is entirely original, in order to point out who the other chief authorities for the facts are, especially in cases where by consulting them the text is illustrated.<sup>1</sup>

Such, then, is the plan which has been adopted in the present work. I cannot but hope that it may meet with approval from historical students. Had all our chronicles been edited in this way, how much more should we have known of their origin! How much labour might have been saved to all who consult them! Many valuable facts respecting their composition, and even authorship, might thus be obtained. In the present volume some light appears to me to be thrown on the vexed question of the composition of the chronicle called Matthew of Westminster's (see below, p. xxxix); and it is very interesting to trace the connexion of the different monasteries between which the respective annals preserved and continued in each were handed about. Thus a considerable portion of our volume comes from Bury St. Edmund's, the nearest great monastery to that of Norwich.

Advantages gained by this method of editing.

In the greater portion of the present volume the advantages obtained seem obvious. But a chief feature of the History now published is the quantity of papal bulls, royal letters, and other documents which it contains; the greater part hitherto unpublished, though many of them are in print in the usual collections. At first sight the plan did not seem applicable in the same way to these, as they could not of course (except in a few instances) be copied from other chronicles, but were probably taken

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<sup>1</sup> The chronicles are always referred to by the page of the particular edition I have used. A list of these editions will be found at the end of the preface. In the collocation at the foot of each page I denote the chronicler who is being copied by his initials, the names of others, when mentioned, being written rather more fully. Thus, if Wendover is the authority, I speak of him as R. W., while when Matthew Paris is followed, I write the name of the former Rog. of Wend.

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from original copies to which the collector had access. It seemed to me, however, that it would be of great advantage to historical students if, in putting forth a new copy of a document already well known by its being in Rymer, or Wilkins, or Baronius, or Prynne, I could show at a glance what its variations were from the copy in these receptacles, especially if any additional matter were introduced. The same method has been, therefore, employed in these portions as in the others. Such documents as are already in print are printed in small type; a careful collation with the copy in Rymer or in Baronius, &c., has been given in the margin, and all additions are printed in larger type. A good instance of this may be seen in the case of the treaty between Edward I. and the Emperor Adolf of Nassau, of which the copy on the English side is given in Rymer, while that on the German is not known to exist anywhere but in the present chronicle.<sup>1</sup> Here a reader may see at a glance by the difference of type what the distinctive points of the German document are (pp. 240–244).

Blunders of  
the com-  
piler.

It will be seen in how many cases the compiler has made absolute nonsense of the author he is abridging by his omissions. When this could be remedied by the insertion of an omitted verb, or even two or three words or relatives, I have usually corrected it by the help of the authority that is followed; (all editorial additions being inclosed in square brackets,) and obvious blunders have been corrected. Sometimes by striking out an *et* or a *qui* the sense has been made clear. I have, however, always, when possible, followed my MS., as in a compilation of this description to smooth away all inelegancies,—even to correct all blunders,—would be to change its character,—and the MS. has been in no case altered without the reader being informed of it.

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<sup>1</sup> See Pauli: "Geschichte von England": iv. p. 718.

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## PREFACE.

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A question may naturally arise as to the way in which such a chronicle as the present was composed. Did the author dictate his work to a scribe? Did he himself write it, abridging from MSS before him as he went on? Or did he, lastly, alter with a pen the MS. of the chronicle he took as his authority from time to time, putting marks to guide a scribe what to insert and what to omit, in copying the whole out in a fair hand? The evidence to be derived from the plan pursued in the present volume is in favour of all these methods being used at different times. Many of the obvious blunders are just what would be caused by the scribe's incorrectly hearing what was dictated to him; many of the unfinished sentences are just such as might be written by a person dictating to another from a book, and abridging as he went on, changing the construction of his author at the beginning of a sentence, and forgetting that the end would require change also. On the other hand, many of the minor additions are such as might be written on the margin of a book, as glosses which make the text clearer, or sometimes (see a wonderful instance of this in p. 39, l. ult.) corrupt it. But a better judgment may be formed on these points after some details have been given of the manner in which the different portions of the history have been compiled or abridged.

In what way was the compilation made?

I turn now to the author and the MSS. of his history.

Beyond the fact that Bartholomew Cotton, or De Cotton,<sup>1</sup> as he should perhaps be more correctly called, was a monk of Norwich, and that he did not survive the year 1298, the last year of which the annals are given, nothing whatever is known of him. This fact is stated in the colophon to the present work:

The author.

“Explicit Tractatus de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ, compilatus a fratre Bartholomæo de Cotton,

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<sup>1</sup> The Cotton from which he takes his title is most probably the place of that name in Suffolk.

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PREFACE.

“ monacho Norwycensi, anno gratiæ MCCXCII. cum  
 “ ii. præcedentibus libris, scilicet, primo de regibus  
 “ Britonum, et secundo de regibus Anglis, Dacis, et  
 “ Normannis; ejus animæ propicietur Deus. Amen.  
 “ Pater noster. Ave Maria.”

Besides the date of the compilation of the third book of the history, we learn from this that this MS. was written after Bartholomew's death.

The only other work that is known to be extant by him—I believe the only other mention of his name that is to be found—is contained in a MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and is entitled “ *Optimæ compilationes de libro Britonis secundum ordinem Alphabeti, per Bartholomeum de Cottune compilata. A.D. 1291.*”<sup>1</sup>

The MSS. The MS. which has been the one used and referred to by all who have consulted this history of late years, Cotton MS. —I believe the only one in existence that contains the Nero. C. v. greater portion,—is preserved among the Cotton MSS in the British Museum, and is marked Nero. C. v. It is a folio, written in a clear scribe's hand of the beginning of the fourteenth century, consisting of 120 leaves, numbered in a modern hand from 160 to 280, as the MS. is bound up with another, as is so often the case with the Cottonian MSS,<sup>2</sup> and the foliating has been carried on throughout. As it is by these numbers that reference has been always hitherto made to the MS., I have inserted them in the margin of the

<sup>1</sup> This is a mere collection of explanations of words, alphabetically arranged. It begins “ Incipiendum est de a. Et nota quod a est prepositio et interjectio et nomen.” The last word is *zizania*. At the end are the following verses :—  
 Hic ego doctorum compegi verba  
 sacrorum,  
 In serie, quorum patet undique lex  
 dubiorum.

Sit tibi, caelorum rex, gloria, culmen honorum,  
 Quod completorum mihi hic est meta laborum.  
 Te precor almorum comitem me fac monachorum,  
 Sorte beatorum quod sim velut unus eorum.

<sup>2</sup> In this instance with a MS. of Marianus Scotus.