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978-1-108-04314-4 - Annales Monastici: Volume 4: Annales Monasterii de Oseneia (A.D. 1016-1347)

Chronicon Vulgo Dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes (A.D. 1066-1289) Annales Prioratus de Wigornia (A.D. 1-1377)

Edited by Henry Richards Luard

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VOLUME 4:

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(A.D. 1016-1347)

CHRONICON VULGO DICTUM CHRONICON

THOMAE WYKES (A.D. 1066-1289)

ANNALES PRIORATUS DE WIGORNIA

(A.D. 1-1377)

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Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108043144

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This edition first published 1869

This digitally printed version 2012

ISBN 978-1-108-04314-4 Paperback

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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
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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He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be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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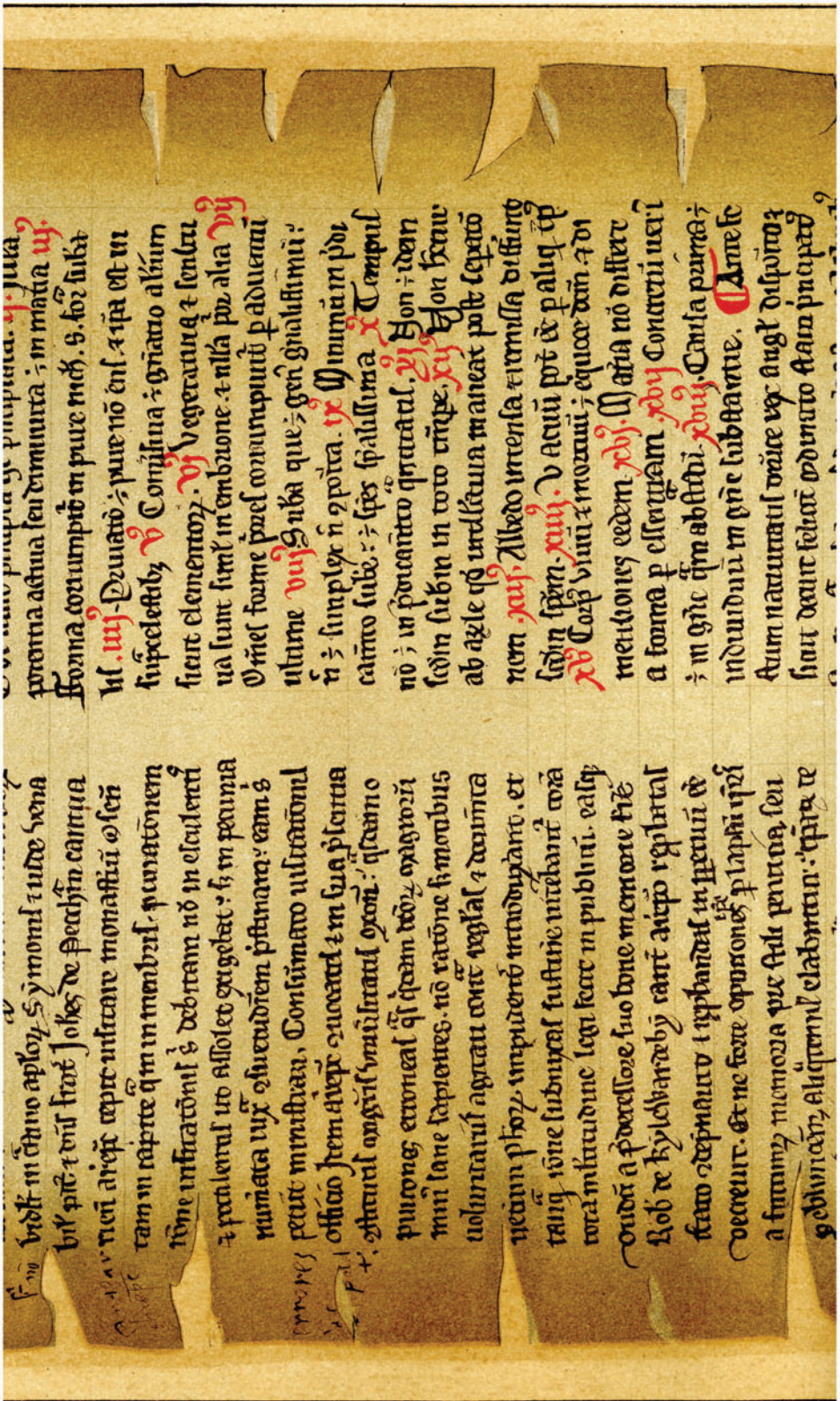
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Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, lith.

Annales de Oseneia.

MS. COTTON TIBERIUS, A. X. fol. 82.

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ANNALES MONASTICI.

VOL. IV.

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WYKES.

(A.D. 1066—1289.)

ANNALES PRIORATUS DE WIGORNIA.

(A.D. 1—1377.)

EDITED

BY

HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A.,

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE; REGISTRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY;
AND VICAR OF GREAT ST. MARY'S, CAMBRIDGE.

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

LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER.

1869.

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P R E F A C E.

THE fourth and concluding volume of the ANNALES Contents of the present volume. MONASTICI contains the ANNALS OF OSNEY, the chronicle known by the name of THOMAS WYKES or WIKES, and the ANNALS OF WORCESTER.

The ANNALS of OSNEY, a monastery founded in the Annals of Osney, MS. Cotton. Tiberius A. 9. island of that name at Oxford for Augustinian canons by Robert d'Oyly in 1129, are now printed for the first time from the single MS. containing them in the Cotton Collection in the British Museum. The only writers who seem to have known of them are Anthony Wood, who has made frequent and good use of this MS. in the earlier portion of his history of the University of Oxford,¹ and Thomas Gale, who, besides printing what it possesses in common with the MS. Cotton. Titus A. 14, has given from it the history of the years 1289-1307, in pp. 118-128 of the volume entitled *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Quinque*, as a continuation of the chronicle of Thomas Wykes.

The whole of the chronicle which goes under the Thomas Wykes, MS. Cotton. Titus A. 14. name of THOMAS WYKES, or rather the whole that is

¹ He cites it (*e.g.* p. 45) by the title, "Chron. Tho. Wyke, canonici "Osniensis, MS." This has frequently puzzled his readers, as many

of the passages quoted are not in the chronicle which Gale printed under the name of Thomas Wykes.

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contained in the MS. Titus A. 14, is printed in this volume by Gale, where it occupies pp. 21-118. The connexion between these two chronicles is so remarkable, that they will best be considered together, before their respective peculiarities are pointed out.

Author-
ship.

Thomas
Wykes
probably
the author.

In the first place it must be observed that the ascription of the authorship of this chronicle to Wykes rests entirely on the authority of Bale. That it was written in the monastery of Osney is extremely probable, as so large a portion is identical with the Osney MS., and the mention of various persons of the name of Wykes proves that the author, if not one of the family, must have had at least some close connexion with them. We find mention of the death of Robert de Wykes in 1246 (p. 96), of that of Edith de Wyka in 1269 (p. 230), of the profession of Thomas de Wykes at Osney in 1282 (p. 292), and of the vow of John de Wykes in 1283 (p. 295). This may be thought slender ground on which to give the authorship to Thomas de Wykes; still I can see no improbability in the supposition: that the history was written at Osney there can be very little doubt, and as this is the only occasion when any one is mentioned in the whole chronicle as taking the habit there, it seems at least reasonable to suppose that the author is speaking of himself; and this is of course strengthened by finding the mention of the deaths of his relations, when no other similar facts are mentioned throughout his work, these being solitary instances where anything which is not of immediate public interest is recorded. Bale, besides giving a short character of Thomas Wykes, which could only have been pure invention, states that he was the author of a catalogue of the abbats of Osney and of two poems, "Commedationes vini" and "Increpationem gulæ," of which he gives the beginnings, and that he also wrote other works both in prose and poetry. This is copied by Pits and

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Cave, and on the strength of it Polycarp Leyser inserts his name among the "Poetæ medii ævi" (p. 2003).¹

There is a letter of Adam de Marisco, written to William of Nottingham, provincial minister of the Franciscans in England, on behalf of a certain Thomas de Wyke, a priest, who wished to be admitted a Minorite (Brewer's *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. 350). Now as William of Nottingham was deposed from his office in 1249 (Brewer, p. 373), this letter must have been written before that year. If then this Thomas de Wyke is identical with our author, he must have been born at least as early as 1225, and therefore was an old man when his history was written, if the whole was written at the same time. The name occurs not unfrequently elsewhere: for instance, in the Worcester Annals, printed in the present volume, in 1301 it is said that John de Wyke, sub-prior of Worcester, was elected prior (p. 550); this may be the same John de Wykes mentioned in p. 295; and in the "Prima fundatio fratrum "Minorum Londoniæ," printed in the *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. 495, frater Gilbertus de Wyke is mentioned. Other instances may be found by consulting the index to Mr. Roberts's *Calendarium Genealogicum*.²

It will be convenient to designate the 'Titus' MS. as "Wykes," and the 'Tiberius' as "Osney."

As before discussing the sources of the two chronicles, it is absolutely necessary to ascertain their mutual connexion, I shall speak of this, before describing them separately.

In the earlier portion the two chronicles have much in common with each other; facts, as well those taken from other sources as those relating to the affairs of Osney, being frequently described in the same words;

¹ Tanner mentions a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Digby 204, which contains a work ascribed to Thomas Wykes. *Fallaciarum* lib. i. "De

"sophistis, etc. Quæritur an sophistica sit scientia."

² A Thomas de Wicke was prior of Great Malvern in 1217.

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and though on the whole Wykes is much the fuller and more diffuse of the two, this is by no means always the case. This partial similarity continues till the year 1258, when the history of the provisions of Oxford and the barons' war is begun; and here the two are perfectly distinct, the writers taking opposite sides in that great struggle. They may be said to be entirely distinct till the year 1278, when the MSS. became identical, or at least so far so, as to admit of collation. They again differ from 1280 to 1284, Wykes being apparently an abridgment of Osney, and are again identical from 1285 to the middle of 1289, when Wykes comes to an end, and the other MS. is continued, with the heading "Continuatio historiæ et eventuum in regno Angliæ, anno Domini MCCLXXXIX.;" the style, however, being exactly the same as the latter portion of the MS. which goes under Wykes's name—a somewhat ambitious style, each year beginning with a rhetorical opening, which this latter chronicle had adopted since the year 1263.

Is then Wykes copied from Osney, or Osney from Wykes? Or is the one chronicle a mere re-issue or new edition of the other? From many circumstances the last of these alternatives would have seemed the most probable, were it not that in the history of the barons' war diametrically opposite views are entertained by the two chroniclers,—Wykes being a strong royalist, and Osney equally strong on the barons' side. Nor do I think that either of the former suppositions can be adopted in its simplicity. In the earlier portion of the annals, where there can be no doubt that one was derived from the other, if not both from a common source, Wykes is usually the fuller, and to my mind gives rather the impression of being enlarged from Osney, than of Osney being abridged from Wykes.¹ From

¹ See for a slight, though good, instance of this, p. 39. Osney has, | "Translatio Sanctæ Frideswidæ;" | Wykes, "Translatæ sunt reliquiæ

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the entry “nihil memoriale” being given by Osney as the sole entry in several years where there is nothing corresponding in Wykes, I do not think any conclusion can be drawn,—as, if the Osney annalist were copying from Wykes, he might as well insert the words where he found no entry, as Wykes leave them out were he copying from Osney.¹ The entries referring to the abbey of Osney itself are, as would be expected, fuller in the Osney MS., and those of Wykes have every appearance of being taken from it (see pp. 10, 19, &c.); while there are in Wykes many allusions to Oxford, which are not in the Osney MS., and which it is very difficult to suppose that the annalist would have passed over, if he had had Wykes’s book before him.

That for a considerable portion of the annals the two chronicles are entirely independent, while both before and after one is taken from the other, is, I think, clear, both from the general style of the two, as from several instances of minute agreement or difference. Thus in 1135 (p. 20) both make Stephen besiege and take Oxford instead of Exeter castle (castrum *Oxonice* instead of castrum *Exoniæ*); in 1174 (p. 36) Wykes calls the bishop of Winchester (Richard of Poitiers) *Peter*, though Osney gives his name correctly; in 1226 (p. 67) both make Charles the successor of Louis VIII., a confusion between S. Louis and his brother Charles of Anjou; in 1237 (p. 84) both, by an error in following Matthew Paris, state the council of London to

Instances
of agree-
ment and
difference
in the two
Chronicles.

“Fritheswithæ Oxoniæ, et loculo honorifice repositæ.” So under the year 1222, (pp. 62, 63,) Wykes is much fuller on the council of Oxford held in the abbey of Osney. In the general history this is almost always the case. See the accounts of the unfortunate expedition of Henry III. into Brittany in 1230 in the two chronicles (p. 71).

¹ From the earlier years in which this occurs, it might have been thought that the reference was to Florence of Worcester, who has nothing under the year 1076, where the first of these entries, “nihil memoriale,” occurs, and very little under the next two years, 1082, 1084. But this is not the case farther on.

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have been held in S. Martin's church instead of S. Paul's. After the battle of Lewes the parliament held against the Marchers is said by Osney (p. 154) to have been at Oxford, by Wykes (p. 159) at London,—that one says the king and the other Simon de Montfort summoned the parliament is of course due to their respective sympathies; Osney states that the Marchers were banished for a year and a day, their families and lands remaining in the hands of the barons (p. 157); Wykes that they were banished for three years into Ireland, but adds that the earl of Gloucester connived at their staying in his lands in spite of the order (p. 159). In 1267 (p. 205), when civil war had almost broken out again, Osney mentions *Philip* Basset as one of the mediators with the king of Germany between the king and the London citizens; Wykes gives *John* Basset as the person. In p. 245 the Osney annalist is ignorant of the name of the archdeaconry held by pope Gregory X. before his consecration, though Wykes gives it there (p. 246), and the Osney annalist knew it shortly before (p. 219). On the other hand (in p. 247) he knows the exact day of Philip Basset's death (Oct. 29), while Wykes can only say that he died about S. Andrew's day (*ib.*) In the later portions there are several conclusive points of evidence that Osney is the earlier of the two MSS.; for instance, the account of Llewellyn's death in 1281 (p. 291) is clearly abridged by Wykes from the other (as indeed would seem to be the whole of this portion of the chronicle), Wykes beginning the new year (1282) in his usual style, and mentioning his own profession, and then abridging as before.

Conclusion drawn from the above as to the connexion of the two chronicles.

The conclusion to which I have come from these and other instances of similarity and dissimilarity in the two chronicles is as follows. The earlier portion of the annals of Osney was written at Osney about the year 1233, and then the events of each year were written from

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year to year till 1277. For the earlier portion of his history I believe Wykes to have made use of the Osney MS., and then to have abandoned it and continued the history in his own style, when he had other opportunities of gaining information. From 1278 to 1284 I believe Wykes to have returned to the annals of Osney, and made them the sole source of his work, abridging them very much, omitting most of what was peculiar to the monastery, and inserting the few notices of himself and his relations; writing in all probability in the monastery itself, where, as we have seen, he took the habit in 1282, and introducing the events of each year by his own peculiar phraseology. After 1285 I think there can be little doubt that Wykes himself became the chronicler of the monastery, and himself continued the two chronicles—carrying on the chronicle which bears his own name as far as 1289, and the annals of Osney till 1293. This seems to me the best, if not the only explanation of the facts, that the chronicles are *certainly* dependent one on the other in the earlier portions, *certainly* different in the middle, and that the continuation beginning in 1289 which is not in the Wykes MS., must have been written by the same author as wrote much that has gone before which is not in the Osney annals.

In order, however, that the reader may have the fullest opportunities of testing the correctness of this supposition, I have printed the two chronicles together in the upper and lower portions of each page, so that their connexion when they are derived from the same source can be easily seen; indeed, this is the only way in which the two could be printed, as so much of the latter portion of the two MSS. is identical, without giving a considerable amount of matter twice over.

The MS. of the Osney annals (Cotton, Tiberius A. 9) is a folio, on parchment, in double columns, and occupies ff. 52–98 of the volume. It is written in the same

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Manner in which the two chronicles are printed in the present edition.
Description of the MSS.
Osney, Tiberius A. 9.

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hand down to the end of 1233,¹ afterwards in various hands and evidently at different times. A fresh hand begins in 1280 (where it differs from Wykes) and goes on till the end of 1284, when, on becoming identical with Wykes, the hand again changes, that employed before 1280 coming in again, and going on till nearly the end of the year 1290; then different hands are employed till the end of the year 1293. From this to the end, the whole is in the same hand, and written much later.

Wykes,
Titus A. 14. The MS. which bears Wykes's name is also in the same collection (Cotton, Titus A. 14); it is a quarto, on parchment, containing eighty leaves, with thirty-five lines in a page. The whole is in the same hand, of the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century, and has been written by a very ignorant scribe, who evidently could scarcely read and did not understand the MS. he was copying.

Sources of
the *Annals*
of Osney. I proceed to speak of the sources of the two chronicles. The *Annals of Osney*, which (if we except an extract respecting S. Augustine's mission and king Alfred) begin in 1016, are taken in their earlier portion from Diceto and Florence of Worcester, there being a few additions from other sources,² and some which are original, relating chiefly to the history of Osney itself or Oxford. The annalist follows the chronology of the chronicler he is immediately following; thus in his opening sentence in mentioning the mission of S. Augustine, he gives its date from Diceto as 601, though Florence, whom he follows immediately afterwards, places it in 597. From the year 1118 Robert de Monte is used, though sparingly, the

¹ The beginning is a transcript of MS. Cotton. Vitellius E. xv. 1, which now consists of two and a half leaves of parchment, almost destroyed by fire—a MS. also for-

merly belonging to the abbey of Osney.

² The mention of Æthelred's wife being "filia Thoreti" (p. 3), is taken from Aelred of Rievaulx.

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Continuator of Florence being the chief authority; later Matthew Paris, and occasionally William of Newburgh, are used, and after 1183 there is much in common with Trivet. It is extremely probable that Trivet, while at Oxford, had access to the Osney chronicle. After 1233, though Matthew Paris was still used, the bulk of the chronicle is original, and continues so (supposing it to be independent of Wykes) till the end of the year 1293, when the original MS. comes to an end. From this to the year 1347, which is the last year of which any events are given, the whole, which was written at the same time and at a date at least as late as the last year, is taken from Higden and his continuator, they being merely transcribed with very slight additions or alterations. The only one of importance will be found in pp. 344, 345 under the year 1318, where Higden's account of the pretender to the throne, who asserted that he and Edward II. had been changed at nurse, is given with several additional particulars.

The earlier portion of Wykes's history, who begins Sources of the Chronicle of Thomas Wykes. with the year 1066, so far as it is independent of the Osney chronicle, is taken chiefly from William of Newburgh, whom he mentions in company with Bede and Matthew Paris, as one of the chief English historians (p. 7); though Florence of Worcester and Diceto have been also used, and I believe consulted independently, as well as through the medium of the Osney annals. The same may be said (though rarely) of Robert de Monte, and once (p. 35) of Hoveden.¹ From 1212 Matthew Paris, who has already been occasionally used, is probably the sole authority besides the Osney MS., down to as late as 1256. From that year, or at least from 1262, the chronicle is entirely original; the author occasionally using, as has already been remarked, a very rhetorical

¹ Or Benedictus. See ed. Stubbs, i. p. 61.

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style, and beginning each year with an elaborate way of expressing the date in phraseology which he is always trying to vary.

Gale, in his edition of this chronicle, has entitled it “*Chronicon Thomæ Wikes, aliter chronicon Salisburienensis monasterii*,” that being the title which a modern hand has prefixed to the MS. For its supposed connexion with Salisbury I see no ground; none of the paragraphs where Salisbury is mentioned seem to be original; for instance, that in 1077 comes from Osney, in 1092 from Florence of Worcester, in 1123 from Newburgh, in 1184 from Osney; and these are by no means frequent enough to call for remark, or to make it likely that the author had any especial interest in that church or monastery. Gale deserves credit for many emendations of the MS. caused by the scribe’s carelessness or ignorance; but there are many blunders throughout his edition, and not unfrequent audacious alterations of the text. A remarkable instance of this may be seen under the year 1245 in the account of the Dominicans at Oxford (Gale, p. 46, l. 24, p. 94 of the present volume). After the year 1289, where the Titus MS. concludes, Gale printed the “*Continuatio*” from the Tiberius MS. without any break,—though he has not given the whole. A note at the end of his index somewhat obscurely states that this latter portion is taken from a different MS.; he speaks of it as being not by Thomas Wykes.

Gale’s
edition.

General
character
of the
*Annals of
Osney.*

The general character of the *Annals of Osney*, as far, that is, as the point where I suppose Wykes to have taken up the authorship, does not differ greatly from the usual character of the monastick annalists. There is, however, but little, comparatively speaking, relative to Osney itself; and thus it presents a marked contrast to such annals as those of Dunstable or Worcester. In the earlier portions, where the annalist is transcribing an earlier chronicle, he is frequently careless; where he