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Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham ad Annum 1418

This Latin chronicle of the abbey of Evesham was compiled around 1214 by Thomas of Marlborough, abbot from 1230 to 1236. Books 1 and 2, containing the life and miracles of St Egwin, bishop of Worcester (*d.* 717) and founder of the abbey, were written by a twelfth-century prior, Dominic, and abridged by Thomas, who continued the history of the house to his own time. The chronicle was then extended by unknown authors, the first to 1418 and another to 1539. This edition, published in 1863 by William Dunn Macray (1826–1916), contains both continuations. It also includes several saints' lives that were bound in the same manuscript. The main text, with English side-notes, contains much valuable information on the internal life of the abbey, and on its disputes with the local bishop over visitation rights, concerning which Thomas had to travel to Rome to appeal to the pope.



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Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham ad Annum 1418

EDITED BY
WILLIAM DUNN MACRAY





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He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be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

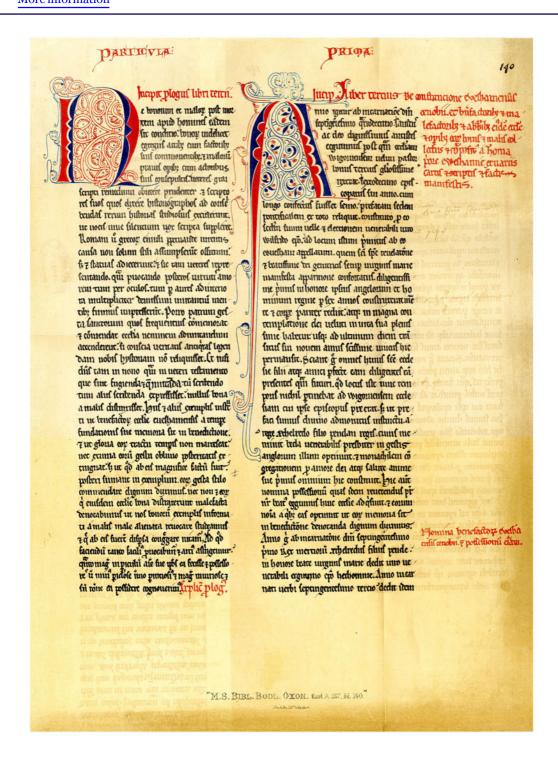
They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative 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.



CHRONICON ABBATIÆ DE EVESHAM.





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CHRONICON

ABBATIÆ DE EVESHAM,

AD ANNUM 1418.

EDITED

RY

WILLIAM DUNN MACRAY, M.A.,

CHAPLAIN OF MAGDALENE AND NEW COLLEGES, AND ASSISTANT IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

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



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PREFACE.





PREFACE.

I. § 1. The Chronicle which is printed, for the first time, in the following pages contains much that is of great interest to the student of monastic manners and history. It presents in its larger portion an autobiographical sketch, which gives, with evident honesty and faithfulness, and with no lack of graphic illustration, a picture of the occasional inner life of a great abbey such as but rarely has been recorded. zeal and affection for the honour of a house which in monastic annals too often spend themselves upon general and misty panegyric, find here, in the story of a courageous and successful contest with a profligate abbot, the opportunity for inserting an equally creditable page in the history which they dictate. It is, however, a significant fact that a struggle for independence of episcopal control (a privilege of exemption that proved so fertile in abuses, and formed at last so strong a link in the chain of causes which drew on the overthrow of the monastic system amongst us) is recorded in this narrative with no less interest, while it elicited throughout its course even more zeal, than the struggle against the tyranny of a dissipated abbot. Nay, it even forms with the writer a subject for pride and congratulation, that to the



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maintenance of doubtful, if not pretended, privileges, which gratified worldly ambition by removing to a distance all outward checks and control, the members of the abbey were willing to sacrifice all other considerations, and would even consent to tolerate vice in a house dedicated to piety, if at that price they could -not, succeed in preserving a precious right which had been clearly transmitted from past generations, and recognized, but rather—throw off, by a new claim of exemption, a wholesome superintendence which had in former years been occasionally exercised, and had never, as it seems, until about half a century previously been openly resisted. Thus, through years of glory and usefulness, hastened abbeys and priories to the day of their extinction, in that, by sure degrees, amidst the strife for worldly aggrandizement they more and more lost sight of their true object, and in their desire to be houses of greatness and pomp too often ceased to be houses of religion. The decay of the system can be surely traced, the whole in the abstract, in the very tone of this Chronicle. From the pious remembrance of the alms-deeds of an Agelwy, the consoler of the afflicted, the feeder of the hungry, the refuge of the oppressed, we come to the glorification of those whose good deeds are for the most part summed up in the acquisition of lands, the increase of buildings, the buying of chasubles, and the providing of altarlights.

II. § 2. Three writers are concerned in the authorship of the present volume, prior Dominic, abbot Thomas de Marleberge, or Marlborough, and (from the year 1214) an anonymous continuator.

¹ This, as being the form of spell- | himself uses, is that which the ing the name which the abbot | Editor has adopted.



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- § 3. Of the three books into which the Chronicle is divided, the first two, which contain the Life and Miracles of S. Egwin (excepting the Legend for the festival of the Translation), written in the ordinary verbose and grandiloquent style of hagiographers, are assigned in the rubrics at their head to prior Dominic. These, that writer tells us (p. 2.), he wrote at the request of his brethren; but almost the next generation that followed appears to have grown sufficiently weary of the worthy prior's prolixity to request Marleberge to curtail it to more readable proportions (pp. 27-8). Professedly "abridged," as Dominic's work now is, by the hand of the latter, there is sufficient evidence still left to show that, in the glories of his subject, the author had indeed lost all thought of the "fastidiosi " auditores" whose better taste Marleberge sought to consult.
- § 4. There can be no doubt that the history of the Translation and Miracles of S. Odulph and the anecdotes of several members of the abbey, which are printed in the Appendix to the present volume, are also the work of Dominic. The sounding declamatory verbiage in which he delights, and which forms such a marked contrast to the more matter-of-fact style of his successor, would of itself almost unmistakeably assert his claim; but at p. 320 we are expressly told that the writer of the Miracles of Odulph was the same as the biographer of Egwin. We learn also, from the same passage, that Dominic was the author of a third tract of a similar character, viz., an account of Miracles wrought by the Blessed Virgin, which commenced with the words "Æterna Dei sapientia." Possibly, also, the Life of S. Wistan, although in its present shape it is the work of Marleberge, may (as its style would in some degree suggest) have been founded on some previous memoir by Dominic, which Marleberge may have used and enlarged (see p. 27),



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and to which he may refer when he hints that lives had been previously composed which were disfigured by faults of diction.

§ 5. It is singular that no mention of Dominic occurs in the subsequent course of the history, nor is any clue there furnished as to the period at which he This, however, we ascertain from an incidental notice in the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, where, under the year 1125, we read that Dominic, prior of Evesham, was present on May 25 at the enthronization of Simon, bishop of Worcester, and the consecration of Benedict, abbot of Tewkesbury, "pro " abbate suo infirmitate depresso." It is worthy of remark that, while abbot Reginald's commencement of the dispute with the bishop of Worcester about the abbey privileges is noticed at p. 99 of our history, this instance of the recognition in some measure, during his own abbacy, of diocesan jurisdiction is passed over sub silentio.1 It probably formed one of

¹ The following letter from bishop Foliot, written on the occasion of Reginald's dispute with his diocesan, was probably sent in consequence of the appeal to him from the abbot which is entered at p. 112, infra:-"Gilbertus, Dei gratia episcopus " Herefordensis, caro suo magistro " G[ervasio] archidiacono Wigorni-" ensi, salutem. Scitis, carissime, " scitis, quod pacifici in prærogati-" vam filiorum Dei adoptati sunt. "Unde proximorum paci eo dili-" gentius attendendum est, quo "majus est quod ex hoc opera a " Domino speramus et expectamus. "Rogamus igitur ut hac spe bene-" volentia vestra facilem se nobis " præstet et exorabilem, ut domi-"num Wigorniensem a persecu-"tione fratrum nostrorum, mona-"chorum scilicet Evesham, revo-

[&]quot;cetis, et paci inter ipsos refor-" mandæ operam impendatis. Ad " quod si vos preces nostræ non im-" pellerent, reverentia tamen domini " papæ jamdiu traxisse et compu-" lisse debuerat. Ad ipsum namque " appellatione facta, pacem omnem " et securitatem appellatoribus ob-" servari justum esset. Audivimus " tamen a multis dominum Wigor-" niensem prædictos fratres, post-" quam ad dominum papam appel-" laverunt, non solum suis ordinibus " suspendisse, sed ad hoc operam " dare ut cos de monasterio suo " ejiciat, et ne dominum papam "adire possint custodia carcerali "cohibeat. Quod si fecerit, de " gravi in dominum papam offensa "excusari non poterit. Igitur do-" mini papæ reverentia, caritas " etiam domino Wigorniensi debita,



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those facts which Marleberge owns (at p. 193) that he did not record, lest they should thereby come to the knowledge of the adversaries of the abbey, to whom they would prove useful.

§ 6. An earlier and independent life of S. Egwin, which as yet has never been printed, is preserved in a MS. of the tenth or eleventh century in the British Museum, Cotton, Nero, E. 1, and has hitherto passed under the name of one Brithwold as its author. this name, however, no contemporary authority appears in the MS. itself (which contains a collection of biographies by various authors), nor is it elsewhere noticed; it is only assigned in a heading prefixed by a modern hand, and probably was a mere conjecture from the circumstance mentioned in Egwin's foundationcharter (p. 20, infra), that Brithwold, archbishop of Canterbury, drew up the original charter describing the place and the privileges granted by king Cenred:-" Bryhtwaldus archiepiscopus ex ore omnium et " terram loci et libertatem in carta descripsit." This life appears to have been the only one known to late writers; for while Capgrave's account of Egwin in the " Nova Legenda Angliæ" (fol. Lond. 1516, ff. 123-126) is certainly compiled from Dominic's, since it agrees with that in all the points (save one) in which the prior's life differs from the earlier document, and while Leland also seems to have derived from the same source the notes "ex libro de miraculis S.

[Bodl. MS., E Mus. 249, letter 96.]

[&]quot; preces quoque nostræ, vos mo-" veant, ut aut paci hinc refor-

[&]quot;mandæ studeatis, aut his qui in

[&]quot; archidiaconatu vestro ad nomen " domini papæ confugiunt consilium

[&]quot; vestrum et auxilium non negetis, " nec eos manu quacumque laica

[&]quot; extrahi et affligi, aut quæ eorum "sunt distrahi, permittatis. Vobis

[&]quot; hæc ex caritate scribimus, ne con-

[&]quot; sentientem cum agente par reatus " involvat. Consensus enim est non " resistere quum possis aut debeas.

[&]quot;Qua in re manifesta conclusio "vobis aut consensum ingerit aut " monachis defensionem. Valete." Gilberti [Foliot] Epistolæ; ed. J. A. Giles, LL.D., vol.i., pp. 128-9.



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"Egwini," preserved in his "Collectanea" (vol. i., pp. 300, 301, apparently coinciding with pp. 36, 45, 51, 55 of our text)¹, Wharton, on the other hand, in ignorance of any other biography than that contained in the Cotton MS., assumes ("Anglia Sacra," vol. i., p. 470) Capgrave's Life to have been founded upon the latter, with which alone Godwin also ("De Præsulibus "Angliæ," edit. 1743, vol. ii., p. 28) appears to have been acquainted. The following summary of the points of difference between this life and that printed in our text may probably be interesting.

Text, p. 6. The Cotton MS. adds that Egwin went to Rome, not entirely of his own accord, but at the command of both king and pope. "Rex itaque, "nimium credens, præcepit ut ad urbis Romuleæ "mænia properaret, ibique apud patrem patriæ se "protegeret, si potuisset. Fuit etenim et apud eun-"dem patrem accusatus, qui eum præcepit ad se "quantocius properare, quod et ipsud ipse cogitavit, "eo quod desiderium haberet limina apostolorum [visitandi]" (f. 24b).

Ibid. The place in the Avon where the key was thrown is specified: "— in loco qui dicitur Hrud-" dingpol."

Ibid. Egwin is said to have embarked at Dover.

P. 7. The account of the recovery of the key differs in a few particulars. "Et cum descendissent, et ad "pontem ubi Tyfre quo decurrit (sic) pervenissent, "rogavit socios sistere paulisper, et sibi indulgere quo "potuisset ea quæ Dei erant perficere et canonicas "horas explere. Dixit enim antistes, 'Vos enim, quam-"'diu requiem do lasso corpori, abite ad flumen, et "probate si aliquem pisciculum valeatis capere hamo.'

^{&#}x27;The preceding extracts in Leland (pp. 298-300), "ex libro incerti" auctoris de vita S. Egwini," ap-



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"Fecerunt enim ut dixerit, et, mirantibus illis præ
" gaudio, ceperunt salmonem mediocrem et ad terram
" projecerunt, et post parvi spatii intervallum ante
" pedes patris detulerunt, quem videns gratias retulit
" digniter Christo. Præcepit deinde illum aperire et
" salire, quem quum coquus id agere cepisset et secreta
" manu tangeret pis[ci]culi, invenit aliquid novi mira" culi," &c. A third account is given by William of
Malmesbury (" De Gestis Pontificum," in Savile's
" Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum," fol. Francof. 1601,
p. 284); viz., that, when Egwin was crossing the
Channel on his return from Rome, the fish containing
the key leaped into the ship. This version of the
story is repeated by Bartholomew Cotton (" Historia
Anglicana," 8vo., Lond. 1859, p. 402).

P. 8. Ethelbert is said to have entrusted the education of his sons to Egwin (f. 25b). This is the only point in which Capgrave's Life follows this earlier account rather than that given in our text.

P. 9. The names of the herdsmen are given. "No"mina subulcorum: Eoues et Ympa, duo fratres erant;
"Trottuc et Cornuc, duo fratres erant" (f. 26).

Ibid. The "portenta et signa" are described at length; they consisted in the losing and finding of sundry pigs. An extract from this portion of the Life is printed in Mr. T. Wright's "Biographia Literaria; "Anglo-Saxon Period," pp. 228-9.

At fol. 25 a curious notice is inserted of a letter

At fol. 25 a curious notice is inserted of a letter written by archbishop Boniface to king Ethelbald. "A denique tempestate altera delata est epistola ad "Anglorum regnum quam gloriosus edidit papa Boni- facius et Eadbaldo regi Cantuariorum misit, quæ "postmodum a multis scripta est, quoniam ad correp- "tionem multorum profuit virorum, maxime horum "qui inique concubinas habebant, sicut prædictus rex "faciebat. Nos vero hanc epistolam huic loco inserere "nolumus propter longitudinem, sed in calce exigui

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" hujus operis volumus, Domino succurrente, caraxare, " et nunc sereno corde, prout multimoda et inedicibilis " pietas Christi propria, prout Ejusdem almus Para-" clytus, concesserit, retexere. Exordium epistolæ ita " sumit: 'Gloriosissimo 1 et in Christi amore cæteris " 'regibus præferendo, inclita Anglorum imperii sceptra "' gubernanti, Æthelbaldo regi, Bonifacius archiepi-" 'scopus, legatus Germanicus Romanæ ecclesiæ, et " 'Pera 2 episcopus, et Burhardus 3 episcopus, et Were-" 'berchtus 4 episcopus, et Abel episcopus, et Wylbal-"'dus 5 episcopus, et Hwita episcopus, et Leofwine " 'episcopus,6 perhennem in Christo caritatis salutem.' " Finis autem epistolæ hæc est: 7' Valere beatitudinem " 'vestrum et in moribus bonis proficere in Christo " 'optamus.' " The Life is imperfect at its close, two leaves being missing in this part of the MS.; but since the actual conclusion of Egwin's biography must, apparently, have occupied only a few additional lines, it is probable that the remainder of these leaves was filled with the promised copy of this letter.

P. 11. The name of the place where the Council was held is added: "—in loco celebri qui vocatur Alne" (f. 27b).

Ibid. The "Wilfridus episcopus" is more distinctly described as being the archbishop of York, and also as "ierarchus Northanhymbrorum."

P. 14. Egwin's dying exhortation is entirely different, and, being simpler and shorter, is probably much more authentic than the more elaborate as well as beautiful address in our text. It runs as follows: "Reverentissimi fratres et dilectissimi filii, rogo vos et obsecro

¹ Gloriosissimo.] In Dr. Giles' edit. of Boniface's works (vol. i. pp. 132-9), the letter commences, "Domino carissimo."

² Pera] Wera. Ibid.

³ Burhardus] Burgardus. Ibid.

⁴ Wereberchtus] Warhertus. Ibid.

⁵ Wylbaldus] Willibaldus. Ibid. 6 et Hwita . . . Leof. episc.] Om.

ibid.

⁷ Om. ibid.



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ut servare Dei mandata studeatis, et votum quod "Illi spospondistis reddere satagite, quia scriptum est, "Vovete et reddite Domino Deo vestro. Pacem et "sanctimoniam sequimini, ut ait Apostolus, sine qua "nemo videbit Dominum" (f. 29b).

P. 18. (cf. pp. 72-3.) Egwin is introduced as giving in his own person the following more friendly account of the acquisition and exchange of Fladbury and Stratford: "Ego, inquit Egowynus, quum maxime florerem " et in magno mentis studio starem in diebus Æthel-" redi regis Merciorum, cœpi eum benigniter precari ut " mihi concedere dignaretur antiquum cœnobium quod " Fledanburgh nuncupabatur, quod satis mihi libenti " animo concessit. . . . Rex autem illam ter-" ram ex hæreditate conjugis suæ in possessionem " accepit, quam ego, post exigui temporis spatium, " prædictum locum, Æthelheardo subregulo, qui erat " rex illius provinciæ quæ Hwicces dicitur, sponte " dedi, qui mihi alium benigno corde concessit cœ-" nobium quod Stratforda nuncupatur. Intervallo facto " modico, a prædicti regis fratre, onomate Osuuardo, " aliam terram cum ista acquisivi, id est, viginti mansas " in loco qui dicitur Æt Twyforda" (f. 27)

§ 7. That this Life was, however, known to Marleberge, the compiler of the "Legenda in Translatione," is apparent from the fact that the two miracles are contained in it which are embodied in his Legend, and which are there described as being taken from the book "qui de "ejusdem beati viri miraculis scriptus est." The only difference worth noting is that the name of the fish caught in the river Avon is given in its English form: "— quem nostrates sealh vocitant." The Cotton Life has also the two miracles of the preservation of the relics of S. Egwin and of the punishment of the countryman who claimed land from the abbey, which are told by Dominic in his second book (pp. 40, 41).

§ 8. Another Life of S. Egwin is found in the Bod-



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leian MS. Digby 112, ff. 58-66, a volume written in the twelfth century, and containing the lives of a few saints. It is anonymous, but a late hand has attached the apocryphal heading, "authore Brithwaldo Glasto-" niensi." It appears to be a portion of Dominic's book, omitting the greater number of the miracles. The commencement is more diffuse than in Marleberge's abridgment. The story of the key agrees with our text; the tuition of Ethelred and the "portents" of the pigs are mentioned. An abridged extract from Egwin's charter is given, beginning at the words, "quum maxime florerem" (p. 18 of text), and ending at, " - in Angliam sumus reversi" (p. 19). In this extract the Roman pontiff is erroneously called Boniface instead of Constantine. Then follows the passage, "Hæc " nos . . . transcripsimus" (p. 21), which is succeeded by an account of the council of Alcester. This, being much fuller than any hitherto printed, is given at length at the foot of the page.1 Then follow, i., the

" Rex insignis Kenred ubi " Roma rediit confestim generale " sinodum in loco qui Alne voca-" batur jussit congregari. Conve-" niunt illuc primates regni, Can-" tuariensis antistes Bertuualdus " et Wilfridus Eboracensis archi-" episcopus, et cum eis utriusque " ordinis summi et eminentiores " viri. Considente igitur synodo et " silentio omni concioni, ex edicto " regis, imposito, surrexit rex " gloriosus Kenred, corona regni " redimitus et aliis regalibus in-" signiis ornatissime comptus.
" Sicque super omnes conspi-" cuus, succincta et decenti sanc-" tam synodum oratione allocutus, " primum Deo gratias egit quod " sanus et incolumis Romam ierit, " quod sanus et incolumis Roma

" Deo interim tuente, omni ex parte " pacatissimum reppererit. Dein " suæ intentionis causam brevi ape-" ruit, qua intentione illuc perrex-" erit, quæ vota voverit, quæ dona " Deo et sanctis Ejus apostolis " contulerit, conobium scilicet jam " sæpe superius memoratum. Ad " ultimum, voluntatis suæ summam " reseravit, rogans ut tam cleri-" calis quam et laicalis ordo qui " aderat huic suæ donationi tes-" tes in posterum existerent, ac " suam testificationem debita sub-" criptione firmarent. Litteras " quoque jussit recitari quas super " hoc beatus papa Bonifacius, tes-" tis rogatus, scripsit suique im-" pressione sigilli consignavit. " His breviter pro regia dignitate " intimatis, assurrexit sancta sy-" redierit, quod regni sui statum, | " nodus, et modesta conclamatione



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panegyrical passage which occupies p. 16 of our text; ii., the miraculous supply of water (p. 22), in a much shorter form; iii., Egwin's dying address (pp. 13, 14), together with the epitaph, in which the fifth line agrees with the version given by Leland and Godwin; iv., the miracle of the penitent released from his fetters (pp. 34, 35), greatly abridged; v., the death of the countryman (pp. 42-4), in the same words; and, lastly, the preservation of the shrine and relics (pp. 40, 41), also in the same words.

§ 9. The Life printed by Capgrave is evidently another

" quæ volebat et poscebat humili " favore concessit.* Postea regio " jussu ex commui consultu libel-" lus ibi confestim super his " donationibus editus est, primus-" que totius Angliæ primas et " pater patriæ Berthuualdus Can-" tuariæ archiepiscopus ad sub-" scribendum regiæ cartæ acces-" sit, et post illum Eboracensis " antistes, et alii de quibus regiæ " majestati complacuit ex utroque " ordine præstantiores personæ. " Si quis etiam posterorum ista " violare attemptaret, horrenda " eum imprecatione maledixerunt, " ipsamque maledictionem in calce " libelli posuerunt. His vero ita " expletis et soluta in pace uni-" versa quæ illuc convenerat con-" cione, jussit rex, idque sancta " synodus decrevit, ut vir reve-" rendus Norhthanhymbrorum sum-" mus antistes Wilfridus exinde " ad locum accelerato iret ipsum-" que locum dedicaret, et dona

" regis cum libellis donationum " Deo et Ipsius beatæ matri of-" ferret. Paruit ille libenter, pro-" peravit ad locum, locum sacra-" vit, sacratum Deo sicut definitum " erat inter missarum agenda op-" tulit, præsente et id summonente " sancto Egewino pontifice qui " hæc universa extruxerat. Ac-" cumulabat diei gaudia Omnium " Sanctorum, quæ ipsa die erat, " solennitas. Peractis tantarum sub " una die celebritatum solenniis, " et exhibitis Deo coram omni " populo quæ dicta sunt donariis, " constituit mox beatus Egcwinus " eo in loco fratres qui secundum " instituta beati Benedicti Deo " ibi essent servituri." council of Alcester appears to have been transformed by Bale and the Magdeburg Centuriators (who give no authorities for their statements) into a supposed council of London, held A.D. 714, at which the worship of images is said to have been sanctioned. See Binius, Concilia, iii. 337; Baronius, xii. 248; Inett's History of the English Church, edited by Rev. J. Griffiths, i. 190-5.

^{*} In the Cotton Life, the assent of the synod is thus described: "Illi omnes "clamaverunt voce clara, et dixerunt, "'Pacto (qu. facto?) et verbo parati "'sumus; quicquid tuæ majestati libet, "'potenter exerce.'" (f. 28.)



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abridgment of Dominic's compilation. The miracles which it contains are those of the supply of water, of the destruction of Alcester, of the two peasants, of the preservation of Ælfward from shipwreck, of the healing of the dumb man, and of the visions of Sperckulf.

§ 10. In the foundation charter incorporated by Dominic at pp. 17-20, we appear to possess what the writer really believed to be the authentic original, at least in its greater part. That which is printed in Kemble's "Codex Diplomatum" (vol. i., p. 74) is much shorter, as well as different, and is marked by the editor as being apparently spurious; but the version in our text claims so decidedly to be a transcript, "pæne verbum ex verbo, "sicut ipsemet vir sanctus in cartis suis ex maxima "parte scribendo est prosequutus," that its genuineness, as a whole, can only be disputed either by accusing the prior of a deliberate forgery, or by imputing to him an almost incredible ignorance of the age and character of the document which he used.

III. § 11. The writer, however, of the greater portion of the work, that portion which (with its continuation) embraces the actual history of the abbey, was, as we learn from the title of the Second Book, Thomas de Marleberge, dean, sacrist, prior, and, lastly, abbot. the events of his life, identified as they were with the history of his monastery, his own narrative necessarily tells us much, while the account written after his death by the anonymous continuator supplies the rest. learn from the latter that it was in the year 1199 or 1200 that Marleberge took the cowl, since the year 1202, in which the bishop of Worcester's claim to visit the abbey was made and at his instigation rejected, was, (as we are told at p. 264) the third year of his monachate. Yet we are also told at p. 102, that the writer relates the acts of abbot Adam, who died in 1191, partly from personal knowledge, while the whole ac-



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count of abbot Norreys' conduct between 1191 and 1200 is evidently given by one who was an inmate of the monastery at the time. Marleberge must, therefore, have been connected with the abbey in some capacity for a considerable period before his actual profession, possibly during a lengthened noviciate; and the date of his death, 1236, renders this the more likely. His own previous studies appear to have been carried on at Paris, since he tells us that he (together with Richard Poore, afterwards dean and bishop of Salisbury) had been the scholar of none other than Stephen Langton, who before his creation as cardinal was a distinguished teacher in that University. Of Marleberge himself it is said that he subsequently, but before becoming a monk, lectured at Oxford and Exeter, in what was his own especial branch of study, namely law, civil and canon (p. 267). In this faculty he himself tells us that he was well skilled (p. 117), and the course of his narrative affords sufficient proof that herein he made no vain boast. Nor did he in later years neglect opportunities for improvement; for when in 1205 the malaria of Rome compelled him to leave that city and retire to Bologna, we hear that he there spent six months in attending daily lectures in both branches of jurisprudence (p. 147). On his appointment to be prior he gave to the abbey library a large collection of books in law, medicine, philosophy, theology, and grammar.2 That he should, poetry,

said to be a medical work, and called "Liber Antiparalenionis," defies the editor's powers of interpretation. There is not much doubt about the reading of the MS., save that the contraction "Pa" would rather suggest "Antiperalenionis," but the Cotton MS. Vesp. B. xxiv. supplies "-para-" at full length. ² The title of one of these books, In the latter MS. the word looks at

¹ It is probable that a not infrequent mistake between two similar names is made in the remark (repeated in Vesp. B. xxiv.) that Marleberge "rexit scholas apud "Oxoniam et Exoniam." What schools were there at Exeter? And Exeter college was not founded until long afterwards.



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while still an ordinary monk, have acquired for his own private library such a store of volumes as is mentioned by his biographer, affords a striking testimony to the now acknowledged fact that neither were books so rare, nor the range of reading so limited, among general ecclesiastics as writers were formerly accustomed to represent.\(^1\) And his history

first, indeed, like "Antipavilenionis," and it was so copied by Tindal in transcripts which he made for his history of Evesham, which are now preserved in the Bodleian Library (Gough MS., Worcestershire i.), but in his printed volume he gives the reading adopted in our text. He, however, could not furnish any explanation of the title, and the mistake which has evidently been made by the scribe still so effectually hides the work which the latter intended to designate, that not even a hint at interpretation could be afforded by several friends whom the editor consulted.

1 It is plain from the entries recorded of gifts of books, that the library of the abbey must have been of very considerable extent. We are told at p. 83 of our text that bishop Ælward gave very many books in divinity and grammar even at a period anterior to the Conquest; and at p. 97 it is recorded among the acts of abbot Walter that "libros multos fecit." In the Harleian Register also (MS. 3763, ff. 195 b .- 203b.) the three following benefactions are entered :-- i. From John of Worcester, surnamed Sebrond, prior, "quamplures libros" in grammar, logic, physics, theology, canon and civil law, &c. ii. From prior John de Marcle, six treatises on law. iii. From John de Brym-

mesgrave, while sacrist, fourteen volumes. But the greatest gift of all was that of prior Nicholas Herford, recorded in full in the same MS., who presented no less than 96 volumes, together with a map of the world. This last list is printed (probably without great accuracy) in Tindal's Evesham, and is announced for re-publication, together with Marleberge's list, in a forth-coming volume of Catalogues of Monastic Libraries, under the editorship of Beriah Botfield, Esq. Two MSS. now existing in the Royal Library, Brit. Mus. (10 D. vi. and 8 G. iv.) were bought for the abbey by Richard Penbroch (elected abbot in 1460) while a monk. But of the contents of this great library very few remnants appear to have escaped destruction. Even Leland, in his notes on the monastic libraries which he visited, only mentions seven of its MSS. (Collectanea, iii. 160.) And now, besides the two mentioned above, the Editor has traced but two more of the many volumes which unwearying hands indited and pious hands bestowed; one, "Officium ecclesiasticum Ab-" batum secundum usum Evesham. " monasterii," of the fifteenth century, among bishop Barlow's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, No. 7; and one, Lombard's Commentary on the