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978-1-108-04860-6 - Le Livre de Reis De Brittanie, E, Le Livre de Reis De Engleterre

Peter of Ickham Edited by John Glover

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### Rolls Series

Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, usually referred to as the 'Rolls Series', was an ambitious project first proposed to the British Treasury in 1857 by Sir John Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, and quickly approved for public funding. Its purpose was to publish historical source material covering the period from the arrival of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII, 'without mutilation or abridgement', starting with the 'most scarce and valuable' texts. A 'correct text' of each work would be established by collating 'the best manuscripts', and information was to be included in every case about the manuscripts used, the life and times of the author, and the work's 'historical credibility', but there would be no additional annotation. The first books were published in 1858, and by the time it was completed in 1896 the series contained 99 titles and 255 volumes. Although many of the works have since been re-edited by modern scholars, the enterprise as a whole stands as a testament to the Victorian revival of interest in the middle ages.

### **Le Livre de reis de Brittanie, e, le Livre de reis de Engleterre**

Published as part of the Rolls Series, this genealogy is attributed to Peter of Ickham (d. 1295), a chronicler and Benedictine monk better known for his Latin chronicle of the kings of England. It is mainly an Anglo-Norman version of extracts by well-known historians such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, Florence of Worcester, and Ralph de Diceto. The editor, vicar and librarian John Glover (c. 1823–84), published the original text in 1865 together with his own facing-page translation into contemporary English. Glover's scholarship, as well as instances of semi-Saxonised French, will interest philologists and history students alike. The genealogy begins with Britain's colonisation by the legendary Brutus and covers the history of Saxon and Norman kings. It ends with a portrait of the life and reign of Edward II.

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Le Livre de reis  
de Brittanie,  
e, le Livre de reis  
de Engleterre

PETER OF ICKHAM  
EDITED BY JOHN GLOVER



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Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,  
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

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

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108048606](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108048606)

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This edition first published 1865  
This digitally printed version 2012

ISBN 978-1-108-04860-6 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**  
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

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

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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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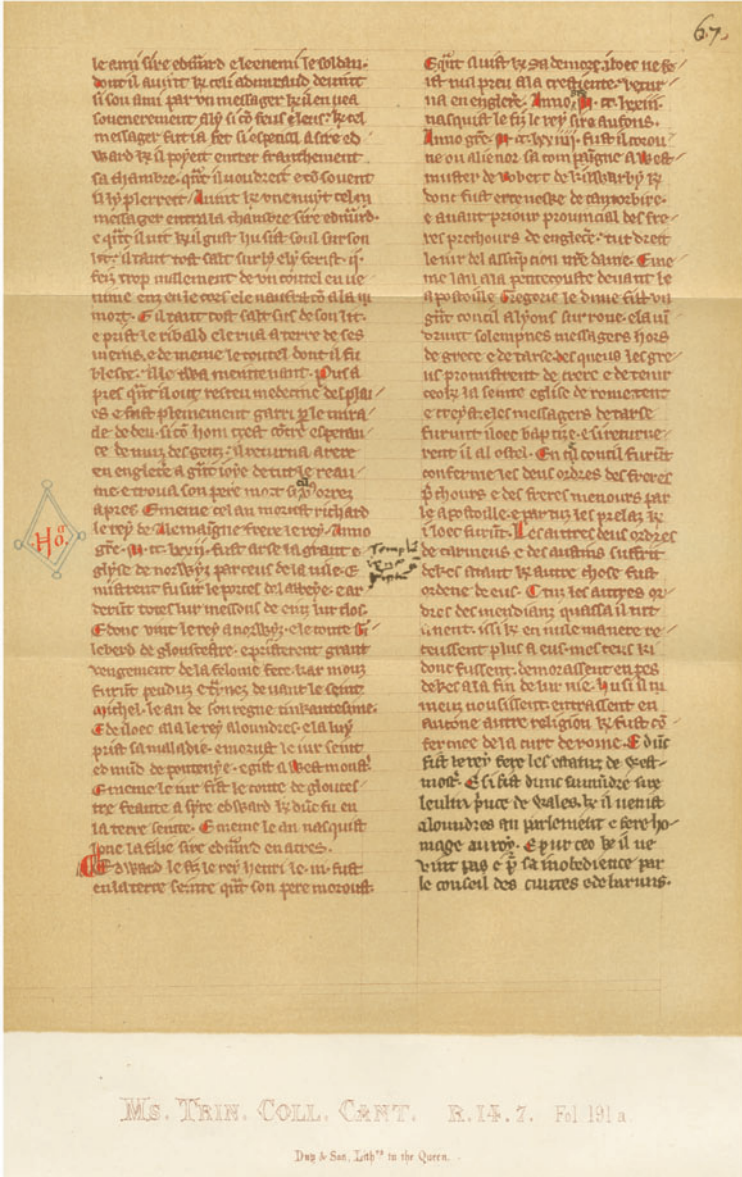
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# LE LIVRE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE

E

# LE LIVRE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE.

EDITED

BY

JOHN GLOVER, M.A.,

VICAR OF BRADING, ISLE OF WIGHT.

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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.

1865.

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Printed by  
Eyre and Spottiswoode, Her Majesty's Printers,  
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

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

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## P R E F A C E.

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THE greater part of the Chronicle now before the reader exists in MS., as far as I am aware, but in two copies. One is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the other in the Vatican. I believe that neither copy contains any clue to the author's name; but I can speak with certainty only of that in the library of Trinity, from which the transcript was made, which has served the printers for the copy of the volume. This was presented in the seventeenth century to the College by a Suffolk gentleman, named Wilmer, along with many other books of value, and with certain MSS. of works by Stowe. There is some reason to conjecture that the Chronicle belonged to Stowe.

As to its authorship there can hardly be found in the MS. any kind of internal evidence. It is throughout little more than a translation from the known Latin historians, generally considerably abridged; here and there words and names are inserted. The independent value of the Chronicle rests upon these insertions and names.

External evidence communicates little more. What I have found leads me to suspect that the book is the work of Peter of Ickham.

The following is the notice of this author in Bale's Centuries, p. 328: "Perlustrabat interdum Petrus inter ocia literaria, suæ gentis annales ac gesta memorabilia: et assidua eorum lectione delectatus, Gallorum seu Armoricorum Brytannorum posteritati accurata diligentia consecrare curabat. ut et illis, ita ut Anglis

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PREFACE.

“ familiariter essent noti. Gallice igitur, edidit dum  
 “ adhuc fuisset in Galliis,

“ *Genealogiam regum Brytannicæ, Lib. I.*

“ *Genealogiam Angliæ regum, Lib. I.*

“ Cæterorum ejus opusculorum nihil apparet. Conti-  
 “ nuata vero sunt prædictorum operum tempora, a primo  
 “ in Albionem Bryti regis adventu, usque ad Edwardum  
 “ post conquestum, ejus nominis primum, scilicet annum  
 “ Domini 1274, ut Lelandus in Collectionibus habet.”

This is the whole account of his literary works in Bale. I regret to say I have not been able to find the notice in Leland. Perhaps it exists among Hearne's stores in the Bodleian, but I have sought for it there in vain.

So many histories extend from Brutus to Edward I., that the period stated in Bale supplies no conclusive argument, and yet the exact mention of the year 1274 (*see* p. 300), the date not of the king's accession, but of his coronation, carries with it more weight than might at first sight appear. Add to this that the work consists of two parts answering very well to the two titles given by Bale.

Pits to his paraphrase of Bale adds the following:  
 “ Quædam etiam ejus lucubrationes dicuntur haberi MS.  
 “ Cantabrigiæ in Collegio S. Benedicti.”

The student will look in vain for any copy of the principal work in that library, but there are to be found there several copies of the Latin Chronicle commonly attributed to Peter of Ickham.

Tanner makes no mention of the French works, but only names the Latin Chronicle above alluded to.

This Latin Chronicle exists in many copies, and must be pronounced to be the work of another hand. The French Chronicle is not by Peter of Ickham, if the Latin is.

To confirm the conjecture that the present work is by Peter of Ickham, I may add that Stowe gives his name among his authorities, and appears to have known the present volume.

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In the account of the battle of Assington, Stowe writes: "The sixt and last battell was at Aessenden in Essex (*Marg.* Ashden, in Essex), neere to Rochford." Compare "La sime bataille fust a Assendone, en Essex, pres de Rochford," p. 98, l. 16. Now the definition "near Rochford," as far as I am aware, occurs in no other Chronicle but the present. The general opinion of antiquarians after Camden's time, till lately, has been that the site must be sought in the west of Essex. The margin of Stowe, however, does not name Peter of Ickham for the authority in this place. The only passage where he does so is in the account of the parentage of Harold Harefoot, where our chronicler's text is a literal translation of Marianus and Florence. He cites these as joint authorities with Peter of Ickham.

Stowe is the first among our more recent historians who mentions Ethelred's sobriquet, altering it, however, from *Unred* to *Unready*. This name certainly is found in other chronicles besides the present, yet not so frequently but that Stowe's knowledge of it may be probably traced to this work.

I have now to show how scanty is the evidence that the Latin Chronicle is due to Peter of Ickham. I have been able to consult several copies of this Chronicle in the British Museum, in the Bodleian, in Corpus Christi College, and in Trinity College. Almost all bear the name of Peter of Ickham inscribed, but in a modern hand. In one or two indices in the British Museum a note is appended to the name that the work is to be ascribed to him, because, it is alleged, Caius quotes it under his name. The passage quoted by Caius certainly is from that work, but the author's name is not given in Hearne's edition of Caius, only in the edition published under Archbishop Parker's eye subsequent to the author's death. I have, therefore, no doubt that the insertion of the name is by the Archbishop, and that his opinion is the only evidence that

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has caused all the copies of the work to be inscribed with Peter of Ickham's name. The ground the Archbishop had for his opinion does not appear, and I do not imagine that his judgment on such a point is incontrovertible. In the present case it is apparently contrary both to Bale and Leland.

There is a very singular correspondence between the present Chronicle and that of John Pike; he seems to have adopted our work and translated it out of the French into Latin, except where he could trace the Latin source of the text, where he has simply transcribed the original. The French translator's abridgments are replaced by the full text. The curious blunder of Oke for Dee, p. 74, l. 6, is copied. The speculation on the origin of the name "English," p. 40, l. 6, is mistranslated, as if the author's meaning had been misunderstood. The work called Pike's and the present are, however, so nearly identical that I had contemplated obtaining permission to give it in the place of my own English translation. The circumstance that the abridged extracts in the present Chronicle were given in full in Pike made this difficult to arrange. The passage corresponding to p. 256, 5 ff., of this volume, is thus given in his chronicle "Wilmus "nacione Anglicus, capellanus Radulfi de Diceto, *ex "cujus chronica ista sunt extracta, &c.*" Hence we gather that John Pike claims for his work to be a sort of edition of Radulfus de Diceto, and, as the reader will perceive by the margin of the present edition, the work of the French writer follows close upon the Dean's, yet it is in many places quite distinct from any of his existing works. The French form in which his name is given in the above passage, will interest those who desire to investigate the history of Rudulfus de Diceto.<sup>1</sup>

There are correspondences in some passages of the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps there is not sufficient ground for identifying Disze with Decize. A name closely resembling Disze is so interpreted in one of the geographical indices in the *Documents Inédits*.

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French Chronicle with Radulfus Niger, which are the more to be noted because Niger's work seems rather to be abridged from our Chronicle than it from his.

I have mentioned that the greater part of the work before us exists in two copies. There is a sort of introduction to the History appearing in the Trinity MS., an abridgment, with some large insertions, of a very common short French Chronicle. This I have collated with copies in Oxford and the British Museum and in the Corpus and Trinity Libraries in Cambridge, and have given it the title of *Le Livre des Reis de Britannie*. This name was derived from the heading of the work in the copy in the Trinity Library, perhaps erroneously read, for the words in this heading are much contracted. It is so connected with the main work in the above-named copy that the whole appears as one book. The second, principal part, the part which exists alone in the Vatican Library, I have called by a different name, derived from the notice of Peter of Ickham in Bale. The first short history, *Le Livre des Rois de Britannie*, (or *de Brut*, if this, as I suspect, is the true reading), is hardly worth printing for any merit or originality of its own. Some of the various readings and of the insertions will be interesting to the philologist as specimens of semi-Saxonized French. The use of the early English  $\text{z}$  in the spelling of the French language is curious.

The value of the principal work now before the reader will not lie in its authority or independence. Some few names and clauses will be found in it not in the original authorities, and these I have generally marked with an °, as also I have denoted any passages of which I cannot trace the origin. But as a careful compendium of good historians, I think it may be highly useful, especially to the younger students, and the references which I have made with much care to the older works from which the text is translated, I hope will be serviceable to many. They would have been more so if I had traced them back beyond the text from which the compiler took

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them. For when the French was simply a translation, for example, as is usual, from Radulfus de Diceto, I have not sought further for his authority.

After the original conclusion of the work follow continuations in both the known MSS., altogether different from each other. The Trinity copy bears the appearance of the abridgment of a life of Edward I. The Vatican continuation is a history of the reign of Edward II. to within a short distance from his death, where the work is defective; the two appendices thus fit conveniently into one another. I have named the one the Wroxham Continuation and the other the Sempringham, for the latter evidently has issued from the Gilbertine monastery, and has served for the "Sempringham Annals." The Trinity book has been usually called by the name of Galfridus de Wroxham or Broxholme, but upon no authority of weight that can now be found. The name which is thus copied ambiguously appears in a rather modern hand on the upper margin of the first leaf, greatly mutilated by the binder. This part in many passages bears a singular resemblance to the headings of the books of an early historian, as if it had been derived from the contents of some fuller work. I am not able to say that the work exists from which it could have been so derived. It would doubtless be a history of very great value if it existed. The character of the handwriting of this part is apparently by design hardly to be distinguished from those of the rest of the book, but the ink is somewhat blacker. The page selected for the facsimile contains the commencement of this appendix, and will also serve to show the reader how well the work answers to Bale's description of Peter of Ickham's work, at least in respect of the date 1274.

The Vatican copy of the book I know only by the transcript which was executed for the English Government. This is so ignorantly copied that no weight can be attached to its more minute variations. I have often been obliged to correct it, and I have done so silently



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in places where the mistake was obvious. One or two of these corrections are made in the list of Errata. The Sempringham Continuation is given only upon the authority of this transcript, and therefore the names, &c., can be little depended on.

In fact, in the part common to the copies, the variations between the two show that neither copyist is faultless. The number of "omissions from similarity of terminations" in the Trinity MS. is even greater than that in the Vatican. Generally these omissions are eliminated in one by the text of the independent copy, but there are places where both seem to have fallen into the same blunder. When the Trinity MS. stands alone, as in the Wroxham Continuation, one finds how useful the other copy had been. In no place is this so obvious as in the account of the Parliament of Dort, p. 314, where the blunders in the Latin fragment make hopeless confusion. I have spent much time and pains in vain in trying to reduce this document to form. I had ascertained from Böhmer's *Regesta* that the treaty was in the archives at Düsseldorf, and endeavoured to obtain a clear account from that place of the transaction. In this attempt I was helped most liberally by the Magistrate there, to whose custody the document is confided, but I found nothing more than the counterpart of the same treaty that is given in Mr. Luard's *Bartholomew Cotton*.

I cannot find any Chronicle that seems to me to have served as a basis for either of the continuations. The Wroxham continuation especially seems to be the work of a man who has put down what he has heard, not what he has read. The allusion to the battle of Worringen particularly indicates this, for the importance of that battle must have seemed much greater in England on the first arrival of the report of it than afterwards. The account given of the origin of David's treason I think is peculiar to this Chronicle. The mention of Wallace's "fol abet" I have found in no other English Chronicle. The Scottish affairs are related more like the Lanercost

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Chronicle than any other, but are not derived from it. They indicate a less constant stream of success to the Scottish cause than we might suppose from most historians. The Sempringham Continuation adds no effect to the well-known pictures of the misery and anarchy of Edward II.'s reign. It is interesting as a fresh portrait of a gloomy period of English History.

Having said so much of the work itself, I have to add a few words concerning the present edition.

I have endeavoured to translate the original so literally, that a boy desiring to learn how to construe early French of the English dialect might find help in the volume. At the same time I hope my rendering will be intelligible to any other English reader. In the Glossary I have entered only such words as seemed likely to want illustration when found in other works. For reading this Chronicle itself the translation might supersede a glossary. With the same object of helping my fellow-students of the *langue d'oïl*, I have taken care to conjoin prepositions and nouns, wherever I found them joined in the MS. and to separate prepositions and verbs. These practices, as the reader will perceive, are irregular in the French text. In the abbreviated words, *k*; and *q*; when I had to write them at length, it was necessary to make a rule for myself for their completion. I have intended to spell the conjunction with an *e*, and the pronoun with an *i*. This seemed to answer to the practice to be traced in the majority of the cases where the words were not contracted in the original. There were instances where *ke* and *que*, also *ki* and *qui*, were not contracted in the manuscript, and were not in accordance with the rule I had adopted for myself. They will appear as irregularities in the present text.

There are in two or three places apparent rhymes. Where these seemed to me obviously intentional I have rendered the original in rhyme of my own. In one or two places I have pointed out the place by the use of capitals following the rhymed word. In no case are

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the verses written as lines in the text. Where there was any punctuation for the metre, such as the stop, resembling the Greek colon, it is retained. The rest of the punctuation is modernized. In the MS. there are periods, and a peculiar stop well known to readers of MSS., marking the conclusion of compound nominatives and of questions, and these are not regularly supplied in the MS.

I must next explain the abbreviations, &c. in the margin. The Arabic numerals on the even pages are mine, as well as the punctuation. For the rest, except the few foot-notes and the references to them, these pages are meant to represent the manuscript with all possible accuracy: except also that I have developed *q* and *k*, as above explained, and have completed the proper names. In the foot notes exhibiting the various readings, MS. denotes the Trinity MS., the readings undefined are those of the Vatican MS. This is in the main work. In the first brief history the printed text is almost of necessity an eclectic one, and the various readings are all the variations from every source which seemed to me to be of interest.

The abbreviations in the references, needing explanation, are as follows:

- A., Geoffrey of Monmouth.
- B., Bede.
- C., Saxon Chronicle.
- D., Radulfus de Diceto.
- F., Florence of Worcester.
- G., William of Malmesbury.
- H., Henry of Huntingdon.
- R., Roger Hoveden.<sup>1</sup>
- R.C., Radulfus de Coggeshall.
- R.N., Radulfus Niger.
- S., Simeon of Durham.

<sup>1</sup> The references to Roger Hoveden would have been better referred to in Henry of Huntingdon, from whom Roger Hoveden has copied them. They are the result of an oversight.

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Peter of Ickham Edited by John Glover

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PREFACE.

These are referred to according to the editions of Savile and Twisden ; or where these have not edited the authors, I have taken the recognized printed editions. Wikes and the Waverley Annals are referred to in Gale's edition. The passages in these and in Florence are designated by the dates. Radulfus Niger is referred to by the pages of Col. Anstruther's edition. (Caxton Society.)

Two more points remain to be mentioned. In the first place the kindness of many friends who have given me such help as ought to have resulted in a much better work. Foremost among these are the Rev. Professor Grote, the Rev. H. R. Luard, and H. Bradshaw, Esq. I also wish again to speak of the exceeding courtesy of Dr. Lacomblet, Archivrath at Düsseldorf, who most obligingly sent me an excellent transcript of the document preserved there, of which I have spoken above.

Lastly I should apologise for the many Errata. The great length of time during which the book has been in the press might have promised a blank table of misprints ; moreover the patience and acuteness of Her Majesty's Printers leave me unable to lay any part of the blame to their account. I can only beg my readers' pardon, and assure them that such errors can annoy no one more than myself. Several of them were kindly pointed out to me by the Rev. E. Ventris, to whom the book is also indebted for the index ; and I wish to explain in regard to that index, that some of its apparent blunders are not so much so as they may appear, for example, "Le Mans in Anjou," and "Malachi, St., Archbishop of Ireland," are faithfully copied from the text.

Brading, Isle of Wight,  
20th August 1865.

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## ERRATA.

- Page 6, line 25 ; *for Scist read Icist.*  
 „ 10, line 25 ; *for oscire mes : read oscire : mes.*  
 „ 12, line 9 ; *for ont read out.*  
 „ 12, note ; *for Ethelstan read Ebelstan.*  
 „ 13, margin ; *for bequests read gifts.*  
 „ 16, line 3 ; *for Li read Si.*  
 „ 16, line 5 ; *for pu smorust read pus morust.*  
 „ 29, line 11 ; *for Swithin's read Swithin.*  
 „ 31, line 21 ; *for Winchester read Worcester.*  
 „ 61, margin ; *for Charles the Bold read Charles the Simple.*  
 „ 67, line 4 ; *for brother read brother Edwyn.*  
 „ 73, margin ; *for Werewell read Wherwell.*  
 „ 79, line 31 ; *for Elgiva read Elfgiva.*  
 „ 88, margin ; *for Vota read Nota.*  
 „ 114, note ; *for Gowinum read Godwinum.*  
 „ 119, line 18 ; *for Edsi read Edsine.*  
 „ 121, line 26 ; *for Godwin read Godfrey.*  
 „ 123, line 18 ; *for the Westminster Abbey read the Abbey of Westminster.*  
 „ 133, margin ; *for Harfager read Hardrada.*  
 „ 151, line 4 ; *for the read their.*  
 „ 153, line 2 ; *for Baron read Barn.*  
 „ 155, line 11 ; *for prevailed upon read compelled.*  
 „ 177, line 31 ; *for Ranulf read Randolf.*  
 „ 185, line 3 ; *for dined read dinted.*  
 „ 188, line 18 ; *insert \* at Trinite.*  
 „ 189, line 31 ; *for nephew read grandson.*  
 „ 191, line 18 ; *for 5 read 3.*  
 „ 203, margin ; *for 180 read 183.*  
 „ 207, line 23 ; *for Mortagne read Mortain.*  
 „ 215, line 1 ; *dele he.*  
 „ 220, lines 17, 18 ; *for corouement, son fiz read corouement son fis.*  
 „ 221, line 20 ; *for coronation read coronation of.*  
 „ 226, note ; *for Anglium read Angliam.*  
 „ 230, line 13 ; *for decevan tes read decevantes.*  
 „ 235, margin ; *for D. 577, 38, read R.N. 176.*  
 „ 237, margin ; *for D. 579, 45, and D. 582, 40, read R.N. 176.*  
 „ 261, line 8 ; *for Premonstratensien read Præmonstratsian.*  
 „ 263, margin ; *dele v. R.D. ib.*  
 „ 265, line 27 ; *for whom read which.*  
 „ 266, line 6 ; *for vugla read unglā.*  
 „ 266, note ; *for \* and † read † and \*.*  
 „ 266, note ; *for Rea Francia read Rex Franciæ.*

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## ERRATA.

- Page 267, line 6 ; *for* shouted *read* pranced.  
 „ 280, note ; *for* castelle . . inclusit, etc. *read* castello . . inclusit se.  
 „ 292, margin ; *dele* Trivet (*twice*).  
 „ 292, line 32 ; *for* andereyn *read* audereyn.  
 „ 304, line 18 ; *for* le *read* e le  
 „ 305, line 3 ; *for* Monday *read* Sunday.  
 „ 305 margin ; *for* Scotland *read* Wales.  
 „ 306, line 30 ; *for* le *read* e.  
 „ 315, line 18 ; *for* Lausaune *read* Lausanne.  
 „ 343, line 10 ; *for* Warren, the *read* Warren.  
 „ 343, line 29 ; *for* Roger *read* John.  
 „ 345, line 11 ; *for* April *read* May.  
 „ 347, line 17 ; *for* from Jan. 13 for eight days *read* for the eight days following Jan. 13.
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