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Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene

Roger of Hoveden's *Chronica* was begun around 1192 and covers English history from 732 to 1201, when it is assumed he died. The work is largely an annotated compilation of various other chronicles, including the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis* (also reissued in this series). This was formerly attributed to Benedict of Peterborough, which was the view taken by William Stubbs (1825–1901) when he edited this work for the Rolls Series in 1868–71. Since the twentieth century, however, Hoveden has been recognised as the author. As a clerk to Henry II until 1189, and later as a diplomat during the Third Crusade, he was ideally placed to gain first-hand knowledge and also documents, which he provides here in full. Volume 3 (1189–92) again reworks the *Gesta*, with revisions for its new context. There are details relating to the Third Crusade and Hugh de Puiset, Bishop of Durham.

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Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene

VOLUME 3

ROGER OF HOVEDEN
EDITED BY WILLIAM STUBBS



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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

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108048835

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2012

This edition first published 1870
This digitally printed version 2012

ISBN 978-1-108-04883-5 Paperback

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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

24526.

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OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

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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.

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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."

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Rolls House,
December 1857.

ERRATUM.

p. 241, line 21 ; for *facta* read *factus*.

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CHRONICA

MAGISTRI ROGERI DE
HOUEDENE.

EDITED

BY

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VOL. III.

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

LONDON: LONGMAN & CO., AND TRÜBNER & CO.,
PATERNOSTER ROW;
ALSO BY
PARKER & CO., OXFORD; AND MACMILLAN & CO.,
CAMBRIDGE.

1870.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04883-5 - Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene: Volume 3

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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.

THE history of the first three years of the reign of Richard I. was included by the author or editor of the "Gesta Regis Henrici," or "Chronicle of Benedict," in the work which forms the basis of the Compilation of Roger of Hoveden on the same period. The present volume containing the History of England and Richard from 1189 to the end of 1195, embraces this common portion, which fills about half of it. It will be desirable in order to complete the collation of the two authors attempted in the preface of the second volume, to notice briefly their principal variations, before proceeding to the more general historical considerations proper to this place. In doing this it is unnecessary to advert to the passages omitted by Hoveden in copying the earlier chronicle, except where they illustrate some point of importance or throw light on his additions and alterations. In the notes to this edition, as well as in the notes and margin of the Chronicle of Benedict which has preceded it in the present series, these have been carefully marked, and their general bearing already stated. The same indeed may be said of the alterations and additions of Hoveden, to which, wherever they touch questions of authorship or of chronology, attention has been given in the notes. The following is an attempt only at a classification of these places:—

1. The most important of Hoveden's additions are those which are concerned with the doings of Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, and Geoffrey, archbishop of

Contents of this volume.

Comparison of Hoveden with his predecessor.

Hoveden's additions.

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PREFACE.

Hoveden's
additions
touching
Yorkshire
and Dur-
ham.

York. In these, even in places where our author has added nothing substantial to our information, he has often departed from the language of the previous writer and re-written the story in his own way; and it is clear from the sequel of his history that he was personally acquainted with most of the actors in it, and familiar, so familiar as to be careless occasionally, with the details. Under this head the most important independent additions are the passage (pp. 31, 32) narrating the first outbreak of personal violence between the archbishop and chapter of York; the account of the appointment of Osbert Longchamp to the sheriffdom (p. 34); the grant of Sadberge to the bishop of Durham (p. 38); the opening of the struggle between bishop Hugh and archbishop Geoffrey (pp. 168, 169); and its continuation under the judges delegate (pp. 171, 172). There is very little in Hoveden's way of narrating these circumstances that gives any clue to his real opinions on the subject. Probably he regarded them with the eye of a judicial historian, open to the faults of his heroes, and secure of their criticism. He is occasionally severe on the violence, quarrelsomeness, or underhand dealing of both: and he must have seen that men so unquiet and fickle in their friendships and enmities, were unsafe subject-matter for the praise or blame of a partizan. On the whole we may regard him as a friend of Hugh de Puiset against archbishop Geoffrey, and of Geoffrey against the party of John or of Longchamp, but otherwise an impartial, as he is certainly an unimpassioned, judge.

His addi-
tions on the
subject of
the Long-
champ
struggle.

2. A second most important, though scanty class of additions to our earlier information is that which includes the few details of the struggle between Longchamp and his rivals for power. The most valuable of these is the copy of the treaty between the two parties chiefly concerned, made at Winchester in July 1191 (pp. 135-137). The letter of Peter of Blois to Hugh of Nunant, up-

braiding him with his treatment of the Chancellor (pp. 148–150), is valuable in its way, but the insertion of it cannot be ascribed to Hoveden, as it is not found in the best MSS., and bears marks of later intrusion in those in which it occurs. The whole details of this interesting crisis will be found examined with some minuteness in the later pages of this Preface, in which I have also embodied such remarks as seemed necessary on the variations between Hoveden and our other authorities, on Richard's plan of governing England in his absence on the Crusade.

Additional letter of Peter of Blois, not inserted by Hoveden.

3. The additional particulars touching the history of the Crusade are minute and numerous, but not very important or contributing much that is not found elsewhere, especially in the "Itinerarium" of Richard the Canon, a book which might very well be within Hoveden's reach. Some of these are interesting as indicating our author's love of the marvellous, particularly the story of the breaking of Richard's staff on the occasion of his investiture as a pilgrim at Tours (p. 36); and some of the details of the King's discussion with Abbot Joachim (pp. 75, 79). Of the actual additions to our knowledge the mention of the pope's brief, empowering Richard to grant licences of dispensation from the vow of the Crusade (p. 17); the short mention of Richard's visit to Gascony, which is also hinted at by Richard of Devizes,¹ and fixed to certain dates by existing charters (p. 35); the repairing of the ships at Messina, which had suffered from the devastations of the worm peculiar to the Sicilian Waters (p. 71); the

Additions on the history of the crusade.

¹ Ed. Stevenson, p. 12. "Regem reversum a Vasconia, ubi latrunculos armis dejecerat." This must be the visit referred to by Hoveden, iii. 35., and be placed between Easter and June. Richard, according to the letter preserved by R. de Diceto, 655, was at Bayonne

on the 6th of June. This must then have been a second visit to his southern provinces, and is to be distinguished from the earlier one, during which the two charters were issued at La Reole, in February, to which reference is made in the note on Ben. Pet. ii. 109.

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PREFACE.

Hoveden's
additions on
the history
of the cru-
sade.

story of Isaac Comnenus, preserved at page 110; the negotiations with the Mesopotamian princes before and after the capture of Acre, which do not agree with the corresponding details in Benedict (pp. 115, 118); the letters of Richard containing the account of the battle of Arsouf (pp. 129-133); and the corrected version of the news from Palestine in the winter of 1191 (p. 181), may be regarded as the most valuable. Hoveden seems to have paid very careful attention to the history of the Crusade; his version of the Assize drawn up for the conduct of the pilgrims at Messina, is more full than his predecessor's (pp. 58-60); and he likewise gives a more complete copy of the treaty between Richard and Tancred, in which the former writer had retrenched the names of the sureties (p. 62). In these points, as well as in the few additional names of places on Richard's route (pp. 39, 41), the matter is a little complicated by the fact to which in the earlier prefaces I have more than once adverted, that our only MS. of Benedict in this part of his work was written by a man who had a copy of Hoveden before him; so that it may be questioned whether the discrepancies are to be ascribed to his habit of omitting or to Hoveden's habit of expanding. The general conclusion has been already stated,¹ and the particular cases are remarked upon in the notes as they occur. Of points of coincidence between Hoveden's additions and the Itinerarium, the chief are the identification of Alberic Clement² on the occasion of his martyrdom (p. 117), and the lodging of Philip in the Templars' palace at Acre³ (p. 123). In the numeration of the Saracens massacred after the capture (p. 128), Hoveden nearly doubles the computation of the Itinerarium⁴. His account of Richard's narrow escape from capture at Joppa in September, 1191, is perhaps borrowed from

Points of
agreement
with the
Itinerarium.

¹ See the Preface to Benedict, vol. i. p. xxvi, note ³. Preface to Hoveden, vol. i. p. lvi.

² Itin. R.R., 223.

³ Itin. R.R., 234.

⁴ Itin. R.R., 243.

the same work.¹ But it is not necessary to press these cases, in which there is no correspondence in verbal detail, and in which both writers may have drawn from a common source. Hoveden's list of the deaths of the Crusaders varies in some important points from Benedict's, which is both more full and more accurate, so far as we have the means of judging. Two or three obscure names are added, but several more, and those, curiously enough, which are especially connected with Yorkshire and Lincolnshire are omitted.²

4. Closely connected with this subject are the details preserved by Hoveden of the journey of Eleanor to Messina and her return by way of Rome. The fact of her undertaking to plead the cause of Geoffrey with pope Celestine III. (p. 100) is especially interesting³; but the importance of the story depends chiefly on its bearing on Hoveden's authority for the particulars touching the coronation of Henry VI., and the destruction of Tusculum (pp. 100–105). In these, as is well known, his testimony stands alone, and is scouted by the foreign historians who have examined the subject. Without venturing to disagree with them, I may say that, after all, Hoveden's informant probably picked up his information on the spot; that not only the queen's retinue, but a number of York clergy must have been at the time at Rome;⁴ and that the recital is not to be regarded as a mere fable, but as one of those traveller's tales, perversions or misrepresentations of real events, of which the

¹ Itin. R.R., 286. Bohadin, *V. Saladini*, 203.

² Hoveden, iii. 87–89. Ben. Pet. ii. 149.

³ I must here correct an error which I made in editing Benedict, as to the purpose of Eleanor's visit to Rome, B. P. ii. 161 note¹; where for *prevent* should be read *procure*.

⁴ See Gir. Cambr. V. Galf. :

Anglia Sacra, ii. 387. The mere improbability of an event which could be witnessed only by a very limited circle of bystanders is no objection to its truth. What could be more improbable than that the peer who rolled down the steps of the throne at Queen Victoria's coronation should be Lord Rolle?

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about Rome.

Roman cicerone has been in all ages somewhat prolific. That Hoveden, moreover, had information about and took interest in the secular government of Rome appears later on from his account of the senatorship (p. 270).

Spanish
geography.

5. Next to these may be noted the numerous particulars of Spanish geography and history, which are given by our author in addition to the somewhat full details of the same sort found in the work of his predecessor. They are too numerous and far too remote from our immediate subject to be considered here; but considering the scarcity of our information on the point and the poverty of all attempts at a map of Mediæval Spain, the perfect survey of the seaboard given at p. 47 and the following pages, and also at p. 177, must be of considerable value. The story of the loves of Sancho of Navarre and the Moorish princess is less important, except as showing how very short a time is taken in the process of the circumstantial elaboration of a myth.¹

Statements
anticipating
Richard's
captivity.

6. It is not necessary to do more than refer here to the passages in which the events that preceded Richard's captivity are read by Hoveden by the light of those which followed it; especially the visit of Philip to Rome and his negotiations with Henry VI. On these points, as they affect the relation between Hoveden and the earlier writer, enough has been said in the prefaces to Benedict and to the first volume of Hoveden.²

Hoveden's
habit of
massing his
information.

7. I have called attention in the notes to several places in which Hoveden, by massing the information which he abridged from his predecessor's work, has either run into error, or at all events given a different impression from that given by the earlier writer. The most important instances are those at p. 7, touching the honours bestowed on John, and at p. 23, in which the dates of the consecrations of the new bishops of 1189 are confused. It is more than probable that some such carelessness has led to

¹ See pages 90–92.² Hoveden, i. pref. lxxi. Ben. | Pet. i. pref. xxviii, xliii, xliv.

ii. 229. Itin. R.R. pref. xxxix.

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the difficulties attending his account of the committees of regency appointed at different times by Richard before his departure on the Crusade, on which more will be said by-and-by.

It has produced confusion here and there.

8. I may mention here one place in which Hoveden seems to have corrected a mistake of his predecessor. The latter writer giving an account of the council held by Richard in London, in November 1189, mentions William Mandeville as one of the persons who swore in the king's name to observe his engagement with Philip for the opening of the Crusade. Now William Mandeville had in the previous month been sent to Normandy, where he died on the 14th of November. It is then almost certain that in substituting the name of William Marshall for that of William Mandeville our author has made a decided improvement on the text of his exemplar. At the same time it is quite possible that the error is merely one of transcription. The singularity of the case speaks highly for the authority of the earlier book.¹

An error corrected by Hoveden.

9. There remains a class of small additions not referable to any single head, such as the mention of the confiscation of the goods of Geoffrey Ridel,² bishop of Ely, who died intestate (p. 7), and the bestowal of the deanery of S. Martin-le-Grand on William of S. Mere l'Eglise (p. 16). These may fairly be considered as contributions from Hoveden's personal knowledge of the facts, as they are not noticed in Benedict. Closely akin to these are such minute additions, as the explanation of the name of Finisterre, as "de fine Posternæ."³ The older writer contented himself with the obvious explanation "de finibus Terræ." Hoveden possibly had drawn his new one from Jordan Fantosme, who makes

Minute additions.

¹ Hoveden, iii. 20. Ben. Pet. ii. 93.

² It is mentioned also by R. de Diceto, 647; and by Gervase, 1549, who remarks that the bishop's trea-

ures were squandered on buffoons; 3,200 marks being spent on the coronation.

³ Hoveden, iii. 42. Ben. Pet. ii. 116.

Derivation
of Finis-
terre.

Account of
the corona-
tion of
Richard.

Hoveden's
additions
unimport-
tant.

Henry II. say in one place that the barons of Brittany are in his power, "tres qu'en fine Buserne."¹ He has, however, if this be so, confounded Finisterre in Spain with Finistère in Brittany. In his account of the coronation of Richard, Hoveden interpolates two or three particulars: the spreading of woollen cloth all the way from the king's chamber to the altar (p. 9); the offering of a mark of gold as the regular oblation of the king on such occasions (p. 11);² and the explanation of the anointing in its symbolical meaning (p. 10). Of these the first is possibly a fact of his own knowledge; the second he would find in the rubric of the coronation service; and the third is a repetition of an explanation laid down by S. Thomas in a letter given in a previous part of the work.³ The discrepancies occurring in the two accounts of the ceremony are remarked on in the notes. Some little attention is required in the examination of such minute points, in which it will be found that Hoveden generally adds only matter of extremely small importance; and even where he seems to be adding, often only quotes from another page of his original. An instance of this habit will be found at page 167,⁴ where his fixing the position of Godstow as between Oxford and Woodstock, is not an addition made from his knowledge of the country but simply to be ascribed to the transposition of the clause from another part of Benedict's work.⁵

¹ Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle, v. 141 (ed. Michel, Surtees Soc., p. 9.)

² Compare the rubric "Deinde offeret marcam auri" in the early coronation office given by Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia, iii. 42. The order for the coronation may also have contained the mention of the cloth spread for the procession to walk on, as is the case in the office for the coronation of a queen (*ibid.*

p. 53), and in the order for the coronation of Richard II. (*ibid.* 68).

³ Compare the letter of Becket, Hoveden, i. 234.

⁴ See Ben. Pet. ii. 231.

⁵ Benedict, ii. 240. The same may be said of his notice of the death of Ralph Hauterive, archdeacon of Colchester, Hoveden, iii. 87. The name had been given before, p. 70, from Benedict, ii. 142.

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10. The two largest independent additions made to the earlier book are the two chapters on Antichrist (pp. 80–86), of which enough is said in the notes ; and the hymn on the opening of the Crusade, at page 37. After careful investigation of the probable sources of the latter I have been unable to form any other conjecture as to the authorship than that it may have been the work of that Monachus of Florence, who wrote the much longer poem on the siege of Acre, in the same metre, which I have reprinted in the appendix to this preface.

Chapters on
Antichrist.

Poem on the
crusade.

This very valuable relic of contemporary history was unknown to me when I edited the *Itinerarium* of Richard the Canon, with whose work it has much in common, and might have been published in connexion. On finding a portion of it in an Oriel manuscript, and almost immediately after, the poem in its integrity, in Herold's Appendix to the continuation of William of Tyre, I determined to prepare it to accompany, by way of commentary, the present account of Richard's Crusade. Between that time and the present it was printed privately by M. Paul E. D. Riant, at Lyons ; and I have had the benefit of his collations and valuable literary researches as to its authorship. Whilst I am obliged to differ in some respects from his conclusions, I think it right to put on record how very much I admire his careful investigation, and the exhaustive manner in which he has treated the subject.

Appendix to
the Preface.

1. Monachus
Florentinus.

A second appendix will be found to contain an extract from the chronicle of Ansbert, giving the Austrian account of Richard's capture, transfer and release ; and comprising also a document necessary to the completion of the series given by Hoveden on the subject.¹

2. Extract
from Ansbert.

¹ I had intended adding a third appendix from the early French Chronicle extant in the MS., C.C.C.C., 432, which may be called

a romance of the History of Europe during the period of the crusades. The MS. is of the thirteenth century and is a better version of the little

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PREFACE.

Notice of
the MSS. of
Hoveden.

The mutual relations of the MSS. used in the preparation of this edition of Hoveden, and described in the preface to the first volume, continue to be throughout the present portion of the work much the same as before. MSS. B., D., and I., generally agree, except where D. has omitted or abridged, often from carelessness. MS. G. continues to be a faithful and intelligent transcript of A., until nearly the close of the volume, where it begins to abridge documents in a way that detracts much from its value, and which becomes more marked as we approach the end of the work. MS. C. is so much abridged, and so imperfect, as to be absolutely useless for the purpose of collation.

A mistake
noted by Sir
F. Madden.

Before finishing the literary portion of the preface I must be allowed to thank Sir Frederick Madden¹ for having pointed out a mistake into which I had fallen through too hasty generalization: I said in the preface to the first volume that the work of Hoveden was unknown to Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris.² This is a misstatement. I believe that it is true to say that for the portion of history common to Hoveden and Benedict, that ending in 1192, these two authors used the latter only. For the later years of Richard's reign they must have used Hoveden, as will appear in detail in the fourth volume. Having carefully examined into the former point, I had unwittingly overlooked the passages towards the end of Hoveden, the language of which is identical with that of Matthew Paris.

How far
Hoveden
was used by
Matthew
Paris and
Roger of
Wendover.

known work published at Paris in 1837 by M. Louis Paris, under the title of "Chronique de Rains." The portion I had selected was the story of the discovery of Richard by the minstrel Blondel; for which this is first authority. On reading over, however, my MS. for the press, the work appeared to me to be too fabu-

lous and frivolous for any part to be introduced into a book of real history, and I content myself with referring the curious reader to M. Paris's edition.

¹ Preface to the *Historia Minor* of Matthew Paris, vol. iii. p. 23.

² Preface to Hoveden, vol. i., p. lxxii.

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The interest of the internal history of Richard's reign is only very slightly indebted to the personal action of the king. His influence is felt only as a remote and varying pressure, affecting the amount and impact of taxation, the placing and displacing of ministers. The island kingdom, irrespective of its function as supplying revenue, lies very much out of the sphere of his political plans, and owes nothing to any paternal care or special exercise of sagacity on its behalf. He originated no reforms; he did not even interest himself in such things so far as to reverse the measures of his father. He had no policy of government, and for his policy of aggression England satisfied him by contributing money.

Sketch of the early history of Richard I.'s reign.

His personal interest in England.

Henry's early idea of dividing his dominions among his sons had this, among other indirect effects: Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey were exposed to all the temptations of a sovereign position without the absolute liberty of action which would have left them free to find work for themselves. Whilst other princes of their age were learning experience and sowing wild oats in the Crusades, they were exercising substantial power as the colleagues or vassals of their father in England, Normandy, Aquitaine, and Brittany. Their education, such as it was, was carried on amidst the people whom they were to govern, and, as is usual in such cases, their characters were formed by the moral and political tone of their provincial courts. Henry became the ally, the hero and the victim of the feudal party in England and Normandy; Geoffrey developed the Ange-

Early education of Henry's sons.

Provincial influence on their characters.

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Richard, his
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child.

vinity—the dishonesty, turbulence, and general want of principle which marked his grandfather's line; Richard, the faults and the brilliancy of the Poictevin. Throughout his life he is amenable in a remarkable way to the personal authority and national influences of his mother.

His birth,
nurture, and
early pro-
spects.

Richard was born in England,¹ and nursed by an Englishwoman;² but there his personal interest in England seems to determine. At a very early age he was marked out as the heir of Eleanor.³ When he was two years old his father planned for him a marriage with the daughter of the queen of Arragon, one of the terms of which was the settlement of the duchy of Aquitaine on the infant couple.⁴ In 1165 his mother brought him from England into Normandy.⁵ At Epiphany 1169 he did homage to Lewis VII. for the duchy of Aquitaine;⁶ the following year he received it as his share of his father's dominions, when,

¹ His birth at Oxford is asserted by Ralph de Diceto, c. 531. The event is placed at Windsor by the author of the chronicle quoted in the next note, but Oxford is more likely. Windsor might easily be substituted for Oxford by one ignorant of the circumstances; not so Oxford for Windsor. The month September, 1157, is mentioned by Robert de Monte, 890 (ed. Struve), and the day "Sexto Idus Septembris" is given in the *Chronicon Andegavense*, published by Labbe, *Bibliotheca MSS.*, I. 276, from a MS. of the monastery of S. Albinus at Angers.

² "Mense Septembri natus est anno MCLVII^o, regi filius Ricardus nomine apud Windleshore; eadem nocte natus est Alexander Necham apud Sanctum Albanum; cujus mater fovit Ricardum ex

"mamilla dextra, sed Alexandrum fovit ex mamilla sua sinistra." MS. in the Lord Arundel's collection, quoted by James in his collections now in the Bodleian, vol. vii. 34. The name of Richard's nurse, whether she was Alexander Neckham's mother or no, was Hodierna. She had an estate in land of seven pounds a year at Chippenham, and the parish of Knoyle Hodierna in Wiltshire still preserves her name. Rot. Claus. Hen. III. (ed. Hardy) i. 416. This could not have been the whole of her property, for her land in 30 Hen. III. was talliaged at 40s.

³ Gir. Camb. De Inst. Pr. lib. iii. c. 8.

⁴ Rob. de Monte (ed. Struve), 892.

⁵ *Ibid.* 900.

⁶ *Ibid.* 905.

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in the expectation of death, Henry, at Mote de Ger, divided them among his elder sons.¹ In 1171 he joined with his mother in laying the foundation of the church of S. Augustine at Limoges.² On Trinity Sunday the same year he was installed as duke in the abbatial seat of S. Hilary at Poitiers, receiving the lance and banner from the bishop John of Poitiers, and the archbishop of Bourdeaux, and having the hymn, "O princeps egregie," sung in procession. The same year he was invested at Limoges with the ring of S. Valeria, the protomartyr of the Gauls;³ and in 1173 he received the homage of the count of Toulouse, being then sixteen.⁴

By that unhappy fate which attended his family, he fought his first campaign as duke of Aquitaine, against his father, under the influence of his mother and her advisers Ralph de Fai and Lewis VII.⁵ From the time of the pacification Richard, unlike his elder brother, recovered his hold on his share of the inheritance, and from his eighteenth year administered Aquitaine with very slight control from his father.⁶ In the apparently

¹ Ben. Pet. i. 7.

² Geoff. Vigeois, Labbe, Bibl. Manusc. ii. 318:—"Monasterium Sancti Augustini Lemovicis inceptum est construi. Tempore illo Regina Alienor cum filio Ricardo Lemovicæ forte cum esset, lapides in fundamento primos jecerunt."

³ Geoff. Vigeois, Labbe, ii. 318:—"Tempore illo rex Henricus senior filio Ricardo ex voluntate matris Aquitanorum tradidit ducatum. Post hæc apud Sanctum Hilarium Pictavis Dominica post Pentecosten, juxta consuetudinem, in abbatis sedem elevatur, sed a Bertramo Burdegalensi et Johanne Pictavensi præsulibus lancea ci

"cum vexillo præbetur, et ad processionem cantatur *O princeps egregie* . . . Procedenti tempore Ricardus Lemovicis veniens in urbe cum processione suscipitur, annulo Sanctæ Valeriæ decoratur novusque dux ab omnibus proclamatur."

⁴ Ben. Pet. i. 36. Geoff. Vig. (ap. Labbe, ii. 319) gives the day Feb. 25.

⁵ Ben. Pet. i. 42.

⁶ In 1175, Ben. Pet. i. 81. Ralph de Diceto places the date of his creation as duke of Aquitaine in his 23rd year 1179, R. Dic. 675; but he was in active employment there long before.

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Richard's
government
of Aquitaine
during his
father's life.

conflicting statements of Giraldus that during this period he showed great powers of organization, reducing the disorderly nobles to subjection, extending the boundaries, and improving the laws of his states;¹ and those of Benedict and Thomas Agnellus,² that he governed capriciously and tyrannically, that he was "malus omnibus, suis peior, pessimus sibi,"³ we trace an element of agreement. His policy was, like his father's, directed to the humiliation of the barons who had enjoyed under the weak and luxurious princes who preceded Eleanor an almost unbridled licence; and to the creation of a really independent sovereignty. The complaints of his treatment of the wives and daughters of the nobles, show, if they were true, that he followed in other respects the traditions of his mother's house too faithfully. By the barons of Aquitaine the younger Henry, who had been the stalking horse of the baronage in Normandy and England, was called in against Richard.⁴ His death opened the way for his brother to higher honours, but Richard's relations with the great vassals of the duchy were throughout his life the same; and the stand which during his father's life he made against them without help from abroad abundantly vindicates his character for perseverance and military skill. The lords of Saint-onge, the counts of Angoulême, the viscounts of Limoges,⁵

¹ De Inst. Pr. iii. 8 :—" Terram hactenus indomitam in tenera ætate tanta virtute rexit et domuit, " ut non tantum ipsam per omnes " ejus anfractus longe plenius et " tranquillius solito pacificaret, " verum etiam mutilata dudum et " dispersa reintegrans, strenua " virtute pristinos in status singula " revocaret. In formam igitur " informia redigens, in normam " enormia quæque reducens, fortia " confundens et aspera complanans,

" antiquos Aquitanniæ terminos et " jura reformavit."

² See the passage quoted in the preface to Hoveden, vol. ii. p. lvii.

³ Ben. Pet. i. 292.

⁴ Richard's enemies are the same throughout his career. They are enumerated by Benedict, i. 115, and much of their history may be learned from Geoffrey of Vigeois. The barons of Poictou seem to have had an admitted right of making private war; at least Richard on

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with a wide network of alliances amongst the almost inaccessible lordships of the Pyrenees, afforded him work and discipline enough, not to speak of the claims on Auvergne and Toulouse, which could, if enforced, have brought only an empty homage. Two short visits, one in 1176,¹ and another in 1184,² seem to be the sum of his opportunities for making acquaintance with England, during the twenty years that preceded his accession to the crown.

He visits England only twice before his accession.

Untrained to English ways, and exempt for the most part from the influence of English factions, Richard must have seen that his best policy was to leave the kingdom alone, to be governed on his father's principles, and to develop resources which might enrich him without giving him trouble. But he must have underrated the personal influence of his father if he trusted that the institutions which he had created would act by themselves, or answer to the handling of new, inexperienced workmen. Henry's influence had been felt directly everywhere, and his servants had been educated under him, or had grown with him into the knowledge of their work. Richard's first attempt was to manage by new men a system which was far from maturity, and would not bear rough or indiscriminate usage. The elements which had supplied Henry's early difficulties survived, although weakened and disarmed. Much of

He attempts to rule the kingdom by new ministers.

one occasion alleged it to Philip as an excuse for not using compulsion with them (Hoveden, iii. 255); but this must be distinguished from the constant trouble which the *male consuetudines* of the Pyrenean counts and barons gave him, who were really patrons of banditti who lived on the plunder of pilgrims to Compostella. See Ben. Pet. i. 132. Ric. Devizes, p. 12. Hoveden, iii. 35, 36.

¹ In 1176 he landed on Good Friday at Southampton, spent Easter at Winchester, and almost immediately returned to Poictou. Ben. Pet. i. 115, 120.

² In 1184 he came to England in November, stayed over Christmas, which he spent at Windsor with the king, and sailed from Dover before New Year's Day 1185. Ben. Pet. i. 319, 333, 334.

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His system was a rude test of his father's policy.

the influence which his great ministers exercised over the baronage was personal quite as much as official. It might be a question whether after his guiding hand was removed, the old administrators could have successfully maintained their position and his policy. Richard's initial measures, and the results which followed them during the years which he spent on crusade and in captivity, were such as to try very cruelly the fabric which his father had raised.

The history of the reign is really the history of the ministers.

The English history of the reign is then the history not of Richard, but of his ministers; of the administrations of his four successive justiciars, William Longchamp,¹ Walter of Coutances, Hubert Walter, and Geoffrey FitzPeter. The importance of the first two of these is of a political, that of the latter, of a constitutional character. But the survey of a period which coming between Henry II. and John, must necessarily have witnessed a great growth of national life, and which contains other elements of interest which have engrossed the attention of contemporaneous and later historians, to the exclusion of the less romantic topics, deserves examination in detail.

His imprudent choice of ministers, and provision for John and Geoffrey.

The seeds of the difficulties of the first three years of the reign were sown by Richard himself during the few months that followed his coronation, in the choice of the ministers who were to govern England during the crusade, and in the measures taken for securing the good behaviour of John and Geoffrey. In neither of these respects can Richard be charged with any greater fault than political short-sightedness. The events that illus-

¹ William Longchamp was chief justiciar either solely or with colleagues from Dec. 11, the day of Richard's departure, to October 10, 1191, when he was compelled to vacate the post. Walter of Coutances held the office from Oct. 10,

1191, to the time of his departure to Germany in January 1194. Hubert Walter from January 1194 to July 31, 1198. Geoffrey FitzPeter from that time to his death in 1213.