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978-1-108-04900-9 - Chronica Majora: Volume 2: A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216

Matthew Paris Edited by Henry Richards Luard

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Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptorum, 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.

Chronica Majora

Henry Richards Luard (1825–91), a Church of England clergyman and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, edited a number of works in the Rolls Series, for which he was noted for the quality of his indexing and the depth of his commentary. This seven-volume work, first published between 1872 and 1883, has been hailed as one of the best editions in the series. It is a rich source for English history from the Creation to 1259, written by England's greatest medieval historian. Matthew Paris (c.1200–59) became a monk at St Albans in 1217 and had access to a wide variety of documents as an acquaintance of such men as Bishop Robert Grosseteste and King Henry III, whom he knew well. Volume 2, covering 1067–1216, derives mainly from the work of Roger of Wendover, and is particularly fascinating in its discussion of the background to Magna Carta.

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Chronica Majora

VOLUME 2:
A.D. 1067 TO A.D. 1216

MATTHEW PARIS
EDITED BY
HENRY RICHARDS LUARD



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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.

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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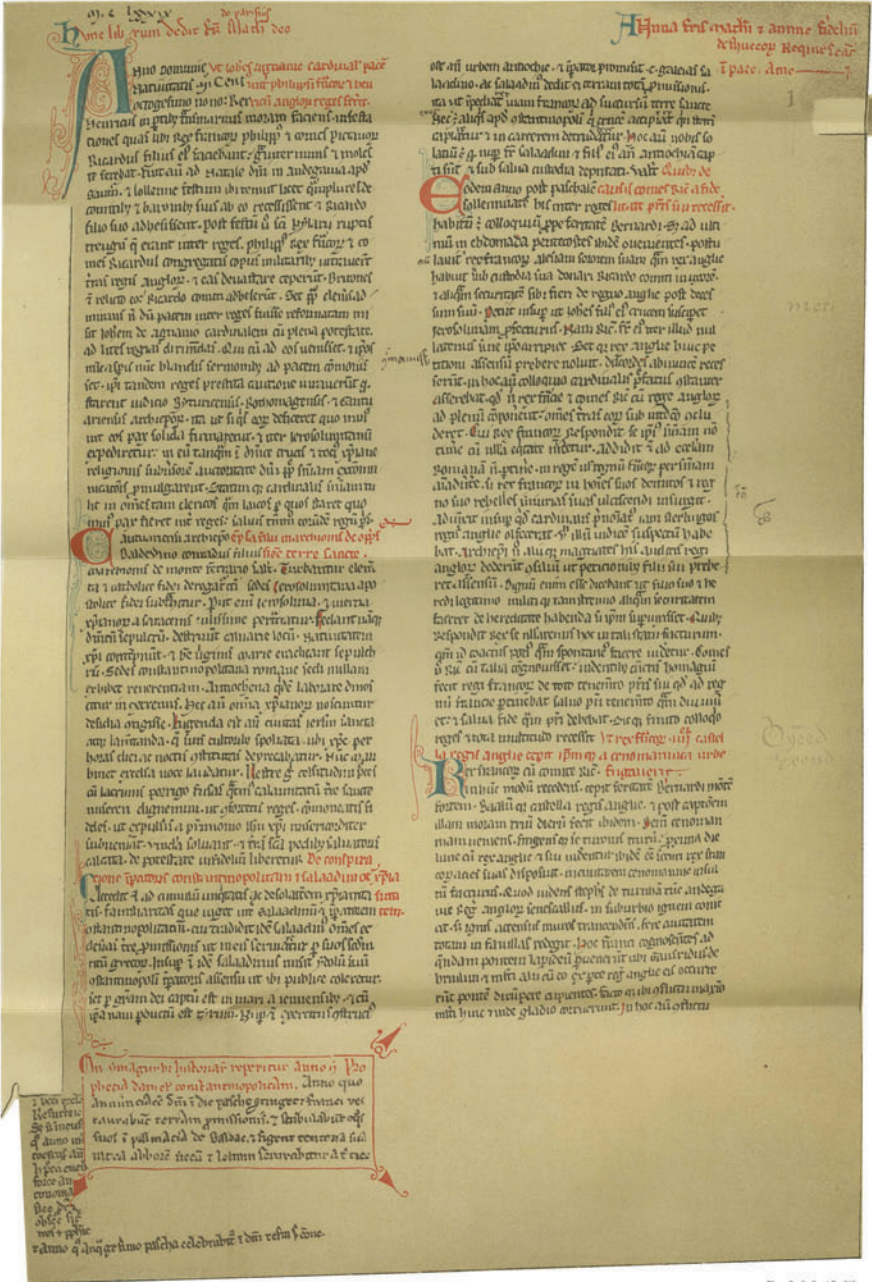
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**MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS,**  
**MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI,**  
**CHRONICA MAJORA.**

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Ms. CCCC. XVI.

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MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS,

MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI,

CHRONICA MAJORA.

EDITED

BY

HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A.,

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

VOL. II.

—
A.D. 1067 TO A.D. 1216.

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

The present volume carries on the St. Alban's Chronicle of England, re-edited by Matthew Paris with many alterations and additions, from the Conquest to the death of king John. The text is taken as in the previous volume, from the Corpus Christi College MSS. 26 (A.) and 16 (B.), the additions of Paris being shown as before by the difference of the type. In the cases where these MSS. are deficient from the loss of some leaves (*e.g.* pp. 360–388), the text is taken from the Cotton MS. Nero D. 5 (C.), which was certainly copied from the MSS. A. and B., and which there is reason to believe passed under Matthew Paris's own eye. Here the additions of Paris can only be ascertained by actual collation with the text of Wendover, as the Cotton MS. is written in the same scribe's hand throughout.¹

Contents
of the
present
volume.

The portion of the history in the present volume divides itself into two parts, the first ending with the year 1188 (p. 336), where MS. A., the first of the two volumes of the Corpus MS., ends, which is also the conclusion of what I have called the St. Alban's compilation, and the second beginning with the year 1189. From this point I believe the compiler of the original history to be Roger of Wendover. This is compiled in a similar manner to the portion that precedes, and Paris has, for the most part, made little difference in the way he has used it. The text which we know under the name of Wendover

End of the
original
compila-
tion in
1188.

Roger of
Wendover
the author
of the suc-
ceeding
portion.

¹ I mean that the whole of each part of the volume is in the same hand. The first portion, ending 1188, is in one hand, the second part in another. See note 4 to p. 336.

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is, with some few exceptions, literally transcribed, while Paris's own additions are, as before, usually entered in the margins or at the foot of the pages. He has, however, not unfrequently erased words or even lines, and introduced his own matter in place of what the scribe had written, the paragraphs of the previous writer being condensed or altered, so that the fresh matter might be got into the same space; thus proving that the additions and alterations were made after the MS. had been written. This is the case up to the year 1213 (p. 567), where a fresh hand begins of the distinct St. Alban's character, though I think certainly not Paris's own; and from here the history of Wendover may be said to be re-written, as the changes introduced are incorporated with the text, and the differences between Paris and Wendover can only be ascertained by collation. But here, as well as before, there are also additions in the margin, in Paris's own hand, introduced in a manner which shows that they were written after the rest, and giving the idea of being the author's latest additions in revising his work.

Mention in
the Douce
MS. of
Wendover
of the
name of
abbat
John de
Cella of St.
Alban's.
His cha-
racter.

At the point where MS. A. ends, the end of the year 1188, in the Douce MS. of Wendover (W.) occurs the remark, "Huc usque in lib. cronic. Johannis abbatis," and opposite in a later hand, "Usque hoc cronica Johannis "abbatis, et hic finis." Though these words have been remarked upon by various persons, I scarcely think they have received their due amount of consideration. This abbat John I believe to be "Johannes de Cella," 21st abbat of St. Alban's, from 1195 to 1214. He had been noted for his learning while a student at Paris, and, as Matthew Paris tells us (*Gesta Abbatum*, i. p. 217), might be considered as a Priscian in grammar, an Ovid in prosody, a Galen in medicine.¹ It was, moreover, in his time that many books were written out and given

¹ "Physicus præelectus et judex urinarum incomparabilis." *Gesta Abbatum*, i. p. 246.

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PREFACE.

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to the Monastery, notably the copy¹ of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, of which such ample use was made in the earlier portion of the St. Alban's compilation. He had been prior of Wallingford; and it is, to say the least, remarkable, that in copying Robert de Monte's account of the reconciliation between Stephen and Henry in 1153 (p. 191) the compiler inserts the words "apud Walingford" as the place where the peace was made.

Although the words above mentioned, "usque hoc chronica Johannis abbatis" are capable of being understood differently, and are quite compatible with the theory of some one else being the author, their most natural interpretation would be that the chronicle was his compilation up to this point. They might of course mean that abbat John's history (*i.e.*, a different work), ended with this date;² but there is no trace of such a work existing or ever having existed, and the only other meaning they could have is, that a volume in his possession ended here. But this does not seem to me so likely as the previous interpretation, and after a full consideration of what has been stated in the preface to the first volume as to when and where this compilation must have been made and by whom it could have been composed,³ I am inclined to think that we have here the clue to the author's name, and that the St. Alban's compilation was made by abbat John de Cella himself up to the year 1189, when Wendover took it up and carried it on in the same style and from the same sources. The chief objection to this supposition (as has been stated) is, that while Paris especially speaks of abbat John's pre-eminence in grammar, prosody, and medicine, he says nothing

¹ MS. Reg. 4. D. vii. See the *Gesta Abbatum*, i. p. 233.

² Thus in the C. C. MS. (B.), f. 17 b (p. 452), opposite the rubric, "Incipit de rege Johanne," &c., a late (16th century) hand has

inserted "Hic incipit Radulphus Niger ad annum Henrici III.;" and again, f. 35, near the end of the year 1213 (p. 568), "Hic rursus incipit Radulphus Niger."

³ See Vol. I., p. xxxii.

of him as a historian. No doubt this is entitled to considerable weight, but I cannot think it decisive.

Sources of
this portion
of the
history.

The sources of which the compiler, whoever he was, and after him, Roger of Wendover, made use for their history are as various as those in the earlier portion of the compilation. I give a complete list, as far as I have been able to identify them, as was done in the Preface to the first volume. Besides the well known English historians, Huntingdon, Malmesbury, Diceto, Robert de Monte, &c., various single lives and legends, some of them still existing only in MS., are employed. The history of the Crusades is taken from William of Tyre, with a few introductions from Baldwin, Guibert, Fulcher, and others. After William's work comes to a conclusion, the anonymous continuation contained in the copy belonging to St. Alban's (now in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 14. C. x.),¹ a continuation still unprinted, is used. For the reigns of Richard and John, Benedict, Hoveden, and afterwards Ralph of Coggeshale, are the chief authorities. But after the end of Hoveden's history, or the year 1202, though Coggeshale is occasionally used, Wendover is an original authority; at least I can trace his work to no known source. Some of his facts will be found in the writer published by Mr. Stubbs, under the name of Walter of Coventry.² But I do not think that he was known to

¹ See some account of this continuation in Professor Stubbs's Introduction to the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, pp. lxxv, lxx, lxxiii. He has printed the prologue in the note to p. lxxiii. Additions are occasionally introduced from some other source, which I have not been able to identify; see, for instance, the account of Raymond of Tripoli's conduct at the battle of Hittin, prefaced with the words "ut aiunt," p. 328.

² I venture to doubt the correctness of Professor Stubbs in assign-

ing this "Memoriale" to Walter of Coventry. See his preface, i., p. xx. I think the title means only that Walter of Coventry left the book as a memorial to his monastery. In the Cambridge University Library there is a MS. copy of the *Aurea Legenda* (Gg. 2. 18), with "Memoriale fratris Johannis de Draytone" written on the first leaf. This has led Tanner to insert Johannes de Draytone in his *Bibliotheca* as the writer of a work entitled "Memoriale"!

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Wendover. The only instance in which the language of the two writers is identical, is in the account of the council held by the legate Romanus at Lyons or Bourges (Walter of Coventry, ii. p. 276, Wendover iv. p. 118), which was probably taken by each writer from some other source.

List of the authorities used by the compilers of the history in the present volume.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Adam, ¹ subprior of Eynsham : Visio quædam mirabilis | List of
authorities
from which
the present
volume is
compiled. |
| (MS. Cotton, Caligula, A. 8.) | |
| Aelred of Rievaulx : | |
| De genealogia regum Anglorum (Twysden's x. Scriptores). | |
| Vita Edwardi Confessoris (Twysden's x. Scriptores). | |
| Alexander III. : | |
| Epistolæ (Migne's Patrologia, cc.). | |
| Instructio fidei Catholicæ (ap. Pet. Blesens. Migne, ccvii.). | |
| Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (ed. Thorpe, in the present series). | |
| Baldric : Historia Hierosolimitana (Migne, clxvi.). | |
| Benedict of Peterborough (ed. Stubbs in the present series). | |

¹ The authorship of this legend is known from the prologue to the vision of Thurchill (p. 497) given in the MS. Reg. 13. D. v. "Est et alia visio diligenti narratione luculenter exarata, quæ in monasterio de Einesham anno Verbi incarnati mxcvi. contigit quam dominus Adam supprior ejusdem cænobii, vir valde gravis ac religiosus, eleganti stilo scripsit,

"sicut ab ejus ore audivit, qui a corpore per duos dies et noctes eductus fuerat." By a blunder, which was originally made by the scribe of the C. C. MS. (see note 1, p. 423), the printed editions of Paris and Wendover attribute this vision to Evesham instead of Eynsham. The MSS. of Wendover have correctly *Eineshamensis*.

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- Clarendon, Constitutions of (MS. Cott. Claudius B. 2.)
- Conrad of Lichtenau (abbas Urspergensis) : *Chronicon (Argentorati, 1609).*
- Eadmer : *Vita S. Anselmi (Migne, clviii).*
- Florence of Worcester and his continuator (ed. Thorpe, *Eng. Hist. Soc.*)
- Fulcher of Chartres : *Historia Hierosolimitana (Migne, clv).*
- Gervase of Canterbury (MS. ap. Leland, *Collectanea, t. i., ed. Hearne, 1770).*
- Gesta Francorum (Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos, Hanov. 1611).*
- Gratiani Decretum (Migne, clxxxvii.).
- Gregorii IX. Decretalia (Antv. 1618).
- Guibert, *Gesta Dei per Francos (Migne, clvi).*
- Henry of Huntingdon (ed. Savile, *Scriptores post Bedam, Lond. 1696).*
- Henry of Sawtrey :
Tractatus de Purgatorio S. Patricii (MS. Cott. Nero A. 7. Migne, clxxx.).
Legenda (Ib.).
- Herbert de Bosham : *Vita S. Thomæ (ed. Giles).*
- Historia Eliensis (ed. Stewart, Angl. Christ. Soc., Lond. 1848).*
- Innocent III. : *Epistolæ (Migne, ccxiv.–ccxvii.).*
- James of Vitry (*Historia Orientalis, in Bongars' Gesta Dei per Francos, Hanov. 1611).*
- John, abbat of Ford : *Vita S. Wlfrici (MS. Cott. Faustina B. 4).*
- John of Salisbury : *Vita S. Thomæ Cant. (ed. Giles).*
- Lateranensis Concilii Decreta (Mansi).*
- MS. ap. Leland (*Collectanea, Hearne, 1770).*
- Peter of Vaux Cernay : *Historia Albigensium (Brial, xix., and Migne, ccxiii.).*
- Ralph of Coggeshale (ed. Stevenson, in the present series).

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- Ralph de Diceto¹:
 Abbreviationes Chronicorum (Twysden's x. Scriptores).
 Imagines Historiarum (Twysden's x. Scriptores).
 Reginald of Durham: *Vita S. Godrici* (MS. Harl. 322, ed. Stevenson, Surt. Soc. 1845).
 Robert de Monte (printed in Guiberti Opera, Par. 1651,² and Migne, clx.).
 Robertus Monachus: *Historia Hierosolimitana* (Migne, clv.).
 Roger of Hoveden (ed. Stubbs, in the present series).
 Sigebert of Gembloux (Migne, clx.).
 S. Thomas of Canterbury³: *Epistolæ* (ed. Giles).
 Visio Thurchilli (MS. Reg. 13 D. v.).⁴
 Vita S. Hugonis (MS. Lansdowne, 436).
 Vita S. Oswini (ed. Raine, Surt. Soc., 1838).
 Vitæ Pontificum.
 William Fitz Stephen: *Vita S. Thomæ* (ed. Giles).
 William of Malmesbury:
 Gesta Regum (ed. Hardy, Eng. Hist. Soc.).
 Gesta Pontificum (ed. Hamilton in the present series).
 William of Tyre (Migne, cci.).

List of
 authorities
 from which
 the present
 volume is
 compiled

¹ The MS. of Diceto used is that now in the British Museum, Reg. 13 E. vi. Many passages written at St. Alban's, and relating to the monastery, which are inserted in the margin, are incorporated into the present work. These are frequently printed by Twysden as if they were part of Diceto's work. See Madden's Preface to the *Historia Anglorum*, i. p. x., note.

² See the passage in p. 6, which is not in Migne's edition.

³ The account of the archbishop has some passages in common with the compilation given in the MS.

Cotton, Faustina B. 8. I think, however, that the St. Alban's writer went to the original sources, as given in the margins, for this.

⁴ There are corrections in this by Matthew Paris himself. A rubric on f. 37 is as follows: "Hic est liber qui per quorundam negligentiam fuerat deperditus, sed per industriam venerabilis nostri in Christo patris et domini, domini Johannis abbatis sexti [Whethamstede] huic monasterio erat restitutus et assignatus librariæ conventus."

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William of Tyre: Anonymous continuator of (MS. Reg. 14 C. x.).¹

It is not always easy to determine between two authorities, which is the one employed at the moment; for instance, as Diceto and Robert de Monte are both used, whether in some cases the account is taken from Robert de Monte (the original), or Diceto (the copyist). That Benedict and Hoveden were both used may be seen by the passage which gives the account of Richard's starting for his crusade in 1190 (p. 363). Here Benedict is evidently the authority; and yet in the middle of the narrative he is left for Hoveden, as may be seen by the words "propter moram navigii," which are not in Benedict, l. 20, and by the name Porteswere (Porto Ercole) being taken from Hoveden; the last appears as *Kerlehe* in Benedict.

Additions
made by
the com-
pilers to
their
authorities.

The actual additions made by abbat John (if I am correct in believing him to be the compiler of the earlier portion) and by Wendover to their authorities, will be easily seen by observing the paragraphs which have no source affixed to the margin, and by consulting the notes to those passages where the sources are mentioned. These additions are many and varied; some are absolutely devoid of all authority, and are evidently introduced through a wish to amplify, or to make clear, the author who is being copied, or from not understanding him. Such are, probably, the sending of Eadwine and Morkere to Scotland in 1067 (p. 2), the stay of Stigand and another bishop there in 1070 (p. 6, see the note), the healing of animals at the tomb of St. Thomas in 1171 (p. 283). Some seem pure inventions of the writer, as, for instance, the curious story of Bartholomew, bishop of

¹ The additional sources, so far as I have been enabled to ascertain them, used by Matthew Paris for his additions, will be found below, in p. xxix.

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Exeter, and a certain priest in 1161¹ (p. 216), and the remarkable account of the death and repentance of bishop Hugh of Nunant in 1198 (p. 443), a story likely enough to be invented in a monastery. Neither of these have I been able to trace to any known source.

Additions made by the compilers to their authorities.

On the other hand, many of the additions are accounts of facts which would be likely to be well known and preserved at St. Alban's, and for which this chronicle must be considered as first hand authority. Of course all that relates to St. Alban's itself would come under this category; such, for instance, as the death of abbat Paul at Colwich (p. 34), the charter of the bishop of Lincoln given to St. Alban's (p. 220); the legend of the discovery of the body of S. Amphibalus (pp. 301-303), the succession of the abbats, &c.; but others will be found which have a close connexion with the abbey; for instance, the foundation of Tynemouth (a cell of St. Alban's) by Robert Mowbray in 1090 (p. 31), the account of the battle of Tinchebrai (p. 132), where a passage is introduced into Robert de Monte's description, mentioning the prowess of William of Albini, surnamed Brito, and stating that the result of the battle was chiefly due to him. Now he was lord of Belvoir, and a great benefactor to that monastery (where he was buried), a cell of St. Alban's, and had been admitted to their fraternity, so that a record of his prowess was very likely to be preserved in the parent monastery. Again, there are remarkable details as to the death of the chancellor Ranulph in 1123 (p. 150), who fell from his horse and was carelessly ridden over by a monk of St. Alban's. The origin of Pope Adrian IV., "de territorio S. Albani," is given in p. 204. King John's oath, and his visit to St. Alban's after his coronation (p. 456), may be mentioned as another instance.

There are other additions for which no other authority

¹ There must, however, have been some authority for this story in St. Alban's, as Paris has given additional details in the *Historia Anglorum* (i. p. 312).

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Additions made by the compilers to their authorities. is to be found, the estimation of the truth of which must depend on the general credibility of the writer. A few of these are worth collecting together; for instance, the account of the plunder of the monasteries by the Conqueror (p. 6), of the building of Hereward's wooden castle in 1071, which the writer says was called by that name up to his own time (p. 7); details of the conspiracy of Ralph Wader and the murder of bishop Walcher (pp. 13, 14); the prowess of Godfrey and Robert of Normandy (p. 74); Robert's tampering with the English nobles (p. 118); the building of Queen Matilda's house of lepers (p. 144); the account of the ex-empress Matilda's living with her father (p. 153); W. Martel put under the custody of Brien Fitz-Count (p. 174); the death of Queen Matilda, Stephen's wife, at *Hedingham* (p. 188); Gilbert Foliot being the real author of the letters of Henry II. in the controversy with archbishop Thomas (p. 240); the story of the bishop's vision (*ib.*); the account of the mental sufferings of the archbishop (pp. 261, 262); the Countess of Leicester throwing away her ring at the battle of Fornham in 1173 (p. 290, see the note on the page); the advice of the archbishops and others to Henry II. to give way to his son Richard (pp. 339, 340); the precious stones belonging to the same king (p. 347); the absolution of Richard I. by the archbishops of Trier and Coutances (p. 348); the wine poured about the pavements and walls of the palace at his coronation, while the Jews and women were not allowed to be present because they were suspected of magical incantations (p. 350); the story of bishop Hugh Pudsey and the prophecy by Godric of his blindness (p. 352); the jurisdiction of Richard's two justiciaries (p. 355); the account of the affray between Richard and Philip at Messina (p. 367); the account of bishop Longchamp (p. 369) and the mention in p. 372 of the sheriff of Dover (Matthew de Clere) taking counsel with Longchamp's sister, then in charge of Dover castle, against the archbishop of York (Geoffrey); Philip's envy of Richard's

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fame at Acre (p. 375); the curious story of Richard's redemption of the relicks seized by Saladin at Jerusalem (p. 378); the statement that John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, seized half the price of the chalices given up for Richard's ransom (p. 398); John's attempt on the crown (p. 401); the mention of Evreux being given into John's charge (p. 402); the reasons for Richard's burning St. Valery (p. 440); the account of Philip's requesting Pope Innocent III. to mediate between him and Richard, and Richard's indignation at the Pope's interference (pp. 449, 450); the statement that Richard was shot by a poisoned arrow (p. 451); the retention of Richard's servants after his death by John (p. 452); the meeting of John with his mother at Le Mans (p. 453); the promise of Philip to Arthur (p. 457); Otho's gratitude to the memory of Richard (p. 458); the ransom paid by the bishop of Beauvais (*ib.*); the hostility of Philip of Swabia to Otho by Philip's connivance (p. 461); the rivalry in splendour of archbishop Hubert with John (p. 475); the edict at Tewkesbury, and the fine paid by many who owed military service for not going to Portsmouth in 1201 (*ib.*). After this (p. 477), Wendover may be considered as an original authority.

Additions
made by
the com-
pilers to
their
authorities.

For several passages, evidently taken from other sources, I have not been able to discover the original authorities; among these may be mentioned the additions to the usual accounts of Pope Urban's speech at the council of Clermont (p. 45); the account of the condemnation of the errors of Gilbert de la Porée, here given to a wrong year (p. 146); the account of the Jacobites (Dominicans) (p. 443); and of the settlement of the quarrel between Tours and Dol (p. 459). Several documents also are introduced, which are given by no earlier historian; *e. g.*, the Charter of Liberties of Henry I. (p. 115); repeated in p. 552, when its discovery by archbishop Langton is mentioned; the list of heads of the constitutions of the Lateran Council (p. 310); Richard's letter to the archbishop of Rouen, with his account of the battle

of Arsouf (p. 376); his letter to the Pope complaining of Leopold, and the Pope's excommunication of Leopold (pp. 407, 408). Occasionally (*e. g.*, pp. 38, 346, 375) the writer speaks in the first person.

Manner in which the authorities are used.

The authorities employed are for the most part faithfully and even slavishly copied, though occasionally they are altered, apparently merely for the sake of alteration.¹ The fact that two not unfrequently give contradictory accounts of an incident does not prevent the compiler from inserting both in his narrative; on the other hand the two or three authorities that are sometimes used at the same time are dovetailed together with considerable ingenuity. He not unfrequently introduces sentences not in his original, sometimes from other sources which he had at hand, at other times entirely out of his own head, to round a period or to give greater picturesqueness to his narrative. See, for instance, p. 33, "albo unguento manibus ejus delibutis;" p. 63, where "et tubis" is added to Huntingdon's "lituis;" p. 81, where the Christians are described as "desperati de Dei bonitate et misericordia;" p. 84, where the speech stated by Baldric (who is the authority) to "quispiam illorum" is daringly given to Bohemond; pp. 87, 88, in the account of the battle of Antioch, where besides the additions to his authority of the change of wind blowing the smoke into the face of the enemy, the miraculous aid given to the Christians is enlarged,—"*visi sunt etiam a nonnullis angeli in aere volitantes et super Turcos fugientes ignem flamineum jaculantes.*" Small additions are not unfrequently introduced to fill up, or to give reasons for the statements in his original (*e. g.*, pp. 347, 354, 363). Errors are often made through sheer carelessness, *e. g.*, *Oxford* for *Exeter*² in p. 3; *sine vulnere* for *vulneratus*,

¹ *e. g.* Malmesbury's "Malcolmus" "antequam ad manus veniretur," "se dedidit" appears as "Malcolmus quoque rex ad manus veniens deditioni cessit" (p. 4).

² Here the Douce MS. of Wendenover has correctly *Exonia*. I have not however ventured to alter the reading of the MSS. of Paris.

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p. 36, &c.; or in p. 67, where the compiler is copying William of Tyre, in the mention of Antioch, "ab Antiocho post mortem Alexandri Macedonis dicta," he substitutes *filio* for *post mortem*, thus making Antiochus the son of Alexander! See another instance in copying Huntingdon pointed out in note 4 to p. 65. On the other hand, errors are sometimes made through a wish to abbreviate the original; for instance, in the account of the battle of Antioch (p. 85), William of Tyre has "Robertum, qui cognominatus est Friso, Flandrensem comitem;" here one person is made into two by the compiler, who substitutes for this, "comes Flandrensis et Robertus Friso." Again, immediately afterwards, by varying William of Tyre's language, he makes Raymond of Toulouse one of the leaders of the 4th line of battle, though the next page, which is correctly copied, states him to have remained in the city for its defence in consequence of his illness. Or again, in p. 147, Huntingdon has (f. 217 b, l. 35, Savile) "Proximo anno exulavit rex consulem Evreus et Willelmum Crispin a Normannia;" in the next page (f. 218, l. 34), in the account of the battle between Louis VI. and Henry I. he has "Interim Willelmus Crispin regis Henrici caput gladio bis percussit." Our compiler makes these into one sentence, "Willelmus Crispin, consul Ebroicensis, quem, culpissuis exigentibus, paulo ante rex Henricus exulaverat, caput ejusdem regis gladio bis percussit," here making two persons into one. In this sentence where Huntingdon speaks of *lorica*, our compiler gives *lorica et galea*, and immediately below states that the Count of Flanders, Baldwin VII., was mortally wounded here, adding the detail "ad sua in lectica adductus," a mere wanton alteration of Huntingdon's statement in the previous year (f. 218, l. 12), "Baldwinus . . . apud Ou in Normannia seditione militari funeste vulneratus ad sua recessit;" and yet when copying the account of the count's death from Huntingdon (f. 218, l. 55) immediately below,

p. 148, he adds, “apud Aucum” (Eu), from this very passage of Huntingdon. Again, in p. 191, A.D. 1153, where Robert de Monte is the authority used, the clause “omni hærede viduatus præter solummodo ducem “Henricum” is introduced, applied to Stephen after the death of Eustace, the compiler in his wish to round the sentence utterly forgetting Stephen’s still surviving son, William, who did not die till 1160. Similar errors will be occasionally discovered in Wendover’s portion; see, for instance, p. 335, the death of Conrad of Montferrat, a mere careless misreading of the account of his illness in the continuator of William of Tyre, or p. 458, where in abridging Hoveden, Wendover has confounded Peter of Douay, “miles optimus” with his brother, the elect of Cambrai, and styled him *frater*; see the note on the passage. Sometimes the errors introduced seem to have been deliberately made, e.g., p. 94, the other name of Lydda (*Diospolis*) is altered into *Eliopolis*; p. 142, where Ralph of Corbueil, although already bishop of Rochester, is said to be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, an introduction into Diceto’s account, which is otherwise literally followed.

Matthew Paris.

Untrustworthiness of former editions.

It has been unfortunate for the estimate of Matthew Paris (1) that he has been credited with all Wendover’s portion of the history as his own, and (2) that he found so utterly untrustworthy an editor as archbishop Parker, or whoever it was whom he employed to edit the work. Wats, as he tells us himself, was not employed on the reprint in 1640 till the whole of the history to the end of the reign of Henry II. had been printed off. He has endeavoured to remedy some of Parker’s defects by his collations,¹ but though these are fairly done they are not entirely to be depended upon, and have been very gene-

¹ Wats does not seem to have seen the Corpus MS., but to have trusted to some one else for its readings. His various readings are chiefly taken from the Cotton MS. C.