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Matthew Paris Edited by Henry Richards Luard

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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.

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. The Latin text of Volume 3, covering 1216–39, derives from the work of Roger of Wendover up to around 1235, where scholars have suggested Paris's own chronicle began.

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Chronica Majora

VOLUME 3:
A.D. 1216 TO A.D. 1239

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.

35432.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

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

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be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

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

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The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished ; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,
December 1857.*

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

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MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS,
MONACHI SANCTI ALBANI,
CHRONICA MAJORA.

EDITED

BY

HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, B.D.,

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

VOL. III.

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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 contains the history of the reign of Henry III. to the end of the year 1239. The earlier portion, down to the middle of the year 1235, is composed after the same plan as that in the preceding volume; that is to say, it is a transcript of the history of Roger of Wendover with corrections and additions by Matthew Paris. These increase in number and importance as Wendover's history draws to its conclusion; and of several events, though Wendover has been followed in the first instance, a separate account has been given by Paris, sometimes with fuller details, sometimes in a more abridged form, as, for instance, the account of the sea fight in which Eustace the monk was defeated and slain (p. 28), or that of the siege of Bedford Castle (p. 88).

That Wendover is the author or compiler of the whole of what appears in small print in the present volume I think ought not to be doubted. Both the MSS. which contain his history assert this distinctly: "huc usque scripsit dominus Rogerus de Wendovre." And the original MS. of Paris's history states the same, adding immediately afterwards, "Incipit frater Matthæus Parisiensis" (see p. 327, note ²). I mention this because some writers¹ have concluded from the style of the latter

¹ See the remarks of Sir Frederick Madden in his Preface to the 3rd volume of the *Historia Anglorum*, p. xxiii. He partially founds his theory on the fact that in MS. C. the rubrick quoted above respecting the end of Wendover's history is

transferred to a previous page. See p. 290, note ², of the present volume. But I consider this due to the carelessness of the scribe of that MS., and that it cannot have any weight against the distinct testimony of the other three MSS.

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portion of Wendover's history that it really is due to Paris. That Paris may have been consulted and given assistance to his predecessor is likely enough; but I cannot think that he can really have been the *author* of any portion of what is contained in the MSS. of Wendover. The history of the years 1234 and 1235 is altered and enlarged in Paris's own work in the same manner as all that has gone before, and not at all in the way an author would amend his own composition for a new edition. Moreover, one of Paris's additions in the year 1234 is the whole of the letter of Pope Gregory IX., exhorting all to take the Cross (pp. 280-287), which he would scarcely have thus inserted in his history had he been the compiler of pp. 309-313, in which the greater portion of this same letter is again given. Another minute piece of evidence on this point may be seen in p. 302, where in describing the great storm at Abbotsley, in 1234, Wendover uses the same language¹ which he has introduced into Baldric's account of the battle of Antioch (vol. ii. p. 88), while Paris makes his own additions in his usual style. It will then be safe, I conclude, to attribute all that is printed in small type in the present volume to Roger of Wendover.

Wendover
a first
hand au-
thority for
this por-
tion of the
history.

Oliverius
Scholas-
ticus.

Roger of Wendover must be considered as a first hand authority for nearly all that is contained in this portion of his work. With the exception of Ralph of Coggeshale I cannot find that he has made use of any previous historian for English affairs. The only writer whom he has transcribed in the fashion of the earlier portion of his history is Oliverius Scholasticus, from whom he has taken his account of the affairs of the Holy Land in 1217 and of the siege and capture of Damietta by the crusaders in 1218. This treatise, which is known by the name of the *Historia Captionis Damietæ*, is printed as the work of an anonymous author in Gale's *Scriptores* quinque,

¹ "Visi sunt autem in aere angeli . . . volitantes," &c.

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and will also be found in the second volume of Eckhard's *Corpus Historicum Medii ævi* (Lips. 1723). It is also incorporated into the *Historia Orientalis* of James of Vitri, printed at the end of the collection of Bongars. Gale and Eckhard made use of different MSS., and Wendover copies from one differing from both. This has made the editing of this portion of the history very difficult, especially as neither of the editors has taken much pains with his author. As a specimen of how errors obtain a footing in popular books the following may be mentioned, which has arisen from Wendover's text having been followed without any examination of the source whence he derived his statements. In the list of persons assembled at Acre which is given by Oliverius (*see* p. 9 of the present volume) are two Hungarian bishops; the name of the see of one of them, Joriensis (of Jaurinum, *Raab*), has been carelessly written in one of the MSS. of Wendover and the two of Paris *Jovensis*. This has been supposed to be an error for *Juvavensis*, of Juvavia, the old name of Saltzburg. And thus the Bishop of Saltzburg has been set down as being at Acre at this time. Another curious instance may be seen in p. 14 (Coxe's Wendover, iv., p. 13); by the omission of a line in Oliverius, and the altering of the punctuation, Wendover is made to speak of a port between Jerusalem and the Jordan; ¹ all is made clear by the insertion of the missing words.²

The character of the additions made by Matthew Paris will be best understood from the list, which as in the former volumes, I have given below. They relate in many cases, as would be expected, to the affairs of St. Alban's; they occasionally give a correction (as in

Character
of the ad-
ditions of
Matthew
Paris.

¹ This has puzzled M. Huillard-Bréholles, the French translator of Matthew Paris, who saw the difficulty (vol. iii. p. 137). The English translator (Bohn's Wendover,

ii. p. 388) appears to have seen none.

² The most important of Wendover's own additions to this history of Oliverius is the list of English nobles at Damietta in 1218 (p. 41).

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p. 58, Westminster for Canterbury, the place of the coronation in 1220, or in p. 61, the name of Pandulf, the legate, for Walo); they frequently add a name which Wendover has omitted to give (as in p. 1, the insertion of Jocelyn, Bishop of Bath, as present at the young king's coronation, or in p. 112, that of Reimund, the prior of St. Alban's, as the person who saw the apparition of King John); they insert a quotation to illustrate (p. 27 from Seneca (?), p. 249 from Ovid, p. 260 from other writers); or words to give force and picturesqueness to the narrative (as in p. 22, the details introduced into the account of the battle of Lincoln, or in pp. 26, 27, into that of the sea fight in which Eustace the monk was defeated and slain, where the names of the two persons who discovered him in his concealment are given). There are, however, many separate insertions which have no connexion with Wendover's text. One of the most curious is the account of the procession of Pope Innocent III. with the Veronica ("effigies vultus Dominici quæ Veronica dicitur"), with the versicles and prayer to be used (pp. 7, 8). In several instances, as I have stated above, after Wendover's account has been transcribed, a fresh description of the same event is given in different words. Documents are occasionally inserted which Wendover had omitted to use from the ample collection which Paris's own history shows to have existed at St. Alban's. He frequently adds his own description of the characters of the persons mentioned by Wendover, introducing blame or praise with a free hand from his own knowledge or belief; as instances of this may be mentioned the praise of Roger le Noir, Bishop of London (p. 164), the character of Walter the Dominican (p. 177), that of Peter¹ Mauclerc Count of Brittany (p. 191), the ability

¹ Erroneously called *Henry* by Wendover. A curious instance may be seen in p. 240, where Paris alters *filius*, applied by Wendover

to the relationship between Peter de Rievaulx and Peter des Roches, to *carus*.

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and fidelity of Ralph Neville, the chancellor (p. 206). The language of his predecessor is frequently changed and strengthened, as in p. 306, where, in speaking of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, Wendover's "virorum "religiosorum inimicus" is altered to "monachorum per- "secutor, canonicorum et omnium malleus religiosorum." His sense of the avarice and rapacity of the Papal court is evidenced by the introduction of many very unsparing remarks (pp. 122, 194, &c.). A curious example of his feeling in this respect may be seen in p. 102, where, in copying Wendover's account of the Pope's mention of the universal complaints that nothing could be done in the Roman church (*ecclesia*) without great expenditure of money, he alters the word *ecclesia* into *curia*. He does not hesitate occasionally to make insertions in the documents given by Wendover, either to improve the language (as in p. 69), or to introduce a quotation¹ (as in p. 146). A very remarkable instance of the liberties he ventured to take in this way may be seen in his own portion of the history, where near the close of the Emperor Frederick's letter to Richard of Cornwall against the Pope, the emperor's language is altered so as to give the impression of a prophecy of the future election of Richard to the empire.² His minor alterations are often very carelessly made, and give the idea of the historian glancing over his transcriber's work, and putting in here and there a word he thought at the moment advisable without carefully reading through the sentence.³ Sometimes he clearly did not see the errors made by his transcriber.

¹ See also the additions to the speech of the bishops to the king in 1234 (p. 269).

² P. 587. He addresses Richard as "princeps orbis terræ profuture." In place of this only the words "vos ergo reges et principes "orbis terræ" are given in the copy of the letter as it appears in the collection of the letters of the

author, Peter de Vineis. This would show that this portion of the history was not compiled till 1256. See the note on the passage.

³ See, for instance, p. 15, note ⁸, where *nisi* is introduced in error; again, the addition of a verb, *invenit*, in p. 96, destroys the sense of the sentence.

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Omissions of Paris in following Wendover. On the other hand there are a few omissions¹ from Wendover's history; for instance in p. 18, the credit given by the older historian to Fawkes de Breauté as a good soldier ("in opere illo laudabilis," note⁶) is omitted by Paris, as unwilling to give even those good words to the great enemy and despoiler of St. Alban's. And the chapters² in Wendover on the astronomical phenomena of 1229 (Coxe, iv. 180), the signs preceding the restoration of the Holy Land (Id. 194), and the loss of the Cross and the Holy Land (Id. p. 195), are omitted altogether, while the account of the death of Richard Marshal in Ireland (p. 288) differs entirely from that given by Wendover (iv. pp. 306, 307).

Character of Matthew Paris's own history. Matthew Paris takes up the history without any apparent break, continuing Wendover as if he left off in the middle of a paragraph, and only marking the commencement of his continuation by a quotation from Ovid. His style is at once much fuller, with more details, and with far more life and vividness of description than is ever found in his predecessor. And although it is still the history of England that is always most prominent, yet the chronicle is at the same time a very valuable authority for the contemporary history of other countries, and must be considered as a first hand authority for that of France and the empire. There are very full details of some of the campaigns of the emperor in Italy. The affairs of Rome and the Papacy naturally are not neglected. Even Spanish matters are not unfrequently mentioned. See especially the curious allusion to the capture of the fortress of Peniscola by a stratagem (p. 384), which I have not been able to find in any of the Spanish historians.³ Nor are eastern affairs

¹ See a curious instance in p. 26. Writing of Eustace the monk, the MSS. of Wendover style him "viro flagitioso et pietate nequissimo;" probably a blunder for *pirata*.

Paris omits the latter words, and has only "viro flagitiosissimo."

² See pp. 165, 176.

³ See also the account of the narrow escape of Ferdinand III. at Seville in 1239 (p. 640).

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forgotten; much of our knowledge of the affairs of Palestine during these years is due to the documents preserved to us by Paris. The elaborate account of Mahomet (p. 343), however legendary, and the accounts of the Tartars (pp. 488, 639) show his own interest in matters beyond the scope of ordinary annalists. No doubt he had the materials in a great measure to his hand, from the store of documents¹ preserved in the monastery of St. Alban's; but a great deal is due to his own vigour, as he evidently lost no opportunity of making himself acquainted with foreign affairs.²

Of the immediate authorities employed by Matthew Paris, excepting the Southwark annals,³ and Ralph of Coggeshale, whom he has used independently of Wendorfer, I have been able to identify scarcely any. His history of Mahomet has much in common with that given in the history of Jerusalem by James of Vitri, and may have been partly taken from it. But I think it is more probable that both the historians were indebted to a common source. This is certainly the case with Vincent of Beauvais, an author nearly contemporary with Paris himself, whose *Speculum Historiale* gives some of this same matter.⁴ The chronicle of Alberic (called a monk of Trois-Fontaines), published by Leibnitz, Hanover, 1698, and that of the monk Godfrey (published in Struve's collection) may have been used for some portion of the accounts of German affairs; and the French continuation of William of Tyre, the *Estoire d'Eracles*, for some of those relating to the crusade.

For much that he tells us of Henry III., the king himself must have been the actual authority; and "the

¹ The documents inserted by Paris in his history are not always given with correct dates. See pp. 34, 455, 460.

² I do not dwell upon this, because it has been fully discussed by Sir Frederick Madden in his Pre-

face to the *Historia Anglorum*, vol. iii. pp. xxvii-xxix.

³ MS. Cotton, Faustina, A. 8. See the preface to vol. ii. p. xxix.

⁴ See note ² on p. 344, where I have given a conjecture as to the original source.

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“ frequency of the royal visits to St. Alban’s ”¹ afforded Paris ample opportunities of seeing the king and obtaining details of all kinds from him. Both in the additions to Wendover and in Paris’s own history this is evident. The very curious details with which he enlarges Wendover’s account of the marriage of the king’s sister Isabella to the Emperor Frederick II. (pp. 320–325), and especially those in p. 324, could only have been known to Paris by the information of the king, or those of whom the empress made confidants in the matter. Probably too the large and very interesting additions respecting Hubert de Burgh (*see* pp. 225–229, 291), are due to information give to Paris by the earl himself.²

Hubert de
Burgh.

Revision of
his work
by Paris.

That Paris went over his own work after its completion, as I have already remarked in the preface to vol. ii., is equally clear from the evidence of this portion of the principal MS., as from what has gone before. Throughout there are introductions in the margin, which sometimes are slight additions,³ sometimes new paragraphs altogether, as he obtained fresh information, or saw how improvements in what he had written might be made. It was probably then that the many marginal remarks “vacat,” “offendiculum,” “impertinens ad historiam Anglorum,” and the like, were introduced to indicate the chapters or passages which he wished to omit when abridging his history for the king’s eyes.⁴

¹ Madden, preface to *Hist. Anglorum*, iii. p. xxvii.

² Hubert’s chief friend in his troubles, who gave an elaborate answer to all the charges against him, was Laurence, a clerk of St. Alban’s. See p. 233.

³ These are sometimes carelessly made. See an instance pointed out in the note ⁴ to p. 335.

⁴ The *Minor History*, or *Historia Anglorum*, as Sir F. Madden prefers to call it. I can add nothing

to what he has said on this point in his preface to his 3rd volume, pp. xxxii, xxxiii, of Paris’s kind feeling for the king, in spite of the many severe things he has said of him. A curious instance may be seen in his introduction into the account of the apparition of king John (p. 113), where John is represented as stating that Henry’s large distribution of alms and attendance on divine service were doing much to release him from purgatory.

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But, in addition to this, he introduced a few particulars into the copy of his history now in the Cotton collection (MS. C.). While this is still for the most part a mere transcript of the Corpus Christi MS. (B.), there are some passages in it not to be found there, which there is no reason to doubt are Paris's own.¹

I purposely postpone any remarks upon the general character of Matthew Paris as a historian or estimate of his value, as it seems to me that they would be out of place until the whole work is before the reader.

The history is printed from the Corpus Christi MS. after the same manner as that contained in the previous volumes; all that is contained in the MSS. of Wendover being in small type, all due to Matthew Paris in ordinary type. It is to be understood that the Cotton MS. (C.) agrees with that in Corpus Christi College, unless the contrary is stated.

I trust that from the way in which the two writers, Wendover and Paris, are distinguished, there is no danger in future of what is the work of the one being put down to the other. Of course, to a certain extent, Paris has made himself responsible for Wendover's portion by adopting it. But this has been done only in the usual way of mediæval historians, and Paris ought to be praised or blamed only for what is really his own.²

¹ See pp. 6, 19. In general the whole of B. is transcribed in C., even when the words "Vacat," &c. occur in the margin. An instance to the contrary, however, may be seen in p. 381.

² I am referring here to the

attack on Paris by Baronius, a. 1197 (xix. 714), where he abuses Paris for the story of Thomas of Coventry and Innocent III. This (see vol. ii., pp. 444, 445) was written by Roger of Wendover.

List of the additions made by Paris to Wendover.

- Additions
of Paris to
Wendover.
- A.D. 1216. p. 1. Jocelyn, Bishop of Bath, present at the coronation of Henry III. The oath administered to the king by him.
- A.D. 1216. p. 3. Attempt of Louis to induce Hubert de Burgh to surrender Dover Castle.
- A.D. 1216. p. 6. Prowess of Andrew Dingas on the French side at Berkhamstead. (This is only in MS. C.).
- A.D. 1216. p. 7. The Veronica carried in procession by Innocent III., with the versicles and prayer to be used in connexion with the portrait.
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