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Matthew Paris Edited by Henry Richards Luard

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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 7 contains a comprehensive index, a glossary, and errata and addenda.

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Chronica Majora

VOLUME 7:
INDEX. GLOSSARY.

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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/9781108049054

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2012

This edition first published 1883
This digitally printed version 2012

ISBN 978-1-108-04905-4 Paperback

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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

R 2960. Wt. 6716.

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He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be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

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

VOL. VII.

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INDEX.  
GLOSSARY.

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

LONDON:

LONGMANS & Co., PATERNOSTER ROW; TRÜBNER & Co., LUDGATE HILL:

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—  
1883.

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Printed by  
**EYRE and SPOTTISWOOD, Her Majesty's Printers,**  
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

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P R E F A C E.

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## P R E F A C E.

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IN the prefatory matter prefixed to the volumes which contain the text of the greater chronicle of MATTHEW PARIS I have drawn attention to various characteristics of his method of writing the history of his time, and have discussed the sources from which it is derived and the manner in which the author procured and made use of his materials and his information. I propose in this concluding volume to say something of his general credibility and value, and of the important period of English history, for our knowledge of which we are so largely indebted to him.

Composition of the Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris.

I gave in the preface to the second volume<sup>1</sup> a conjecture as to the probable author of the earlier portion of the history before it was taken up by Roger of Wendover, the immediate predecessor of Paris himself. Subsequent thought has only the more strongly confirmed my conviction of the truth of this conjecture; and it will not be thought out of place, I trust, if I repeat here the conclusions to which I have come (especially as one additional—very important, though slight—evidence has come to my knowledge), and thus give a brief sketch of the manner in which the whole history was compiled till it reached the condition in which it is now—for the first time—before the reader in its integrity.

The original composer of the St. Alban's compilation, the writer who is entitled to the credit of being the author of that on which Wendover and Paris built their histories, I believe to be abbat John of the Cell, twenty-

Abbat John de Cella, the probable author of

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. pp. x, xi:

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the original compilation.

first abbat of St. Alban's, who held the office from 1195 to 1214, having been previously prior of Wallingford. This appears the natural conclusion to be drawn from the words found in the Douce MS. of Wendover at the end of the year 1188, where Wendover begins his history, "Huc usque in libro Cronicorum Johannis abbatis" and "Usque hoc cronica Johannis abbatis." It could not have been written before his time, because the copy of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* at St. Alban's was made while he was abbat,<sup>1</sup> a work which forms the source of so much of the earlier portion of the compilation. The introduction of the words "apud Walingeford," as the place where the reconciliation of Stephen with Henry II. in 1153 was effected, into the account of the author<sup>2</sup> whom he is copying, which are not found elsewhere, seems to point to one who had some local knowledge of that place. But besides this, under the year 821,<sup>3</sup> while the author is copying from Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* the history of the murder of St. Kenelm, he introduces some Latin verses on the subject,

In clene sub spina jacet in convalle bovina,  
Vertice privatus, Kenelmus rege creatus,

with the words "De hujus quoque sancti martyrio quidam sic ait." Now these lines, which are given by no other chronicler, occur in a St. Alban's MS., (Cotton, Julius, D. 7,) where they are written on the margin of f. 14 b., with the title "Versus abbatis Johannis de Sancto Albano." This MS. contains the collections of John of Wallingford, a monk of St. Alban's, whose name will be found in the *Additamenta*, vol. vi. p. 202, as presenting a table for the infirmary of St. Alban's, painted by Richard the painter before the year 1250, and in some other documents preserved also in the *Additamenta*,

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Abbatum* (Riley), i. p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Robert de Monte. See vol. ii. p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 373.

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which are printed in the *Gesta Abbatum*,<sup>1</sup> from which it appears that he held the office of infirmarius in 1252 and 1253. He died in 1258. This is the author of the chronicle known under the name of Wallingford, part of which is printed in Gale's XV. *Scriptores*, and whom Gale<sup>2</sup> and others have confounded with the abbat who died in 1214. The confusion has partly arisen from the fact that the abbat had been prior of Wallingford, though he never was called by the name of Wallingford,<sup>3</sup> but always John de Cella.

These points, though slight in themselves, seem to me capable of no other explanation equally satisfactory with that of supposing abbat John to be the author of the compilation. All that can be set on the other side is that abbat John is not mentioned by Paris as a historian, though he speaks of his attainments in other respects; and that under the year 1179, where the author is speaking of the third Lateran council, a reference is introduced to the condemnation of Joachim's book at the fourth Lateran council, which did not take place till 1215, *i.e.*, the year after the abbat's death. But I cannot think the first argument is of any weight whatever; and as to the second, the passage has completely the air of a later interpolation, no doubt by Wendover himself when he was re-writing the history, as it must be borne in mind that there is no separate MS. of the earlier St. Alban's compilation, the "*liber Johannis abbatis*," but that we have it only as worked up in the MSS. of Wendover and Paris.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Riley, i. pp. 330, *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Madden's Preface to the third volume of his edition of the *Historia Anglorum* of Matthew Paris, iii. p. x, note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> There were several monks named Wallingford at St. Alban's: James Wallingford, who died in

1234; John in 1236; Gregory and Benedict in 1244; another Gregory in 1246; Adam in 1247, and very likely others. See the obituary, vol. vi. pp. 274, 276, 277.

<sup>4</sup> See what has been said in the preface to vol. i.

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I conclude, then, that the foundation of the history of Matthew Paris is this compilation of abbat John de Cella, written probably during his abbacy, and brought down to the last year of Henry II. in 1188.

Roger of Wendover. The work was then taken up by Roger of Wendover, who intended to re-write and enlarge the whole. He did so as far as the year 1231, and then copied it without alteration to the year 1012, when he again modified his predecessor's work, but making fewer alterations than in the earlier portion, up to the year 1065. From this year he again copied it closely, probably occasionally introducing additions of his own, to the end in 1188; from this year to 1235 the whole being entirely his own.

Matthew Paris. Matthew Paris had the original compilation copied out in St. Alban's, correcting it with his own hand, and introducing many alterations and additional passages. He did the same with Wendover's own portion, adding more as he advanced, till in the reign of John and in the portion of that of Henry III. which is given in Wendover, these additions are of so considerable an amount as to give a new character to the history. He took the work up on his own account in the year 1235, carrying on Wendover's history in the middle of a sentence, and ending with the year 1250. Here he intended to conclude, and a copy of the whole work (MS. C., Cotton Nero, D. 5) was made at St. Alban's under his own directions, with a few additions and corrections in his own hand, and containing the whole of the matter in the history as he had originally composed it and had it copied out. After this he modified many passages in the previous portion, softening attacks upon the king, archbishop Boniface, the friars, &c., as I have pointed out in the preface to the fourth volume, either erasing the passages altogether or writing in their places paragraphs of a much milder description. He then carried on the history to the end of the year 1253, where again he apparently made a pause, and where the Cambridge MS.

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ends. After this he employed his time in writing his abridgment of the whole work with additional introductions, the *Historia Anglorum* or *Historia Minor*, which is preserved in the Royal MS., and has been published in this series under the editorship of Sir Frederick Madden. But, again, in his later years he determined to carry on the original history still farther, and the result is the third volume of his work, containing the chronicles of the years 1254 to 1259, preserved in the Royal MS., which was probably written during all the stir which the revolution of 1258 and the provisions of Oxford were causing, and which was only stopped by his death in 1259. This certainly had not his final revision, being written with much less care than the earlier portion.

This, I think, is the simplest and most straightforward explanation of the evidence of the MSS. before us, and which, if not capable of absolute proof, at least must be allowed to have a very high degree of probability.

As to the credibility and value of the work, however it may have been composed, there can be no hesitation in placing Matthew Paris in the very highest rank of mediæval historians. That he enjoyed exceptional advantages from his long life in what was certainly the best centre for historical research in this country, if not in Europe, and from his intimate relations with so many of the leading personages of the time, is certain; and there is ample evidence that most of his history was written contemporaneously in the strictest sense with the events he describes. It is of course from the less prominent touches, such as his doubts as to the king's future conduct in 1244 (iv. 374), that we gather this, as well as from the full details of the events at which he was himself present, as the rejoicings at the king's marriage (iii. 336). Throughout there is a vividness and picturesqueness of description; everywhere, in spite of

Credibility  
and value  
of the  
history of  
Matthew  
Paris.

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PREFACE.

perhaps occasional extravagance of language when the interests of his own order are especially concerned, is there evidenced an honesty of purpose and a love of truth; and he continually introduces remarks that show him to have been a keen observer of all that passed before him, and reflections in a very different spirit from that of a mere annalist.

His  
errors.

I have pointed out in the prefaces to the previous volumes, and in the notes to the text, when it seemed called for, any actual errors into which Paris has fallen, but I cannot think that these detract to any real extent from the value of the history or the credit which we ought to attach to the historian. In all the more important of his statements I believe he is to be thoroughly trusted; and although he individually is the chief (sometimes the sole) authority for a large portion of the reign of Henry III., yet when we are able to bring the evidence of other contemporary documents to bear on what he tells, his truth is borne out.

Corrobor-  
ation of his  
statements  
from other  
sources.

To give a few instances of this, especially in cases when there seems reason, *a priori*, to doubt his statements; the account,<sup>1</sup> which he has introduced into Wendover's history, of John's embassy to the emir of Morocco, which has been treated by many writers as entirely fabulous, is proved to be at least probable by finding that one of the envoys mentioned by Paris (Thomas of Herdington) was employed on an embassy to Rome in this very year, and that the Pope comments on his absence from Rome;<sup>2</sup> the speech<sup>3</sup> of archbishop Hubert on John's election to the crown (another introduction), on which doubt has been thrown, is distinctly referred to by Louis in his declaration against John in 1216;<sup>4</sup> the mention of the alienation of many of the Apulian nobles from Frederick II. is

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 559.

<sup>2</sup> See Stubbs, Preface to Walter of Coventry, ii. p. xiii, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii. p. 454.

<sup>4</sup> *Fœdera*, i. p. 140. See Stubbs, Preface to Walter of Coventry, ii. p. xxviii, note 1.

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illustrated by a letter of Innocent IV. recently discovered at Subiaco, excusing the monastery from aiding in their support.<sup>1</sup> For many facts or details which Paris gives there is additional evidence preserved in the Close Rolls; as, for instance, in the account of the quarrel of the king with Hubert de Burgh respecting the marriage of his daughter with Richard de Clare,<sup>2</sup> while fuller illustrations bearing on what he has told us are sometimes to be found there; thus the knighting of Alexander III. of Scotland at York in 1252 is illustrated by the entry in the Close Rolls for 1251,<sup>3</sup> where Edward of Westminster is ordered to procure a handsome sword, spurs, &c.; the account of the sea monster thrown up in the diocese of Norwich in 1255 by that of 39 Hen. III. m. 16,<sup>4</sup> where the sheriff of Norfolk is commanded to cause to be sold at the best price he can get the great fish caught upon the land of a boy who is a ward of the bishop of Norwich, and which the bishop claims as his wreck. So again the arrival of the elect of Toledo in England in 1255, the absence on the king's affairs of the abbat of Westminster and others in 1256, the arrival of the archbishop of Messina in 1257, of the objects of whose enterprises Paris confesses his ignorance, are all explained and illustrated by documents preserved elsewhere.<sup>5</sup>

His style is for the most part clear, the Latinity being *Style*. fairly correct and the sentences seldom involved. The latter portion, the work of his declining years, is less correct, and not unfrequently at the end of his sentences he has forgotten the construction he intended to use at

<sup>1</sup> See "Documenti Sublacensi," printed by Count Ugo Balzani in the first volume of the *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia patria*. Roma, 1878.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. Claus. Hen. III. See Hardy's Preface to the Close Rolls, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Hardy's Preface to the Close Rolls, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> Id. p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> See the Preface to the *Fœdera* (reprinted in Hardy's *Syllabus*, i. p. cxxxiii).

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the beginning. He has some curious phrases, some employed more than once, which have the appearance of proverbs, or sayings perhaps well known at the time: e.g., *major sibi se* (ii. 477, *Hist. Anglor.* i. 129), *latam ex aliena cute corrigiam* (iv. 489, 630), *ubi enim dolor, ibi et digitus* (iv. 618), and the wondrous "*filius ad patrem sine Spiritus Sancti consolatione*" (v. 27), said of Conrad's going to his father Frederick after his defeat at Aachen. His fondness for a play on words, though it occurs occasionally in the *Chronica Majora*, as, for instance, "*Nicholaus Danne, utinam non dampnatus*" (iv. 588), is more observable in the *Historia Anglorum*,<sup>1</sup> where we find "*Anxianus vere anxius*," "*lex exlex*,"<sup>2</sup> "*Papa Lucius, lucis expers*," "*durissime et dirissime*," "*litteras comminatorias et comminatorias*," "*prædo præda factus*," "*durius ac dirius*," &c.

Attacks on  
Matthew  
Paris.

Of the attacks made upon Paris's work, many do not concern us to answer, as the errors or statements that are found fault with are due to his predecessors.<sup>3</sup> No doubt, in continuing abbat John and Wendover, and making their work his own,<sup>4</sup> Paris becomes to a certain extent responsible for the truth of their statements. But this was the customary habit of all monastic historians; he took what he had before him, added to it, interpreted it; but rarely, if ever, altered it. It was the history for which the monastery, not he, was responsible; written by his elders, sanctioned by his superiors; it was no business of his to change it. Yet the little additions made from time to time, as (for instance) the details of Philip II.'s entry after Bovines into Paris, where Matthew probably was at the time,

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Anglorum*, i. 109, 263, 276, 369; ii. 114, 124, 162, 220, 360.

<sup>2</sup> He introduces this expression into Wendover's text, "*legem guerræ, quæ exlex est*," in the *Chronica Majora*, iii. 271.

<sup>3</sup> See the remarks of Sir F. Mad-

den, *Hist. Anglorum*, iii. p. xxxiii, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> He certainly does this very distinctly in the case of Wendover, using the first person in speaking of what is Wendover's part of the history: "*de quibus supra fecimus mentionem*," iii. 368.



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and the larger and more important ones made to John's reign and the concluding portion of Wendover's history, not unfrequently on constitutional points, show how carefully the whole was read through and illustrated by the additional knowledge his experience had given him; but it would be absurd to doubt the value of his own portion of the work, because he has not corrected Wendover in saying that John was in the Isle of Wight after signing Magna Charta,<sup>1</sup> or has left untouched the story of Thomas of Coventry and Innocent III., or not corrected the blunder of calling John's first wife Hawisa.<sup>2</sup>

And allowances must be made when we find rumours mentioned as if they were facts, especially in the case of foreign affairs. Thus he speaks of the proposed marriage of Frederick II. with a daughter of Albert of Saxony in 1248 as if it had actually taken place (v. 17), though a very few pages afterwards it is mentioned as still future (v. 26). So in his description of Brancalione's troubles in Rome, he evidently had incorrect accounts before him. But this was in the portion of the history which never had his final revision.

All his readers have been struck with the fearless <sup>His fear-</sup> character of his writing. He spares no one whom he <sup>lessness.</sup> deems worthy of blame. He states the facts as they come before him, and is not deterred by fear or favour from denouncing oppression or rapacity or falsity in

<sup>1</sup> "The statement of historians " that John went to the Isle of " Wight immediately after signing " Magna Carta is thus" [by the Itinerary table of king John] " clearly shown to be erroneous, as " it is unquestionable that the king " did not then visit the Isle of " Wight, nor is there any evidence " of his having ever been in that " island, except when he was at " Yarmouth in the year 1206, in

" the months of May and June, " and in February 1214." Hardy, Preface to the Patent Rolls, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> This was originally made by Hoveden, iv. 119, and has been copied from him by later historians. See Madden, Hist. Anglorum, ii. p. 86, note <sup>2</sup>. The error seems to have arisen from the fact that her mother's name was Hawise. See Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. p. 536.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-04905-4 - Chronica Majora: Volume 7: Index. Glossary.

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whatever quarter it appears. The Pope, the king, the mendicant orders (though, perhaps, he was prejudiced against these), all in their turn receive as stern treatment as tyrant nobles who oppress the people or alien bishops who neglect their duties. Even St. Louis does not escape severe censure at his hands from the way in which he extorted money from the church of France for his crusade; and Paris attributes his misfortunes in a great measure to this, hoping at the same time that his fate may be a warning to Henry III. and his brother Richard and other crusading princes, whom he describes as “*turpibus emolumentis incumbentes*” (v. p. 171).

I have pointed out in the preface to the fourth volume how he softened down his remarks on the king and the archbishop and even the mendicant orders,<sup>1</sup> as he grew older; but still, even if we had not preserved to us the original words in which these paragraphs were written, there is quite enough in his latest recension to entitle him to the praise of being the most outspoken of historians.<sup>2</sup> The oppressions due to the action of the Roman curia, the amount of money extracted from the churches and monasteries, the distress caused by the frequent appeals to Rome and the consequent necessity of the long and costly journeys to Rome, are all dwelt upon with no uncertain or hesitating pen. Of course this has not made Matthew Paris popular with Roman Catholic historians. Baronius says his work would be a golden one had he not spoken so openly against the court of Rome; Ciacconius speaks of his foolish attacks on Pope Alexander IV., though he does not identify or correct

<sup>1</sup> See Sir F. Madden's remarks on the probable reason for his change of sentiment as to the mendicant orders. *Hist. Anglor.* iii. p. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> He is, however, sometimes cautious as to mentioning names; see, for instance, iv. p. 579, where, of

the Pope's special friends in England, he says, “*quos non licet mihi hæc scribenti ad præsens nominare.*” So he conceals the name of the cardinal who saw the vision of the judgment of Pope Innocent IV., “*cujus nomen supprimitur ad cautelam*” (v. p. 471).

Cambridge University Press

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them. Mr. Kenelm Digby, in his *Orlandus* (ii. 78), is very angry with him for preserving the scandal about queen Blanche and the count of Champagne.<sup>1</sup> In the first place, for this Wendover and not Paris is responsible. And as to the scandals which Paris has preserved respecting the queen and the legate Romanus, it must be remembered how important in effect are rumours, however false or scandalous, and that thus they are an integral part of history, very often bringing about results which would never have taken place had it not been for them; and that therefore a historian is bound to mention them, even though he may know them to be false. Matthew was probably in Paris at the time when these stories were rife, and heard from the students the ribald verses he quotes (iii. p. 169), and saw how materially the slander would add to the difficulty of queen Blanche's rule; but he adds that it is impious to believe what was said, "*benignus autem animus dubia in melius interpretatur*" (iii. 119). It is difficult not to compare with this the falsehoods said about another queen of France, and to remember how much they contributed to bring about her murder.

Again, M. le Marquis de Villeneuve-Trans (*Histoire de St. Louis*, ii. 547), quarrels with our historian for his account of St. Louis's behaviour to the Venetians, Pisans, &c. on setting out on his crusade; but what he finds fault with is very much due to his own bad translation, which puts into the mouth of the historian what he is quoting as the charge made by St. Louis's enemies.

It is singular that in spite of these and similar attacks, while the compilation "*Flores Historiarum*," which goes under the name of "*Matthew of Westminster*" and which in its earlier portion is merely an abridgment of the *Chronica Majora*, has been placed in the Index (with the significant words attached *Donec emendentur*),

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<sup>1</sup> See vol. iii pp. 116, 196 (both passages written by Wendover).

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Matthew Paris himself has escaped censure. And the popularity of the Flores, as shown by the number of MSS. still existing, compared with that of the *Chronica Majora*, of which so very few MSS. exist, is a curious instance of the worthlessness of popular fame.

On the impossibility of trusting to the previous editions of Matthew Paris, I have been obliged to comment in the prefaces to the various volumes of this edition. Till now, the text of the historian, as he wrote it, has never been before the reader, and the mischief that has been caused by the utter untrustworthiness of the printed editions has not been small.<sup>1</sup> For all that is in large type in these volumes Paris is responsible,<sup>2</sup> but for nothing else.

Period of  
Matthew  
Paris's  
life.

It was on the whole a comparatively quiet time in the history of England during which Matthew Paris flourished. After the final defeat and expulsion of Louis and the proof by the siege and capture of Bedford castle that the government was strong enough to put down private adventurers like Fawkes de Breauté, who considered that their past services entitled them to be above the law and to commit any outrage with impunity, the authority of the king and his ministers was paramount, and the law on the whole was a reality. We have no doubt occasional instances, as in the cases of the Winchester robbers or the outrages done by the Poitevins, where it did not

<sup>1</sup> To give an instance of this, where so great a man as Dr. Maitland has been misled. Fox (ed. 1583, p. 280), quoting Matthew Paris, speaks of the Catini. Dr. Maitland could not find the word in the printed editions of Paris, and therefore naturally enough thought it only one of the innumerable instances of Fox's falsehoods and mis-statements. The word is, however, in the margin of the MS. (see vol. iii. p. 267), which

Fox had either seen, or had had notice of from Bale. Maitland's Review of Fox's History of the Waldenses, Lond. 1837, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> The citations in Du Cange, who has made very great use of our author for his dictionary, cannot be trusted; they frequently give words as Paris's, which are only due to Parker, and in many instances omit important words in the passages cited.

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reach all offenders or where favouritism at court proved too much for it. But still the judges went their eyes regularly, and the good order of the country was fairly preserved. No doubt had the great Earl Marshal lived a little longer, or the legate Guala Bicchieri<sup>1</sup> remained in England, the king would have been brought up under better directors. But Guala left the country almost immediately after the king was fairly settled on the throne, and thus William Marshal's death threw the chief power into inferior hands, such as those of bishop Peter des Roches of Winchester, his nephew Peter de Rievaulx, and Stephen de Segrave, the justiciary. The great archbishop, though still vigorous, as we see by his presence and conduct at Bedford and by his power of compelling the king to take the oath to observe Magna Charta, yet had passed his prime, and his successor Richard seems rather to have hoped to manage the young king through the Pope than by his personal influence, while William Marshal's sons were too much in opposition ever to have been able to guide him into right courses, and Philip of Albini, whom Wendover speaks of as the king's "magister et eruditor fidelissimus,"<sup>2</sup> went to Jerusalem in 1221, and soon after his return was sent into Gascony with Richard of Cornwall, and thus does not seem to have had much personal influence over his pupil.

Of Henry III. himself we have certainly a very elaborate and distinct portrait drawn for us by our historian. We can bring him before our minds without any fear of doing him injustice. Good natured on the whole, weak,

<sup>1</sup> Guala has not had justice done to him. To him more than to any other is due the preservation of the Plantagenet line in England. And if at the same time he filled his own coffers, it ought to be remem-

bered that to the money obtained in England the great church of St. Andrea, Vercelli, is due. To this day the street by that church is called "Strada Guala Bicchieri."

<sup>2</sup> iii. 67.

Cambridge University Press

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passionate at times like all of his race, not shrinking from danger in battle, though without military talent, driven at times almost to desperation by want of money, and yet squandering all he could scrape together on his Poitevin relations,—even at Bordeaux wasting his treasure on the Gascons and the countess of Bearne,<sup>1</sup>—eagerly promising all that was asked in order to obtain the needful grants from the nobles and the clergy from time to time, and yet forgetting and ignoring his promises as soon as he had obtained what he wanted,—promising again and again to observe his oaths and to govern according to their spirit, and never doing it; furious when thwarted, but yet easily appeased when the fit of passion was over,—he seems to have had a full share of all the faults and virtues of the Plantagenets, but to have had both in a weaker degree than any of them. One thing may be certainly said for him; he was not cruel, and he certainly led a correct life as a husband and father. Paris gives quite a touching picture of the young Edward's tears on seeing his father's vessel disappear from sight in the channel on his voyage to Gascony in 1253.<sup>2</sup> So after the quarrel between father and son in 1260, the king said his son had better not appear before him, as he should not be able to help kissing him.<sup>3</sup> And no word of scandal has been ever breathed against his constancy to his queen. He was, besides, a good brother; this comes out very distinctly in his general relations with Richard of Cornwall, in his conduct at his sister Isabella's marriage with Frederick II., and in his fondness for his sister Joanna, wife of Alexander II. of Scotland.

His greed is the characteristic that comes out most strongly in the pages of Matthew Paris; it is one perpetual clamour for money, on every conceivable occasion,

<sup>1</sup> iv. 236.<sup>2</sup> v. 383, 388.<sup>3</sup> Dunstable Annals, Annal. Monast. iii. 215.