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978-1-108-05334-1 - Flores Historiarum: Volume 1: The Creation to A.D. 1066

Edited by Henry Richards Luard

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Flores Historiarum

The nineteenth-century academic and university administrator Henry Richards Luard (1825–91) was a major contributor to the Rolls Series. His edition of the *Flores historiarum*, published in three volumes in 1890, remains the standard work. This Latin chronicle, compiled at St Albans and Westminster, is largely a version of Matthew Paris's *Chronica majora* to 1259; subsequent annals are independent and serve as a significant primary source for the last years of Henry III and the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. Following an important introduction describing the surviving manuscripts and the evolution of the chronicle, Volume 1 contains the annals from the Creation to 1066. Luard helpfully prints material derived from the *Chronica majora* in a smaller typeface, enabling the reader to distinguish at a glance what the compiler of the later chronicle has added. English side-notes to the text are provided throughout.

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Flores Historiarum

VOLUME 1:
THE CREATION TO A.D. 1066

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.

o 21874.

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He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be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

BY

HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE AND REGISTRARY
OF THE UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE.

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.



The chronicle, or rather series of chronicles, contained in the present volumes, which is now for the first time published in its integrity and from the earliest manuscript, is that entitled "Flores Historiarum," which has gone under the name of "Matthew of Westminster." Beginning with the Creation, it has been carried on by various writers and at various times till the year 1327, when the whole is brought to an end with the acceptance of Edward III. as king. No English chronicle, if we may judge from the number of MSS. that still exist, and from the use made of it by subsequent compilers, has been so popular. The greater portion (down to 1307) has been printed three times; it has been used and quoted by modern writers of history (as Hume, Turner, &c.) as of equal authority with the works of writers who were certainly contemporary with the events they describe. The supposed author has been held up to (ironical) admiration as "after¹ Froissart the most "celebrated historian of the fourteenth century," and has been, on the contrary, condemned by authority, and his name placed in the Index² Librorum expur-

The chronicle entitled Flores Historiarum.

¹ Buckle, *History of Civilization*, i. 290 (ed. 1861); see Haydon, *Preface to the Eulogium Historiarum*, i. p. lxxi n¹, and Madden, *Preface to the Historia Anglorum of Matthew Paris* (i. p. xxi. n⁴).

² With the significant addition, "Donec emendentur." I should

be glad to think that the present edition, which gives the Chronicles really as they are in the MSS., may cause the removal of the prohibition. It is singular that Matthew Paris should have escaped censure, while his shadow (the present compiler) has been condemned.

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PREFACE.

Attributed
to one
Matthew
of West-
minster.

gatorum. In spite of the difference of style in the various parts of the work, the whole has been put down to a single author, and the name "Matthew of Westminster" given to him on the strength of a single MS., and that written nearly a century after the last entry in the ordinary MSS., and nearly 150 years after the greater portion of the oldest MS. was written.

A great deal has been written of late years on the question of the authorship. As long ago as 1826 Sir Francis Palgrave in an article in the *Quarterly Review* (vol. xxxiv. p. 250) on the uncritical use of ancient authorities, spoke of Matthew of Westminster "as a phantom who never existed;" but he fell into errors worse than those he was exposing, when he spoke of (p. 281) "the parent text as being compiled before the first half of the XIIth century," and (pp. 281, 284) of William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester (!) as having borrowed from and abridged it. Quite recently the question has been discussed by Sir Frederick Madden in the preface to the *Historia Anglorum* of Matthew Paris, and by Sir Thomas Hardy in the third volume of his *Catalogue of the Materials for British History*,¹ both in the present series; the former believing that Matthew Paris was the author of the earlier portion and the actual transcriber of a considerable part of the earliest MS.; the latter not inclined to give up the name of Matthew of Westminster, as preserved in the Norwich MS. I have too much respect for the authority of these two very able and conscientious

¹ It is needless to say how useful these discussions and their account of the MSS. of my author have been to me. I have also had the advantage of some notes of Sir F. Madden (bought by me

at a sale in Aug. 1882) on the various MSS. of the Flores, which I have found useful, though I have taken nothing from them without verifying it myself.

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writers not to have given every possible weight to their opinions. But as they differ very widely from each other, and as no one before myself has ever made a thorough examination of the MSS. as has been done for this edition, I may be pardoned if I cannot entirely agree with either. At the same time it is disappointing that I have not been able to speak with certainty on the question of the authorship, and that I believe this must for ever remain in doubt. But I believe that the historical student will find in these volumes all the possible materials for forming his own judgment, and that at least the composition and date of the various portions of the work will be made clear.

First, as to the supposed title of "Matthew of Westminster." This rests entirely on the title affixed to the Norwich MS. (Cotton. Claud. E. 8), written probably at the beginning of the XVth century for Bishop Henry Spencer of Norwich. The initial rubrick is "Incipit prologus in librum qui Flores Historiarum intitulatur, secundum¹ Matheum monachum Westmonasteriensem." It was, of course, obvious that the bulk of the earlier portion was taken from the greater chronicle of Matthew Paris, and as there are numerous introductions relating to Westminster, and the earliest MS. belonged at that time to Westminster Abbey (the words "Liber Westmonasterii" occurring frequently in the Chetham MS.), the two names were combined and the imaginary "Matthew of Westminster" spoken of as the author. "It was, no doubt," says Sir F. Madden, (Preface to the Hist. Anglor.,

"Matthew of Westminster" an entirely imaginary person.

¹ These words have been added to the incipit of the Fairfax MS. (a mere fragment), but they are written later than the others, and cannot be considered of contemporary authority. Sir F. Madden

has no doubt (Preface to Hist. Anglor. i. p. xxi. n¹.) that the similar heading in the Norwich MS. was taken from this. The Fairfax MS. was also written at Norwich.

p. xxviii,) "from the fact that the latter portion of the Flores Historiarum was composed by a Westminster monk, that the entire work was afterwards attributed to a Matthew¹ of Westminster, for the name of Matthew really belonged to Matthew Paris, whilst the affix of Westminster was supplied by conjecture; and this pseudonym having been recognised by Bale and Joscelin, and adopted by Archbishop Parker, the error has been perpetuated to our own times." I think we may dismiss the name as entirely imaginary; I postpone the discussion of any other names that have been suggested as that of the author till after the description of the MSS.

Description of the MSS.

The MSS. of the Flores divide themselves into two classes, the one following that known by the name of the Chetham MS., written at St. Alban's and Westminster, the other that preserved at Eton, written at the priory of Merton.

MS. Ch. in the Chetham Library at Manchester.

I. (1.) MS. Chetham (Manchester) 6,712.

The earliest MS. existing of the Flores Historiarum, and from which directly or indirectly all the others have been derived, is preserved in the Chetham Library at Manchester, No. 6,712. This is a quarto, in double columns, containing in all 299 leaves, including

¹ Widmore remarks (History of the Ch. of Westminster, pp. 85, 86): "If he was a monk of Westminster, as is generally supposed (and here Adam Murimuth, his continuator, found the book), his name could not be Matthew, for there is not one of that Christian name in all the various lists of the monks from before the year 1300, yet remaining in the archives. . . . Whether the author's transcribing so largely

"from Matthew Paris, and referring to the Additamenta, as his own work, might not occasion, such as lived some time afterwards, to quote him by the name of Matthew, I do not know." Sir T. Hardy does not think this conclusive, and hopes that some evidence may yet be found to prove there was such a person (Catalogue, iii. 326). But the negative evidence seems to me too strong to resist.

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the fly-leaves and the Calendar prefixed to the volume after its transference to Westminster. At least fifteen different hands can be traced in the course of the volume. It contains pictures of the coronation of Arthur, Edward the Confessor, and the later kings from William I. to Edward I. (the leaf which contained Henry IIIrd's coronation is wanting), and four coats of arms, viz., those of Raymond of Provence (ii. 304), the Marshals (ii. 305), David of Wales (ii. 308), John de Neville (ii. 312), all very much in the style of those in the Corpus Christi MS. of Matthew Paris.

The earlier portion was certainly written at St. Alban's, down to the year 1265, the chronicle for the years 1241-1249 being in the distinct St. Alban's hand, and the whole containing entries referring to that monastery introduced in such a way as to show they came originally from that source. I have entered fully into its connexion with the Corpus Christi MS. of Matthew Paris in the preface to the first volume of the *Chronica Majora*, and have shown that it is, if not directly, yet really derived from that work.¹

After the middle of the year 1265² it was taken to Westminster, and continued there by various persons till the end of the year 1306, being identical from 1274 to 1285 with the MS. Cotton. Vespas. E. 4, the source of a considerable portion of the *Annals of Waverley and Winchester*. After its removal to Westminster, several passages in the earlier portion were erased, and entries written over the erasure relating to Westminster, which are found nowhere else; there

¹ See especially the blunder in the years, 261, 262, vol. I., p. 159, n⁴.

² A set of additional rubrics,

o 21874.

introduced (I think after the book was removed to Westminster) begin in 1263.

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are also several marginal notes relating to Westminster; see ii. 418, 439, 443. From 1307 to 1325 it was written by Robert of Reading, as we learn from the paragraph in vol. iii. p. 232. "Sicque frater " Robertus de Redinge, quondam monachus ecclesiæ " beati Petri Apostoli Westmonasterii, cronicarum, vitæ " quoque suæ, finem conclusit." The hand that wrote this ends the MS. soon afterwards.

The original hand, a neat close one, with red and blue initial letters, goes as far as col. 52 (i. p. 73), and is succeeded by another rather more regular and blacker, with the same rubricator of initials to nearly the end of the year 1241. Here (ii. 250) begins the hand of the distinct St. Alban's type, which ends in 1249. The next two columns (end of 1249 and beginning of 1250) are in the original hand or one very similar. A fourth hand goes on to 1265, when the MS. left St. Alban's. With its transference to Westminster, a new rubricator as well as fresh scribes was employed; the fifth hand is employed for the end of 1265, and beginning of 1266; the 6th for the end of 1266, and beginning of 1267; the 7th, 1267-1274; the 8th, 1275-1278, a different rubricator being employed; the 9th, 1278-1284; the 10th, 1285 to near the end of 1293; the 11th, 1293 to 1297; the 12th, end of 1297 and beginning of 1298; the 13th, 1298 to the end of 1302, two introduced leaves in a XIVth century hand; the 14th, 1303-1325; the 15th, a later hand of the 14th century, to the end, very similar to if not the same as the hand which wrote the two leaves 1298-1302.

From 1267 to 1276 there are blanks left at the end of each year for later introductions; and the space has been occasionally used in this way, *e.g.* the mention (iii. 13, 23) of the birth and death of John, son of Edward I. They usually have reference to Westminster.

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Traces of the handwriting of Matthew Paris may be found in several places of the portion written at St Alban's, see vol. ii. pp. 292, 317, 330, 331, 375.

At the end of the year 1313 a contemporary hand has written with a plummet "Huc usque habetur in " libro R. Gat."

When the MS. was removed from Westminster cannot be determined. It may have been the MS restored to the church of Westminster by Henry V.¹

It was given to the Chetham Library in 1657 by Nicholas Higginbotome of Stockport. The Calendar prefixed was written at the beginning of the XIVth century, and has the deaths and coronations of English sovereigns from Edgar to Henry VI. written in later, the last being the coronation of Henry VI. in France in 1431. "Liber ecclesiæ beati Petri Westmonasterii," or "Liber Westmonasterii," is frequently written on the margins. On a fly leaf at the end are the names of R. Teddyngton, who was a monk at Westminster in 1461 (see Widmore's History of Westminster, p. 191), and T. Gardener, A.D. 1503.

II. (1.) MS. Merton (Eton Coll.).

The other MS. which must be treated as an original is that now preserved in the Library of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, written at the priory of Merton, in the early part of the XIVth century.

This is a quarto, in double columns, containing ff. 265 written in the same hand up to A.D. 1294, and then continued in various hands of the same date up to A.D. 1306, where it ends imperfect, the

¹ See the Versus Rhythmici de Henrico V. in Cole's Lives of Henry V., p. 72. This may how-
ever have been MS. W., the Tenison MS., or MS. T. (see the verses in p. xxi.)

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last leaf being lost. There are a few illuminated initials, and miniatures of the coronations of the various kings from the conquest. That it was written in the priory of Merton is clear from the marginal notices of the successive priors of Merton from 1167 to 1261, afterwards wholly or partially erased.¹ There are other memoranda relating to Merton introduced in the margin, as may be seen in vol. iii. pp. 250, 302. In the earlier portion it varies very considerably from the Chetham MS., many passages being omitted. But it contains much that is not to be found there, and in many instances gives more correct readings. It was not derived directly from that MS., but agrees with it in the main, so as to admit of collation with it, till the year 1245. From here to the end of 1264 it gives only short summaries of the events of the years, abridged not from the longer recension but up to 1259 from Matthew Paris himself. In the year 1265 an elaborate résumé of the events of the barons' war is introduced, to which there is nothing corresponding in the Chetham MS.; after which it agrees pretty closely with that MS. till the year 1293, when it becomes much fuller, and though containing most of what the earlier MS. contains, has much besides from some other source. It originally ended no doubt with the words "dimidium postulati," in the beginning of the year 1307.

In 1291 it gives the documents on Edward's claim to Scotland, addressed "Priori et conventui de "Mertone."

Though the scribe was a careful one, there are occasionally bad blunders; *e.g.*, in i. 118 vero (v^o) for duos (ii^{os}).

¹ See note¹ at the end of this preface. They were probably erased by Abp. Parker; at least he certainly read one note, which is now entirely erased, see vol. iii., p. 250, note¹.

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From these two descend, directly or indirectly, all the MSS. of the Flores existing.

I. (2.) MS. Brit. Mus. Arundel, 96.

MS. A.
Arundel.
96.

This is a folio containing ff. 130, written throughout in one clear hand, with red and blue initials. It ends in the year 1284, at which date one of the hands of the Chetham MS. comes to an end, and was probably written soon after that year. It is a copy, probably direct, from the Chetham MS., and has been very carefully corrected in a later hand throughout. Towards the end are many long omissions. It contains nothing that is not in the Chetham MS.

On a fly leaf at the beginning a hand of the XIVth century has transcribed a document of the official of the abp. of Canterbury relating to the priory of Ledes in Kent, and a bull of P. Clement VI a. 1342; the volume may therefore have belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury; but there is no other trace of its locale. On the first leaf of the text is written in a XVIIth century hand, "Fitz Henry, "empt. a Willelmo Shepherd pro summa 30 solid."

I. (3.) MS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. 572.

MS. Bibl.
Bodl.
Laud. 572.

This is a folio, in double columns, containing the chronicle down to the year 1296, in which it ends abruptly with the words "Hoc viso, petierunt." (vol. iii. p. 97). It was certainly copied from the Chetham MS., apparently soon after the above year. Besides being identical in the text, it has the notices in the margin of the Bissextile letter, dominical letter, cycle, and Easter Day, from 1068 to 1244, as that MS. has, and the shields in 1240 and 1245 are roughly tricked.

On the lower margin of the first page an inscription has been erased, which probably indicated its locality; the word "monasterii . . ." is still visible.

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Over the erasure is "Liber Guil. Laud. &c., 1636." Prefixed to several reigns are small miniatures of the coronations, but by an inferior artist to that of the Chetham MS.

It is probably the "exemplar vetustissimum" mentioned by abp. Parker in his preface to the edition of 1570. In the year 1294 he writes in the margin "In hoc capite multa desunt qui habentur in libro impresso," and there are other traces of his use of the MS. On the fly leaf is "Liber Ricardi St. George, Norroy regis armorum."

The original hand leaves off in 1293, where a change of hands occurs in the Chetham MS. (iii. p. 87), and a coeval hand continues to 1296. Afterwards an imperfect copy of the "Commendatio Lamentabilis" of Edward I. follows. This is the tract which is printed in the 2nd volume of bp. Stubbs's Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I. and II.

MS. M. I. (4.) MS. Bibl. Bodl. Mus. 149.

Bibl. Bodl. This is a thick octavo, on vellum, written in a contemporary hand to 1303, and continued in another Mus. 149. to 1306, ending with the words "dimidium postulati." After this there are a few additions from Higden. It is a good early copy, derived, though not directly from the Chetham MS. It does not give the documents relating to the Scotch succession in 1291 or those in 1301. After 1298 it corresponds more with the Merton MS. than with the Chetham. It was given in 1675 to A. Wood by John Aubrey of Easton Piers (Wilts), and by Wood in the same year to the Bodleian Library. It had belonged previously to Edmund Knyght, Rouge Dragon.

MS. H. I. (5.) MS. Bibl. Bodl. Hatton. 53.

Bibl. Bodl. This is a folio, in double columns, written in one Hatton. 53. hand throughout, in the early part of the XIVth

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century It contains ff. 238, exclusive of seven leaves at the commencement, which contain a very full table of the contents of the chronicle, divided into 235 heads, headed "Intitulatio libri cronicorum qui dicitur Flos Hystoriarum secundum diversas intentiones capitulorum et quotationem foliis in singulis." There are a few illuminations with solid gold backgrounds; one representing the coronation of Edward the Confessor, another that of Stephen. It ends in 1306 with the words "dimidium postulati," and the *Commendatio Lamentabilis* follows. The name of John Pakeman is written in the cover.

I. (6.) MS. W., preserved in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

MS. W.
Dean and
chapter of
West-
minster.

This is a folio, written in double columns, in a good clear hand, about the year 1306, where it ends as usual with the words "dimidium postulati." There are initial letters with small carefully executed miniatures, and larger pictures prefixed to the beginning of each king's reign, giving the coronation. There is no evidence to show where it was written, the margins of the first two leaves, one of which probably gave this information, having been cut away. Many of the illuminations through the book have been cut out, and the leaves mutilated.

The earlier portion down to 1265 follows the Chetnam MS., though it is not copied from it. Prefixed to the account of the battle of Evesham is a violent passage against Gilbert de Clare, and words afterwards introduced (iii. 4) which show the writer's feeling on the side of Simon de Montfort. I have found these nowhere else. The account of the battle (iii. 5, n¹) differs, and is interlarded with verses from the gospels, Simon de Montfort being represented as

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dying with the palm of martyrdom¹ (iii. 6, n²). It, in common with H. T. and some of the other MSS., contains also a reference to the passage given in the Merton MS. "Quis dabit capiti mei aquam?" and the curious addition written in the first person and speaking of the "tepid" character of the readers or hearers.² From the middle of the year 1298 (iii. 105) it follows the other recension, corresponding mostly with the Merton MS. It gives a passage in 1303 (iii. p. 312), in common with several other MSS., which is in neither of the two original MSS. Though the scribe was on the whole a careful one, he has been guilty of many careless blunders; thus we find *rex se* for *Xerxe*, *offera* for *effera*, *instante* for *in Scotia*, *Parisium* for *Perusiam*, *ecclesiæ* for *et cætera*, *gratia* for *igitur*, *secundus* for *sedit*, &c.

MS. T.
Trinity
College,
Cambridge.

I. (7.) MS. T., in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

This is a folio, written in double columns in the XIVth century in a good clear hand, with initials flourished in red. It was given to the college by Dr. Nevyle, master, and dean of Canterbury, but has no trace of the place where it was written. It was probably copied from the Bodleian MS. Mus. 149, (see i. pp. 204,³ 313,⁵) and is very similar to W. It ended originally with the words "dimidium postulati" in 1306, but has been carried on in the same hand without any break to 1327 with extracts from Higden, lib. vii. (vol. viii. pp. 292-324, ed. Lumby), ending with the words "ecclesia libertatem" (cap. xlv.), where the MSS. C. D. of Higden end. After 1298 it mostly follows the Merton MS., as M. W. Though the scribe

¹ The circumstances of the battle of Evesham are compared to those of the Crucifixion.

² See this in the Appendix vol. iii. 314.

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wrote well, he was very ignorant, and the MS. abounds with blunders of the grossest kind. The first page has an illuminated border with a figure of our Lord in the initial letter, the page beginning the 2nd part (1067) one with the figure of William I., and that beginning Edward I's reign has a border with an elaborate initial. There are the following notes of former possessors in the fly leaves or inside of the cover: "Cautio magistri Willelmi Aysche "imposita in cista de Robbery,¹ anno Domini 1493, 18^o die Februarii, et est Flores Historiarum, 2 folio '-nior ab occidente,' et habet unum supplementum, scilicet, Alberti de animalibus et mineralibus, 2^o folio 'pecunia multa cum homine,' et jacet pro xviii^o viii^o." The latter portion of this is nearly erased because this supplement is no longer in the volume.

"Liber Ricardi Elyot." "Pertinet ad Georgium Frevyle ex dono Margaretæ Eliot viduæ."

"Johannes (erased) anno illustrissimi regis Henrici V. tertio scripsit hos versus:

l v	m v i c	i c	l i c i i	
Harflu fert Mauric, Agincourt prelia Crispin } quod				
Hoc rex Henricus quintus terno dedit anno } F.,"				

thus marking the date 1415.

I. (8.) MS. Brit. Mus. Cotton. Otho C. 2.

MS. Brit.

This is a folio, written in the XIVth century, grievously injured in the fire of 1731. It is imperfect at the beginning, and wants the years 1218 to 1239, 1246 to 1250, 1255 to 1272. Enough is left to show that it had the longer accounts of the years from 1244, and therefore follows the original recension. It had the 1301 documents exactly as they

Mus.
Cotton.
Otho C. 2.

¹ This is probably the Oxford Chest founded by Gilbert Routh- bury; see Anstey's *Munimenta Academica Oxon.* (i. p. 102).

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are in Trivet and in Claud. E. 8. After the Flores the chronicles of Adam Murimuth and Avesbury follow; but it is of little use for the purpose of collation in consequence of its condition.

It has many marginal notes in Archbishop Parker's handwriting; Sir F. Madden suggested that it (and not Claud. E. 8) was the MS. lent to him by Stow. It is certainly *not* from this MS. that Parker took the 1301 documents, as none of the passages which he gives, which are not in Trivet or in the Norwich Flores (Claud. E. 8), are in it.

MS. Re.
Brit. Mus.
Reg. 14,
C. 6.

I. (9.) MS. Brit. Mus. Reg. 14, C. 6.

This is a folio in double columns, containing ff. 259, written for the most part about the year 1304, where it originally ended, and the rest soon after the year 1323. Down to the end of the year 1304 it was written in the monastery of S. Benet Holme in Norfolk; after that year it seems to have been removed to the abbey of Tintern, in Monmouthshire, and finished there. There are nine leaves of miscellaneous matter in the beginning, and the Flores begins on f. 10.

It follows the Chetham MS., but with occasional lengthy omissions, especially after the year 1240. But on the other hand there are many additions, chiefly relating to S. Benet Holme, besides others concerning Norfolk and the diocese of Norwich, as, for instance, the verses against Herbert Losinga in ii. 27. There is an especially valuable account of the riots at Norwich and the burning the cathedral and monastery in 1272 (iii. 24), quite different from that given by the Norfolk historian, Bartholomew Cotton.

Besides the actual omissions in some of the later years, a few words only are given for the events of some years with "et cetera," as if the original from which the compilation was made was accessible to all in the monastery; and there are some extracts from

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a work styled the Chronicles of Reginald of Wroxham (ii. 147, 157, 161, 163). The death of Reginald Cresi, parson of Wroxham,¹ is mentioned in 1235 (ii. 217). These consist chiefly of passages which will be found in the *Chronica Majora* and the *Historia Anglorum* of Matthew Paris. There are some from the *Chronica Majora* which are not in Wendover, and from the *Historia Anglorum* which are not in either. It is difficult not to assume the identity of the chronicler and the parson of Wroxham; and if so, we have here a hitherto unknown source of Matthew Paris's work. The book was probably a collection of extracts made by the writer for his own purposes and lent to the monastery of S. Benet Holme. It did not seem advisable to insert them in the text of the *Flores*, but as they may lead to the identification of Wroxham's work I have printed them at the end of this preface.²

The chief sources of the other additions in this MS., which are peculiar to it, are the *Historia Miscella* (i. 79), *Orosius* (i. 118), *Martinus Polonus* (i. 118, 119, 130, 135, 160, 425), the *Decreta Pii Papæ* (i. 141), the chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux (i. 202, 223, 239, 263, 386, 551, 560), and his *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (i. 206), Geoffrey of Monmouth (i. 307), the false Turpin's life of Charles the Great (blunderingly quoted, i. 410), Florence of Worcester (i. 566, ii. 38, 41, 43, 44), and his continuator (ii. 50), Robert de Monte (i. 573), *Diceto* (ii. 6, 121), the *Annals of St. Edmundsbury*, published by Liebermann in his "Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen," (ii. 31, 37, 45, 65, 66, 67, 74, 94, 141), Matthew Paris (ii. 78, 81, 89, 131, 179, 243), and his *Additamenta* (ii. 162).

There are notes introduced respecting Westminster (i. 146), Origen (i. 157), ritual matters (i. 257, 262),

¹ Wroxham is near Norwich. | ² See note ², p. liii.

Cnut's becoming king of Norway (i. 552), the neighbouring or other monasteries, as Cluny (i. 479), Horsham (ii. 38), Wymondham (ii. 86, 87), Hīckling (ii. 97), Waltham (ii. 124), Matilda and Eustace (ii. 56, note 6), one Margaret ancilla Christi (ii. 92), the Publicani in 1182 (ii. 94), the murrain in Lindsey in 1276 (iii. 48), the details of the condition of the clergy when put out of protection by Edward I. (iii. 99), the king's not going to Gascony in 1296 (iii. 100). There are a few notes on Merlin's prophecies in i. 227, seqq. Richard's charter of release to the king of Scots is given in 1190, probably from Hoveden.

The portion written at Tintern I have been able to identify with no other historian; yet it is not original, as the annals of the years stop short with "et cetera" more than once. Besides details relating to Tintern abbey, there are special notices concerning Striguil (Chepstow). It gives several facts which occur nowhere else. The latter notices are short, and the whole ends in 1323. It is printed in vol. iii., Appendix I.

The autographs of Lord Arundel and Lord Lumley, as former possessors of the MS., are on the first leaf.

MS. Cl.
(Norwich)
Brit. Mus.
Cott.
Claud. E. 8.

I. (10.) MS. Brit. Mus., Cotton. Claud. E. 8.

This fine MS., executed for Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich from 1370 to 1407, whose arms are frequently introduced into the initial letters, was probably written in the monastery of Norwich soon after 1400. It is a large folio, very elaborately written with borders of gold and illuminated letters. It is derived, though not directly, from the Chetham MS. The Flores begins on f. 23 b. with the rubrick, "Incipit prologus in librum qui Flores Historiarum intitatur secundum Matheum monachum Westmonasterii." If we except a few additions to make the sense clearer (as in ii. 126), the text of the

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Chetham MS. is for the most part verbally copied. But there are throughout many additions, usually, though not always (as in iii. 75, n. ², where the addition is foisted into the middle of a sentence, spoiling the sense) at the end of each year. These chiefly relate to the monastery of Norwich, especially giving the name of its priors from time to time. But there are many from other sources. A great many of these it possesses in common with the last described MS. (Re.), from which they were doubtless taken, especially as some of its preliminary matter is also in the beginning of this MS.

The additions which are peculiar to this MS., besides those which concern Norwich, are taken from Hugh of Fleury (i. 418), Durandus (*ib.*), Martinus Polonus (i. 519, 555, mentioned by name), Florence of Worcester (i. 557 called Malmesbury, ii. 4, 5), S. Augustine (i. 568), the Vita S. Macarii (*ib.*), Giraldus's Expugnatio Hiberniæ (ii. 96), Trivet (twice quoted by name, ii. 102, iii. 63, and frequently besides, iii. 43, 46, 96), Richard's charter of release (ii. 104 n.), Hoveden (ii. 111, 116), Matthew Paris (ii. 151, 216). As specimens of other introductions see the mention of the use of the creed at mass (i. 181), the close of Isidore's chronicle (i. 294), the notice of S. Mary, Castle Acre (ii. 22), of Gratian and the Decretum (ii. 70), of Vincent of Beauvais (ii. 285), Edward Ist's quitclaim of Normandy, the quarrel between Canterbury and York in 1279 (iii. 52, 53), and the various additions to the text in ii. 172, 174, 187, 207, 232, 260, 380. There are several lists of the children of the various English kings introduced into the text. The documents of 1291 are not given; those of 1301, relating to the Pope's message about the affairs of Scotland (see below, p. xlvi), and the end of the chronicle (1306), are copied directly from Trivet. Besides some preliminary matter, the MS. contains

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after the Flores the Chronicle of Murimuth, and other writings. There is a list of the priors of Norwich down to William de Claxtone, who died 17 kal. Sept. 1344, probably taken from the Fairfax MS.

Besides what is mentioned by Sir T. Hardy (Catalogue of Materials, iii. p. 313§), who considers that this was the MS. used by Stow, it may be added that it is probably that seen by Leland in the priory of Norwich. See the Collectanea, iii. 25 (iv. p. 27, ed. Hearne).

MS. N.
(Rochester) Brit.
Mus.
Cotton.
Nero, D. 2.

I. (11.) MS. Brit. Mus. Cotton. Nero, D. 2.

This is a large folio, written in a fine clear hand in the priory of Rochester, in the early part of the XIVth century. The earlier portion has not much in common with the Flores, with which it begins to agree in p. 60 of the present edition. This is usually much fuller, though omitting much that is given in the Flores. From this point to the year 1284 it is a copy of MS. A. (Arundel, 96), with large additions relating to Rochester which are numerous and valuable. It differs from A. solely in omitting rather longer passages than that MS. omits, especially towards the end. There are throughout in the margins portraits of the chief persons mentioned, and sketches of the events and buildings described in the text, curious and interesting enough, but of a very rude character. After the year 1284 it was probably taken from the Oxford MS. Mus. 149. It ends in 1306, with the words "dimidium postulati," and is followed after two short entries in a different hand (see vol. iii., p. 327) by the "Commendatio Lamentabilis."

A considerable portion (by no means all) of the additions relating to Rochester has been printed from this MS. by Wharton in the first volume of his *Anglia Sacra* (pp. 341-355); he ascribes them to Edmund of Hadenham on the strength of what he found in William

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Lambard's *Collectanea* (Præf. p. xxxi). A few shorter introductions are occasionally made into the text, as, *e.g.*, in the account of the siege of Rochester in 1215, where an insertion is made as to the pillage of the cathedral (ii. 154); later, besides the mention of Canterbury matters in iii. 90 there is an addition to the account of the raid of the French on Dover in 1295 (iii. 94); an extract from Robert de Monte will be found in i. 556, and there are several notices of the foundation of various monasteries. It gives the documents of 1291 addressed "Priori et conventui ecclesiæ Roffensis," it does not give those of 1301.

There are many marginal notes in the hand of Polydore Vergil.

I. (12.) MS. Lambeth, 1106.

This is a copy of the Flores, with many omissions and a few insertions. From 1307 to the end of 1341 it contains a continuation of its own, which has been published by Bishop Stubbs in the first volume of his *Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I. and II.* under the title of *Annales Paulini*. For a full description of the MS. and its history I refer to his preface, vol. i., pp. xlii. seqq.

MS. Lambeth, 1106,
(St. Paul's
London.)

In the earlier portion, and where it follows the Flores exactly, several chapters are entirely omitted, and what is given frequently consists of very brief summaries of the original, a single sentence often being all that is given of each year. Sometimes the abbreviator has copied a few words and stopped with "etc.," as in A.D. 2, 3, 5, 31, &c. Later more is given, but very rarely the whole; the matter is usually abridged, this being done with considerable care, though words and sentences necessary for the sense are occasionally left out, and sentences begun are sometimes left unfinished. This is the case till 1285;

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from that year to 1296 it differs considerably from the Flores, and though evidently derived from it, gives the idea that the abbreviator altered sentences and words for the mere sake of altering them. From 1297 to 1306 it follows the Flores as before; the year 1306 is altered in arrangement. What is original in the MS. relates chiefly, though not entirely, to St. Paul's, London; it was certainly written there, as the letters of Edward I. on the Scotch succession are addressed "Decano et capitulo S. Pauli Londoniis." Besides occasional small additions (as in i. 493, 529, 563; ii. 418, 462, iii. 70, &c.), it gives additional matter chiefly from the sources employed in the Flores, viz, Peter Comestor (i. 65), John of Glastonbury (i. 127), Sigebert (i. 203, 238, 239), the Leges S. Edwardi (i. 426), Matthew Paris (ii. 53, 54), the Southwark Annals (ii. 86). Besides these may be mentioned the notes about Bede (i. 372, 374), the letter of Gregory X. belonging to 1273, inserted in 936 (i. 495n), the mention of the place Stebenheth (Stepney), where the Bishop of London died in 1262 (ii. 475), the names of the arrangers of the dictum of Kenilworth (iii. 12), and the details of the funerals of the two queens Alienora (iii. 71, 72).

The scribe was a very ignorant and careless one; we find *bonus* for *lv^{ns}* (a. 14, i. 98), *interfectus* for *effectus* (a. 369, i. 192), *Romanæ pietatis* for *Romanæ potestatis* (a. 434, i. 207), *inexecrabili* for *inexorabili* (a. 540, i. 268), *Jordanum* for *Rodanum* (a. 562, i. 274), *ad eternam dampnationem* for *ab* (a. 592, i. 284), *idus Augusti* for *idem Augustinus* (a. 604, i. 290), *cui deus* for *cuidam* (a. 1003, i. 528), *temporis* for *ipsis* (a. 1012, i. 534), *monachi* for *machinis* (1215, ii. 154), *rege* for *Rogero* (a. 1234, ii. 212), *Coloniæ ducatum* for *Polloniæ ducatum* (a. 1289, iii. 69), *certum duxit* for *circumduxit* (a. 1293, iii. 86), &c.

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I. (13.) MS. Bibl. Bodl. Rawl. B. 177.

MS. Bibl.
Bodl.
Rawl.
B. 177.
(St.
Mary's,
South-
wark).

This is a quarto, written in a very clear hand of the beginning of the XIVth century. It is a compilation from the Flores and other sources. The earlier portion is from the Flores to A.D. 464, ending with the Prophetia Merlini. Then follow, "De quatuor regnis majoribus," accounts of Rome, of the Roman emperors to Frederick II., brief annals with the dates of the years 1250 to 1270 (6 pages), a list of the Popes from S. Peter to Honorius IV., then brief annals from A.D. 1 to 1187, when it becomes fuller. The copy of the Flores used was probably the Oxford MS., Mus. 149; it ends with the year 1305; adding at the end, "Hoc anno obiit Willelmus Waleys, prior " hujus loci; cui successit Petrus de Cheham," showing it was written at St. Mary's priory, Southwark. On a fly-leaf is "Iste liber est Henrici Spelman militis."

I. (14.) MS. Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax, 20.

MS. Bibl.
Bodl. Fair-
fax, 20.

This is a quarto, written in single columns, in the XIVth century. It is a mere fragment, going down only to 635. It was written at Norwich, containing a list of the priors down to 1344. After the original incipit, a much later hand adds "secundum Matheum " monachum Westmon." Above is "Liber fratris Symonis Bozoun, prioris Norwic."; he was prior from 1344 to 1352. At the end is a charter of Edward I. on the liberties of Yarmouth, excerpts from Domesday, and Miscellanea.

II. (2.) MS. Coll. Omn. Animarum Oxon. No. 37.

MS. Coll.
Omn.
Animar.
Oxon. 37.

This is a large folio, written in double columns in the XIVth or beginning of the XVth century. It is a copy of the Merton MS., with a leaf wanting at the commencement, and ending, as doubtless that MS. did, in 1306, with the words "dimidium postulati." After the explicit is a "Tabula super Flores Storiarum facta

o 21874.

c

“ per Johannem Rochefort militem distincta per folia.”
This has caused the whole chronicle to be ascribed to
this John Rochfort.

It was given to the college by Henry Penworthin.

MS. Par.
Bibl.
Nationale,
6045.

II. (3.) MS. Paris. Bibl. Nationale 6045 (olim Colbert).

This is a folio, written in XIVth century, containing ff. 171. It ends, as usual in 1306, with the words “ dimidium postulati.” At the end is “ Cronica Anglie, “ Scotie, et aliarum gentium, valde in Anglorum gestis “ copiosa, et est de libris domini G. Boisratier de “ Bituris, archiepiscopi Bituricensis.” He was archbishop of Bourges 1409–1421.

This does not give all the additions of the Merton MS at the beginning, but generally agrees with it. It gives none of the documents either in 1291 or 1301, and thus there is no trace of the monastery where it was written. It gives the résumé of the barons’ war in 1265, though it has altered the order of the chapters as given in the Merton MS.

MS. Tenison, now Sir Tho. Phillipps, 15,732.

II. (4.) MS. Tenison, now Sir Thomas Phillipps 15,732, formerly Clarendon 93.

This is a folio, written in double columns in the XIVth century. It is imperfect at the commencement, beginning with the words “ ora ad compitum, ubi se “ findit in quadrivium ” (a. 1058, vol. i., p. 578), and ending in 1307 with the mention of the funeral of Edward I., as given in Murimuth, but adding to the lines given by him, which are also given by Robert of Reading, iii. p. 138, the two following :

Scotos Edwardus, dum vixit, suppeditavit,
Terruit, affixit, depressit, dilaniavit.

It agrees on the whole with the Merton MS., giving the short summaries for the years 1245 to 1264, and

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the longer accounts in the later years; but it omits much that is to be found there. It was probably written at Westminster, as the letter of Edward I. in 1291 is directed to the abbat and convent of Westminster. It was in the Clarendon Library, No. 93, whence it passed into archbishop Tenison's Library, and at the sale of that library in 1861 was purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps.

The chronicle of Adam of Murimuth follows the Flores.

II. (5.) MS. Brit. Mus. Harl. 641.

This is the chronicle which goes under the name of MS. Bevere, Brit. Mu Harl. 641 (S. Augustine's, Canterbury). John Bevere, a monk of Westminster, who has been supposed to be the same person as John¹ of London, the author of the account of the sufferings of the Westminster monks who were accused of robbing the royal treasury.

It is a folio, containing ff. 116, written throughout in the same very distinct rounded hand, in the earlier part of the XIVth century, before 1309, and certainly in or for the monastery of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. At the foot of f. 1 is written "Cronica de editione domini Johannis dicti Bevere, monachi Westmonasterii. De libraria monasterii Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis, Distinct. T. Abbatis," and there is a similar inscription on the last leaf. This abbat was Thomas de Fydone, who was elected in 1283 and died in 1309.

Prefixed to the chronicle is the history ascribed to Dares Frigius, ff. 1-8; then follows the chronicle, without heading, but with a list of chapters prefixed; the earlier portion is taken entirely from Geoffrey of

¹ John of London died in 1311. with Robert of Reading, see below, p. xliii, n. 1.
Madden's Pref. to the Hist. Anglor. i. xxv, n. 1. For his connexion

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Monmouth, ff. 9–19*b*; the second book is “De regibus
“ post obitum Kadwaladri,” ff. 20–24.¹

After this is the heading, “Incipiunt cronica de ad-
“ quisitione regni Angliæ per Willelmum ducem Nor-
“ manniæ et de pactis inter Willelmum ducem et
“ Haroldum,” f. 24*b*.

It begins to agree with the Flores, in the second
chapter of this, f. 24*b*, with the words “Pacificus igitur
“ rex Edwardus” (i. 586); and from here it is a copy,
occasionally abbreviated, of the Merton MS., giving
the Scotch documents in 1291 (f. 99*b*) addressed
“ priori et conventui de Mertone.”

I have given its more important various readings in
the latter portion; there are occasional omissions of
whole passages.

The additions peculiar to this copy are as follows:

Floods at
Canterbury
in 1271.

A.D. 1271 (iii. 23). Eodem anno idus Septembris
fuit maximum diluvium, præcipue in Cantuaria et par-
tibus adjacentibus, per quod multæ domus subversæ
erant aqua, plures homines et mulieres et etiam bestiæ
submersæ, et blada plurima perierunt. Tanta enim
fuit pluvix inundatio, quod aqua ascendebat repletis
itineribus, usque ad duos pedes altitudinis, murum qui
facit ambitum hujus domus et murum dictum in aliqua
parte Cantuariæ a duo miliaris, scilicet versus Petham,
nec cecidit una gutta.

Abbats of
S. August-
ine's, Can-
terbury.

A.D. 1283 (iii. 59). Eodem anno in festo Sancti
Pancratii frater Nicholaus de Spina, abbas monasterii
Sancti Augustini Cantuariæ, cessit abbatix de licentia
domini Papæ Martini quarti, et die tertia post resig-
nationem dicti Nicholai prædictus Papa ad electionem
ejusdem Nicholai et duorum fratrum qui cum eo erant

¹ This earlier portion will also be found in a chronicle which forms part of the volume Vitellius E. 17, which into the middle of the English history introduces an account of the dukes of Normandy; it goes down to 1216. ;

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confirmavit in abbatem fratrem Thomam de Findone, qui de mandato dicti Papæ benedictus est Londoniis a fratre Johanne de Derlinton archiepiscopo Dublinensi.

Eodem anno obiit filia regis Norweyæ, hæres regni Scotiæ, quam debebat habuisse in uxorem Edwardus filius regis Edwardi; et rex Edwardus ex tunc aspiravit ad regnum Scotiæ, et fecit inquiri ubique inronicis et annalibus tam domorum religiosarum quam alibi de jure et dominio quod reges Angliæ solebant habere super regnum Scotiæ, et de homagio et servitio quod reges Scotiæ facere solebant regibus Angliæ.

Death of the Maid of Norway Edward's investigations as to his rights in Scotland.

A.D. 1295 (iii. 285). Duo vero milites supradicti qui hostes persequendo civitatem fuerant ingressi hostibus, sed reddere noluerunt, sed fortiter repugnantes maluerunt mori viriliter quam turpiter incarcerari.

Siege of Bordeaux.

II. (6.) MS. Bibl. Bodl. Rawl. B. 186.

MS. Ra. Bibl. Bodl. Rawl. B. 186.

This is a folio, written in double columns, in the XIVth century. The title has been erased, and over it in the handwriting of Bale is "Flores Historiarum Mathei Westmonasterii monachi in utraque literatura incliti." It ends in 1306 with the words "dium postulati." On a fly-leaf at the end is written in a XIVth century hand, "Hic est liber domini Johannis de Lechelade, canonici Sanctæ Mariæ de Suwerk."

Dr. Liebermann (*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica* XXVIII, pp. 460, 461, see below, p. xlviii) has given a short account of several of the above described MSS. His theory is that all excepting Ch. were transcribed from one lost copy (β), which, although it was not the original (α), had many better readings than Ch. He thinks A and N came from a third (γ); but here I think he is mistaken, as I believe A to have been

Liebermann's account of the MSS.

certainly copied from Ch., and N from A¹; E. and Bevere, he thinks, came from a fourth (δ) which came from β ; with this I cannot agree, as, independently of other reasons, the fact of Bevere's giving the Scotch documents as addressed to Merton, seems to prove it came from E. Re. and Cl. he derives from a fifth (ϵ) of the type of (γ) But Cl. certainly made very large use of Re.

I think all the difficulties are to be explained by supposing that the writers of the various MSS. had access to the original St. Alban's compilation, as well as to the Greater Chronicle of Matthew Paris. There can be no doubt that the writer of Ch. had access to the Corpus Christi MS. of Paris, and I think both he and the compiler of E used the original compilation independently. E is clearly the work of a different person in many parts.

Character of the Flores Historiarum. I proceed to discuss the character and peculiarities of the Flores Historiarum. It may be divided, both from the evidence of handwriting and internal contents, into nine separate portions.

Part 1., Creation—1066. Written at St. Alban's. 1. The first portion contains the history from the creation down to the end of the year 1066. It is taken from the Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris, itself derived from the original compilation of St. Alban's, which is the basis of the chronicles of Wendover and Paris. I see no reason to depart from the opinion I formed some years ago that this was composed in St. Alban's by John de Cella, 21st abbat of St. Alban's. I entered so fully into its character and composition in the preface to the first volume of Matthew Paris's Greater Chronicle, that nothing more need be said here. The present compiler, while for

¹ The passages which N contains which are not in A are peculiar to that MS., and relate almost entirely to Rochester.

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the most part transcribing Matthew Paris, besides having the two MSS. of Paris (A, C) before him and that of Wendover, had certainly access to the original work, and while frequently altering what he found in Paris, has introduced much that is not to be found in his work. He also made use of the same sources that his original used, no doubt from the historical collection at St. Alban's, and sometimes has enlarged the extracts from these earlier writers. Thus the chapter *Distinctio regionum* (i. 5), which is not in Paris, is given probably from Wendover; to say nothing of small additions, as in i. 174, 248, sentences not in Paris may be found in i. pp. 8, 16, 17, 217, 240, 243, 253, 269, 271, 330. The more important additions are from Isidore's *Etymologies* (i. 153), the charter of Edward the Confessor (i. 566), Aelred's *Vita S. Edwardi* (i. 579), and other sources sufficiently indicated in the notes. Additions have been occasionally made for the glory of St. Alban's (i. 213, 214).

On one occasion where he has altered his original, in speaking of Mahomet, he uses the first person (i. 301); but he leaves the first person (*nostræ*¹) unchanged when he is following Paris directly, who is copying Malmesbury (i. 423), *nostræ* referring to Malmesbury's own monastery. Occasionally portions of Paris's history are used for other events than those for which Paris intended them; thus the verses Paris quotes for the marriage of Fawkes de Breauté and Margaret de Rivers are used for that of Vortigern (i. 220). There are also occasional repetitions, two sources being employed for the account of the same event; see i. 225, 263.

The additions to this in the Merton MS., which are in the present edition enclosed in square brackets, not to speak of some words added (as in i. 29, 94, 192,

¹ The word is omitted in the later recension (MS. Merton.)

295), are from Isidore de ortu et obitu patrum (i. 30, 32, 34, 35), the *Historia Miscella* (used independently of what is extracted in Paris, as may be seen in i. 47, 48, 49, 52), the *Aurea Legenda*, whence the legends of Pilate's and Judas's origin (i. 101, 104), the cure of Tiberius by S. Veronica (i. 111), and the wild legend of Nero (i. 120) are taken, Prosper (i. 184, an extract introduced in order to make the numbering of the years correct), Sigebert's chronicle (i. 195, 311, 414), and his *liber de scriptor. ecclesiast.* (i. 292), Geoffrey of Monmouth (i. 224), Martinus Polonus (i. 525), all used quite independently of the passages extracted from these writers in the original compilation or in Paris. Some few I have not been able to identify; as the verse quoted in i. p. 41, the alteration of the verse of the Psalm quoted in the life of S. Guthlac (i. 364), and the very curious additions to the legend of the dancers in a churchyard (i. 531, 532), given by Paris from Malmesbury, the song about the beautiful Merswynd being only given in this MS., besides other alterations. The account of the battle of Hastings may be especially mentioned.

The sources of the additions in the other MSS., written at St. Benet Holme, Norwich, Rochester, St. Paul's, have been sufficiently indicated above.

Part 2,
1067-1250.
Written at
St. Al-
ban's.

2. The second portion extends from the year 1067 to the middle of 1250, where¹ the work originally ended, as is clear from the introduction of the verses (ii. 361):

Cernis completas hic nostro tempore metas,
Si plus forte petas, tibi postera nunciet ætas.

This is founded on the greater chronicle of Matthew Paris, much being copied directly, but with many

¹ This also ends the part written in the marked St. Alban's hand in the Chetham MS.

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alterations, omissions, and additions, very many passages being re-written in the writer's own words. Besides the greater chronicle, the *Historia Anglorum* has been occasionally used, the *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani* (ii. 5, 24), the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* (ii. 7, 32, 151), Wendover's history (where he is not followed by Paris, ii. 108, 115), the *Additamenta* of Matthew Paris (ii. 180, 315, 332, 334, 336, 348), showing that the compiler had access to all the historical collections at St. Alban's. The other principal additions are from Diceto (much), the charter of Battle Abbey, the *Southwark Annals* (MS. Cott. Faustina, A, 8, partly copied from Paris and partly used independently, see ii. 6, 120, 126, 143), William of Malmesbury (ii. 18, 59, 61) Henry of Huntingdon (ii. 19, 62) Robert de Monte (ii. 24, 52, 54, 67, 68), Florence of Worcester (ii. 34, 38), Hoveden (ii. 69, 80), the *Annals of Reading* (printed by Liebermann, *Anglo-Normannische Geschichtesquellen*) ii. 58, the *Annals of S. Edmundsbury* (printed in the same volume) ii. 45, 65, 66, etc., the lives of S. Thomas of Canterbury by Herbert de Bosham (ii. 76, 78, 80, 82, 94) and William of Canterbury (ii. 81, 83), and Ralph of Coggeshale (ii. 113, 118, 130, 151, 168, 169, where Paris differs, 170, 171, 172). Both the chief MSS. of Paris were used, the *Corpus Christi MS. (A)*, see ii. 361, and the *Cotton (C)*, see ii. 138, unless Matthew Paris himself here assisted the compiler.

There are again here introductions for the glory of St. Alban's, as the mention of the intention of Louis VII. to go there in 1179 (ii. 91), and one even contradicting Paris (ii. 110), as the author speaks of Richard I. going there on his return from captivity, though Paris expressly says (*Hist. Anglor.* ii. 47) he did not visit St. Alban's, but only sent an offering. The sense is often spoilt by the alterations, see, *e.g.*, ii. 93, 106.

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What is said above would show that this could not have been an abridgment by Paris of his own work; but an absolute proof of this may be obtained by observing the blunders introduced from time to time, while the author is copying or abridging from him; thus in ii. 113 the Duke of Austria is said to have died excommunicate, although Paris (from Coggeshale) has said directly that he was absolved before his death; in ii. 141 the omission of the words "et pons Londoniæ" spoils the whole paragraph;¹ in ii. 155 Fawkes de Breauté is described as "neuter genere" instead of "Neuster genere;" there is a different account given of the disturbance at Oxford in the presence of the legate Otho in ii. 225. Other blunders or careless omissions may be seen in ii. 32, note ³, 73, 79, 93, 106, 142, note ⁴. The style, moreover, of what is introduced is very different from that of Paris.

In the Chetham MS. the portion of this part which gives the years 1241 to 1249 is written in the very pronounced St. Alban's hand, as may be seen by looking at Plate XVIII. of the facsimiles prefixed to Sir Thomas Hardy's third volume of his Catalogue of the Materials for British History. Sir Frederick Madden (Preface to the *Historia Anglorum*, i. p. xxii) supposes this to be the handwriting of Paris himself, and therefore decides that the whole work up to this point is due to him, and is a second abridgment of his history. Sir Thomas Hardy, *Catalogue*, iii., pp. lxxxiv., cxxxiv.), expresses a directly contrary opinion. And my own entirely agrees on this point with his. The familiarity which the work of many years has given me with the handwriting of Matthew Paris and the St. Alban's writers has decided me on the point, besides the

¹ See also ii. 142, n. ⁴

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arguments brought forward by Sir T. Hardy. But independently of this, I think there is internal evidence enough to disprove it. Having collated this portion several times, my impression is that the writer was not the author; but the following seem to me decisive proofs. In ii. 253 the marriage of Alexander II. of Scotland with the daughter of Engelram de Coucy, which took place in 1239, is transferred to 1242 from a confusion with the marriage of Alexander's son (afterwards Alexander III.) with Margaret, daughter of Henry III.; in ii. 263 some words are carelessly omitted, spoiling the sense; in ii. 255, S. Louis's illness after the defeat of the English on the Charente in 1242 is put down to Henry III.; in ii. 267 a curious confusion between *mulieres* and *mulierum numerus* makes nonsense of the paragraph; in ii. 274 the mixing up two different constructions has the same effect; in ii. 283, 284, Henry III. is spoken of as rejecting *Margaret* of Scotland for his wife. It seems to me impossible that the author of these blunders could have been the great historian himself, who has given all the passages correctly in his own work.

Besides this, it is scarcely conceivable¹ that Paris, who had already abridged and added to his larger work in the *Historia Anglorum*, could have made this second abridgment as well;—to say nothing of the difference of the style and the frequent clumsiness of the alterations.

The additions in the Merton MS., besides what relates especially to Merton (*e.g.*, ii. 69), are from Florence of Worcester, Huntingdon, Sigebert, Diceto (ii. 16). Coggeshale (ii. 18). The Southwark Annals were used directly, independently both of Matthew Paris and the St. Alban's writer. There is a different account of Ralph Wader's conspiracy (ii. 7), additions about William de Braose (ii. 139), and a curious men-

¹ See Hardy's remarks on this point, *Catalogue of Materials*, iii. p. 319.

tion of the death of Lofstan, domesman (ii. 45). A better copy of John's charter of submission is given than that in Matthew Paris (ii. 145).

Part 3.,
1249, 1250.
Written at
St. Al-
ban's. 3. The third portion (ii. pp. 361-364) consists only of a very brief abridgment of the events of parts of the years 1249, 1250, abridged directly from Matthew Paris. It is written in a hand resembling, if not the same as, the first in the Chetham MS., but with less care.

Part 4.,
1250-1255.
Written at
St. Al-
ban's. 4. The fourth portion (ii. pp. 364-412), containing the years 1250-1255, is a transcript from the *Abbreviationes Chronicorum*, printed by Sir Frederick Madden in the third volume of the *Historia Anglorum* of Matthew Paris. It is copied with scarcely an alteration, and with none of its faults corrected, ending abruptly in the same way in the middle of a sentence.

Part 5.,
1256-1259.
Written at
St. Alban's. 5. The fifth portion (ii. pp. 412-426), containing the years 1256-1259, begins with a document inserted out of its place, the excommunication of all who violate the charters, which had already been given under the correct year; it is probably given here from the *Historia Anglorum*. This is a compilation made up by abridging and altering Matthew Paris, and introducing documents and letters from the *Additamenta* (see the use made of the letter of Richard of Cornwall, ii. 415), and other sources. It is made with great carelessness, words being frequently omitted, and sentences begun and left unfinished, as at the end of the year 1257 (ii. 417). The latter years are very closely copied from Matthew Paris.

Part 6.,
1259-1265.
Written at
St. Alban's. 6. The next portion, from 1259 (where Matthew Paris's chronicle ends) to 1265, (vol. ii. 426-iii. 6), is probably original; certainly written in St. Alban's, and with an evident intention to carry on Paris's work. It contains references to the book of *Additamenta* (Cotton. Nero, D. 1), and sends its readers to that

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collection just as Paris had done. As is the case with Paris, his follower refers on one occasion (ii. 474) to a document not to be found there, and makes use, as he does, of different titles for the work (*Exemplaria, quæ apud sanctum Albanum sunt*, ii. 336; *Liber Additamentorum*, ii. 434; *alibi*, 437; *alibi inter brevia*, 442; *finis hujus libri*, 474); all giving the impression that he was appointed by his monastery to continue the work of his illustrious predecessor, and had access to documents which were intended to be placed in the Book of Additamenta, but which were forgotten. I believe this to be the original continuation of Matthew Paris, to which reference is made by the writer who adds the colophon at the end of the Greater Chronicle, where, after speaking of the close of Paris's labours, he adds:—

“Quod¹ autem amodo appositum est et prosecutum, cuidam alteri fratri sit ascribendum, qui tanti prædecessoris opera præsumens aggredi, indeque prosecuturus, cum non sit dignus ejusdem corrigiam solvere calciamenti, paginæ non meruit nomine tenus annotari.”

It seems to me the most probable theory to suppose this writer to be the author (I should rather say the compiler) of the whole work up to this point. That we do not know his name is not to be wondered at, as he has with this conspicuous modesty himself preferred to leave it in oblivion. Sir T. Hardy's arguments (*Pref. to Materials*, iii. p. lxxxii.) and what has been said above seem to me unanswerable against the idea of the previous part being due to Matthew Paris himself. As to any other names that have been suggested, the evidence for one Walter of St. Alban's

¹ *Matt. Par.* v. p. 748, n.¹ See the facsimile prefixed to that volume. The above is also Sir F. Madden's opinion. *Pref. to the Hist. Anglor.* i. p. xxiii, n.²

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whom Sir T. Hardy is inclined to think may have been the author, is absolutely *nil*, resting only on the statement of Pits; Rishanger was only nine years old in 1259, as he was born in 1250 (Hardy, iii. 192); John of Rochefort was only the compiler of the index to one particular MS. (All Souls' Oxon.); Edmund of Hadenham was the suggested author of the parts peculiar to Rochester in the Rochester MS.; John Bevere seems merely to have been a copyist employed by S. Augustine's, Canterbury, to copy and slightly add to the Merton MS.; Robert of Reading was the author of the continuation from 1307 to 1325; "Matthew of Westminster" I have already stated never to have had any existence. I am afraid that the author's name must remain for ever unknown, as seems to have been his own wish. It is likely enough that he obtained the help of Paris for what he was abridging and altering in his great work, and, as I have stated above, I think that the Chetham MS. bears evidence of this in very trifling corrections, letters introduced, or marginal notes in Paris's own handwriting (ii. 292, 317, 330, 331, 375). The idea of Sir F. Madden (*Hist. Anglor. Pref. i. p. xxiv, n.¹*) that at least the earlier portion was executed at St. Alban's for the use of the monks of Westminster, as some passages are given relating to Westminster which are not in the Greater Chronicle (see i. 566; ii. 289, 321, 356, 358), seems to me very probable. This is the case only as far as 1250, where the *Chronica Majora* is deserted for the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*. A portion of what is given in 1261 has been copied into the "Opus Chronicorum" inserted among the works of Rishanger, and from the year 1263 (ii. p. 479) a considerable portion has been copied by Rishanger in the tract, "De duobus bellis apud Lewes et Evesham commissis," including the account of the siege of Rochester in 1264.

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7. The next portion, from 1265–1306 (iii. 6–137), Part 7.,
1265–1306.
Written at
Westmin-
ster. where most of the MSS. of the Flores end, containing the history from the battle of Evesham to the death of Edward I., was composed after the work was removed to Westminster, and probably from time to time by various monks of Westminster Abbey. The curious rhyming headings to the years, which are chiefly in the Merton MS., begin in 1274.

8. From 1307 to 1325 the chronicle is of an entirely Part 8.,
1307–1325,
Written at
Westmin-
ster. different character, and was certainly written by Robert of Reading, to whom it is ascribed at the end. Of him nothing¹ is known but that he was a monk of Westminster who died in 1325, as we learn from the work itself (iii. 232). It has been copied into the MS. Cleopatra, A. 16. It is now printed for the first time.

9. The close, containing the latter portion of the Part 9.,
1325, 1326.
Written at
Westmin-
ster. year 1325 and 1326, must have been added by a Westminster monk; it consists of passages from Adam of Murimuth, Higden, and some other source, ending with the acceptance of Edward III. as king.

The Flores Historiarum has been printed three times Editions of
the Flores,
(1.) 1567. under the name of Matthew of Westminster. The first edition was issued by Archbishop Parker in 1567, printed by Thomas Marshe, London, October 20. It is taken entirely from the Merton MS., excepting the

¹ Sir Thomas Hardy mentions that his name occurs in conjunction with that of John of London in the Patent Roll, 31 Edw. I., m. 12 dorso. (Catalogue, iii. 325 n. †). These are letters patent dated 10 Oct. 1303, appointing justices to try the abbat and monks of Westminster on the accusation of having broken open and plundered the king's treasury. (See the

Flores, iii. p. 115.) Among the names of the monks occur frater Johannes de London., and frater Robertus de Rading. (Monasticon. vol. i. p. 312, Westm. App. 75.) The two names also occur together in the Infirmary accounts of Westminster Abbey in 1294 and 1298. See Madden, Preface, p. xxv, n.¹

year 1307, which (as that MS. wants the last leaf) was taken from Trivet, pp. 412–414 (ed. Hog.). The MS. is fairly followed throughout, and though there are many errors and false readings of the MS., there are no traces of such wicked (see the preface to Matthew Paris, ii. p. xxiv) or fantastic (see *Id.* iv., p. xvii) alterations as the editor perpetrated in his edition of Matthew Paris. The MS. bears many evidences of Parker's use of it, having his marginal notes in many places. From one it appears that he had the MS. in his hands in 1562, as under the year 1195 (f. 182, ii. 113), on the occasion of "Aquarum inundationes," he writes, "Nos sub eodem sumus periculo hoc anno Domini 1562. Deus nostri misereatur." Under 1212 he notes (f. 189*b.*, ii. 141), "St. Marie Overies churche burnt. This fire began in Gilbert Becquet's house, as yt apperes in a monument in the Dean of Powles house at London."

- (2.) 1570. Soon after this Parker came across other MSS. of the Flores, and in 1570 he published his second edition, printed also in London by Marshe, the type differing from the first edition as much as the manner of editing the work. This edition, though to a certain extent founded on the former, is taken from MS. Laud. 572, now in the Bodleian Library, up to 1293, but with additions from the Merton MS. still introduced as part of the text, and the whole of the latter portion from 1293, where this latter MS. is so much fuller, still taken from it. Besides this there are many additions from the Norwich MS. (Claud. E. 8.), a few from the Rochester MS. (Nero. D. 2) which he mentions in his preface, as the account of the murder of the monk Thomas at Dover (iii. 94, p. 398, Parker); and possibly other MSS. were used. Had the archbishop been contented with this, his work would have been much more satisfactory. But in the meantime he had become acquainted with the *Chronica Majora*

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of Matthew Paris, and he inserted in the text of the Flores many passages peculiar to Paris, such as the account of the Sibyls (ed. 1570, i. p. 42), the allusion to Adrian I. (i. p. 278); the verses about Charles and Offa (i. pp. 279, 280), the notices of S. Leo (i. 293), S. Elphege (i. 392), S. Olave (i. 406), the foundation of various monasteries (i. 298, 374, 386), etc., which had interested him. And still further, besides the passages from earlier historians taken from the Norwich MS., he inserts of his own accord passages from Malmesbury (i. 379, Florence (ii. 2), MS. Harl. 1620¹ (ii. 4), Hemingburgh (ii. 7), Rishanger (ii. 289, 290), Trivet (ii. 110, 258, 364, 368, 377,² 459, 460-465), Hoveden (ii. 68), the Annals of Dunstable³ (ii. 265, 367, 397). The last year, 1307, is a very curious specimen of his patchwork plan of editing between his MSS., Trivet, and Adam of Murimuth.

The introductions of Parker of which I have not succeeded in finding the source are as follows:

In A.D. 1221 (ii. 110, ed. 1570) he introduces at the end of the year the account of the coronation of the Emperor Frederick II. This is copied from Trivet (p. 205); but he has altered Trivet's account, so as to make Cardinal Ugolino the person who crowned him, instead of P. Honorius IV. This is probably a false

¹ This is the passage about Carlisle which has given rise to so much error; it will be found in *Matt. Par.* vol. ii. p. 8, n. ¹

² I give Parker's pages as if they were printed correctly.

³ The extracts from other authors he has been supposed to have made, the false Turpin (a. 814, i. 297), Hugh of Fleury (a. 842, i. 305), Martinus Polonus (a. 984, 1033, i. 380, 408), are taken from the Norwich MS. But in i. p. 380

he seems to have used Martinus Polonus independently, a. 984; as the verses about the electors to the empire, which are in Martinus Polonus, p. 344, ed. Antv., 1574, are not in the Norwich MS. The whole passage, including the verses, has also been copied (no doubt also from Martinus Polonus) into the *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum* (Pistorius, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*, iii. p. 95).

statement due to Parker himself. The Pope crowned Frederick; the cardinal gave him the cross.

In A.D. 1253 (ii. 258, ed. 1570) he introduces (again from Trivet, p. 242) the mention of Bishop Grosseesteste's humble origin in Suffolk. But he adds to this that his origin was "in villa de Strodroke." This is Stradbroke, near Wickham Market, in Suffolk. This statement, which has been repeated in all the lives of Bishop Grosseteste as given by "Matthew of Westminster," rests *entirely* on Parker's authority, *i.e.*, on none whatever.

The following minor additions may be mentioned: in 1107 (ii. 25) he adds a clause identifying Christ Church with Holy Trinity, London; in 1212 (ii. 91) *filius Alwini* is added to the name of the mayor of London; in 1244 (ii. 185) a sentence is introduced about the peace with Scotland; in 1268 (ii. 348) he adds "*circa festum Sancti Andreae*" to the mention of the death of P. Clement IV.; in 1270 (ii. 351) to the mention of the attempt on Edward I's life he adds to Assassino, "a Soldano Babiloniae in modum *nuncii directo*;" and to the mention of Richard of Cornwall's death, that it was *mense "Februario*;" in 1296, p. 408, l. 28, "*in persona propria*" is added to his authority. At the end of his book, ii. 466, where he is copying Adam of Murimuth, in his account of Edward I's funeral, he interpolates the mention of those who were present on his own authority. The presence of Anthony Bek, bp. of Durham, is known from other authorities, but that the archbp. of York was there is merely a conjecture of Parker's own. The last two lines are inserted from the Tenison MS.

The documents of the year 1291 relative to Scotland are given from the Merton MS.; those of 1301, I think, were derived from the burnt MS. Otho, B. 3. Trivet gives (pp. 379-394) the account of the letters

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of P. Boniface VIII. to Edward I. against the latter's claim to Scotland, the king's reply, *Altissimus inspector cordium*, and the remonstrance of the English barons with the Pope, *Sancta Romana mater*. These have been copied by the scribe of the Norwich MS., and also by the writer of the MS. Otho, C. 2. But Parker, besides having many passages which are not found in any one of these three, has the letter of the Pope to Archbishop Winchelsey (ii. 419), *Frequens et inculcata*, the letter of the Pope to the king (ii. 420), *Scimus fili et longo*, and that of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Pope (ii. 424), *Mandatum sanctæ*, giving the very interesting account of his journey to Scotland, his difficulty of meeting the king, his interview at last with him and the Prince of Wales and the answer given; these are in *no MS.* of the Flores; they are printed by Bishop Stubbs in the *Annales Londonienses* (*Chronicles of Edward I. and II.*, i., pp. 104–108), from the transcript (MS. Brit. Mus. Addit. 5444) which was made of the MS. Otho, B. 3 before the fire of 1721, and they were probably taken by Parker from that MS.¹ Unfortunately the whole of the portion which contained them has entirely perished, and they rest therefore solely on the transcript from which Bishop Stubbs has taken them. He is mistaken in thinking that they are in any of the MSS. of the Flores.

It is clear that while this second edition of the Flores was passing through the press, Parker was working at his edition of Matthew Paris which was published in 1571; for in the unpagged leaf following ii. 218 and in p. 227 he omits some passages of the Flores, and refers to them in the history of Matthew

¹ It is, however, impossible to say from the condition of the fragments of the MS. whether Parker used it. But all the additional passages which Parker gives, which

are not in Trivet or the Norwich Flores, are in the transcript, as may be seen in Bishop Stubbs's edition.

Paris, quoting it by the pages. This I believe to have arisen from an error in printing. He had omitted a considerable amount of matter here, and discovered it before the book was issued. He therefore in sheet Ttt cancelled the first and last leaves of the sheet, and introduced a fresh leaf which should be Ttt ii, but is left unsigned and unpagged; and as there was still not room for the new matter he wished to introduce, he referred for it to his forthcoming edition of Paris. The introduced leaf (or one of the others) is frequently wanting in copies of this edition, and to test the completeness of the book a collation must be made by the catchwords and not by the pages or signatures. The difficulty is increased by the number of page 223 being printed 215. The introduced leaves are easily identified, as the paper is of a different colour from the rest of the sheet.¹

- (3) 1601. The edition printed at Frankfort in 1601 with Florence of Worcester is a mere reprint of that of 1570, with some careless errors introduced in the printing; *e.g.*, the first line of i. 95 of ed. 1570 is omitted altogether in 1601 (p. 51).

Leland's
Collec-
tanea.

In Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. ii. pp. 342-351, *i.e.* iii. pp. 385-395 of Hearne's edition, are short "ex-cerpta e libro cui titulus Flores Historiarum." He states at the end they come from a copy, "Col-legii Magdalenaici." There is nothing to identify them with any of the existing MSS. He notes "Matthæus frater" [no doubt he means Matthew Paris] "scripsit opus, cui titulus Flores Historiarum, "teste Joanne abbate de Byri." This is probably John Melford, the last abbat of St. Edmundsbury, from 1514 to 1539. It is Wendover's work to which he most likely is referring.

¹ There was a re-issue of this edition, with a new title page and new initial letter to p. 1, in 1573.

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The passages of the Flores which have any relation to German History have been extracted and edited with great care and skill from the MSS. by Dr. Liebermann in the XXVIIIth volume of the great collection of German Historians, *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, pp. 456–504. Liebermann, *Mon. Hist. German.*, vol. xxviii.

The method which I have adopted in editing the Flores Historiarum is as follows: the whole of the earlier portion and all of the later which is directly taken from the chronicles of Wendover and Paris is printed in small type, the additions of the compiler being in the ordinary type. When it is clear that the compiler, though directly using his predecessor's work, has re-written the work he is abridging or altering, and so made it his own, I have used the ordinary type, and by mingling the two types together have endeavoured to show how far this has been the case. But in all cases the references to Matthew Paris will show whence the paragraph has been derived, and to what extent the earlier writer has been used. My object is to show whence the compiler of the Flores derived his information, *not* the original sources; these will be found by consulting my edition of the greater chronicle of Matthew Paris, where they are given throughout. Plan of the present edition.

The MS. which is followed for the text is the Chetham MS., written at St. Alban's and Westminster; the work now presented to the reader must be considered an edition of this MS. It is collated throughout with the Eton MS., that written at Merton, which contains the other recension; and all passages and words introduced into the text in square brackets, where no sign is given of their origin, are from that MS., so that the reader has before him the two editions of the work, while at the same time each is easily distinguishable.

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The additions of the other MSS., those written at St. Benet Holme, Norwich, Rochester, and St. Paul's, which, in most cases, are given in each MS. at the end of each year, are printed similarly at the end of the years in the text in square brackets, with the name of the MS. printed opposite in the margin. Thus they do not interfere with the original work, and yet can be found without any trouble at their respective dates. The only alternative plan to this would be to do as Bethmann has done in his edition of Sigebert's chronicle, in the Vth volume of the *Monumenta Historiæ Germanica* (reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. clx.), where the original is printed first by itself, and then the additions from each subsequent MS. picked out and printed as separate continuations (*continuatio Aquicinctina*, *cont. Bergensis*, &c.). But besides that this gives a great deal of additional trouble to the reader, as he has to refer to so many parts of the volume to find whether a certain fact is given under a certain year, it would have been impossible in the case of the Flores, as we have not the original compilation, and the Chetham MS. itself is an edition of that with its own additions, all of which cannot of course be identified.

The latter portion of the Merton MS., some few additions from the Norwich and Rochester MSS and the conclusion of the St. Benet Holme MS. written at Tintern, which could not be printed in this way, are printed separately as an Appendix to the work.

I have added two documents from the St. Alban's volume of *Additamenta* (Cotton. Nero, D. 1), referred to by the follower of Matthew Paris in his text, and have given a collation of the pages of the various editions for the convenience of reference.

I defer some remarks on the character of the portions peculiar to the work to the preface to the third volume.

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PREFACE.

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I must express my thanks for the assistance I have had in making use of the various MSS. of the Flores from their respective guardians—the Librarians of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, the Bodleian Library, the Lambeth Library, those of my own college and of All Soul's College, Oxford: but I must especially single out for this the Feoffees of the Chetham Library at Manchester, the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, who in the kindest way have allowed me to keep their MSS. under my own custody during all the years the work has been passing through the press. Indeed, unless this had been the case with the Manchester and Eton MSS., an edition such as the present would have been an impossibility.

Cambridge,
December 1889.

Note 1.

PRIORS OF MERTON.

The following notices of the priors of Merton are taken from the margins of the Eton MS. II. (1); they have been mostly erased, but may be read with difficulty; I give them as read by Sir Frederick Madden, who had the MS. under his charge at one time.

A.D. 1117. Robert the first Prior.

At end of 1150. "Ob. Robertus primus Prior, cui successit Robertus, pridie non. Januar. a^o prioratus sui"

At end of 1167. "Ob. Robertus secundus Prior, successit illi Willelmus, ii. nonas Augusti a^o priorat. sui 17."

At end of 1177. "Ob. Willelmus iii. prior. xi. kal. Martii a^o prioratus xi^o Stephanus iiiii. qui obiit eodem anno, cui successit Robertus v."

At end of 1179. "Obiit Robertus v. prior. iii^o idus Maij. anno priorat. sui iiiij."

At end of 1198. "Ob. Ricardus vi. prior, successit Walterus vii."

At end of 1218 the note respecting the death of the prior is erased, and again at the end of 1222, and at the end of 1231.

At end of 1238. "Ob. Henricus x. successit Robertus xi."

At end of 1249 the note is erased.

At the end of 1292 the entry is in the text, "Obiit Gilbertus prior xiii, cui successit Nicholaus xiv."

This is thus repeated, though it is entered as part of the text just before; see vol. iii. p. 84.

Note 2.

Extracts from the Chronicles of Reginald of Wroxham,
as given in the MS. Reg. 14, c. 6.

In cronicis Reginaldus de Wroxham sic ait.

His ita gestis, Pandulphus cum cartis regis transfretavit A.D. 1213.
ad Gallias, octo milia libras argenti secum gerens, ut f. 184b.
archiepiscopo et episcopis monachisque Cantuariensibus ac V. vol. ii.
cæteris causa interdicti exulantibus in parte restitutionem p. 147.
faceret ablatorum. Cum autem tenor cartarum et præfatæ Matt. Par.
pacis forma illis omnibus placuisset, persuasit diligenter ii. 547.
Pandulphus Stephano Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et aliis ut
irent in Angliam. Illi autem naves ascendentes et apud Id. ii. 550.
Dovoriam applicantes, venerunt ad regem. Cum autem rex
adventum eorum cognovisset, venit obviam ipsis; et viso
archiepiscopo et cæteris episcopis, cecidit pronus in terram,
obsecrans ut de se ac regno Angliæ misericordiam haberent.
Videntes archiepiscopus et episcopi tantam regis humili-
tatem, de terra levaverunt eum, ducentes ad hostium ec-
clesiæ cathedralis; et sicut mos est, ipsum absolverunt. In
qua absolute juravit quod sanctam Ecclesiam et ejus
ordinatos diligeret, et leges Sancti Eadwardi regis revo-
caret, et iniquas destrueret; et bonas in regno faceret
observari ab omnibus. Pœnituit tandem eum graviter quod Id. ii. 559.
ad prædictæ pacis consensum inclinaretur, unde misit ad
Miramimelin, regem magnum Affricæ, Marochiæ, et Hys-
paniæ, significans eidem quod se et regnum suum libenter
redderet et eidem dederet, et deditum teneret ab ipso, si
placeret ei, sub tributo. Rex Miramimelin nunciis cum Id. ii. 561.
indignatione respondit: "Nunquam legi aut audivi quod
" aliquis rex tam prosperum regnum possidens, sibi sub-
" jectum et obediens, sic velle se pessundare ut de libero
" faceret tributarium, de suo alienum, de felici miserum."
Sic nuncios recedentes nec salutavit, nec aliquibus respexit Id. ii. 563.
donativis. Ex tunc rex Johannes cogitavit regnum Angliæ Id. ii. 564.
et dominationem Hiberniæ in manus Papæ resignare,¹ et Id. ii. 569.

¹ *resignare*] resignavit, MS.

Id. ii. 570. carta, quæ prius cera signata fuerat et Pandulpho tradita, tunc auro bullata est et Nicholao legato ad opus domini Papæ tradita.

* * * *

A.D. 1214. Sub eodem tempore convenerunt ad colloquium apud Sanctum Eadmundum comites et barones quasi orationis gratia, ubi cum diu et secretius colloquerentur de regis promissis et sacramentis, de quibus nullam spem habebant, producta est in medium carta quædam Henrici I., in qua invenerunt quasdam libertates et leges regis Edwardi Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ pariter et magnatibus regni concessas.¹ Juraverunt etiam magnates super altare Sancti Edmundi, quod si rex leges et libertates jam dictas concedere nollet, ipsi ei verram tam diu moverent donec fidelis comprobaretur. His ita gestis ad propria remearunt.

Cronica Reginaldi de Wrotham revera sic dicunt in postscriptione.

A.D. 1215. Ad Natale convenerunt barones ad regem Londoniis f. 187, col. 1. apud Novum Templum, ubi constanter exigebant ab eo libertates et leges prout ipse juraverat sibi confirmari. V. vol. ii. p. 157. Rex vero impetum eorum metuens, humiliter inducias petebat usque ad clausum Pascha. Ebdomada Paschali convenerunt apud Brackele, et miserunt cedulam ad regem, in qua leges Sancti Edwardi regis continebantur. Rex, inspectis articulis, iratus respondit, dicens: "Et quare cum istis iniquis exactionibus regnum non exigunt?" Juravitque furibundus horribiliter se nunquam illa concessurum. Id. ii. 156. Quod cum magnates cognovissent, constituerunt Robertum filium Walteri principem militiæ suæ, appellantes eum marescallum exercitus Dei et Ecclesiæ sanctæ, et ad arma convolantes, etc. Deinde rex baronibus postulata concessit, sed tamen aliud cogitavit. Rex vero misit ad curiam Pandulphum cum aliis nunciis multiplici promisso corruptis, ut baronum propositum irritarent. Misitque ad omnia finitima regna ultramarina cum sigillo suo propter militare præsidium, ut homines naturales suos confunderet etc. Id. ii. 162. Cassata est per dominum Papam carta de libertatibus regni

¹ *concessas*] concessis, MS.

Angliæ concessa. Eodem anno Papa de regno, cujus do- Id. ii. 166.
 minus de novo effectus erat, sollicitus, barones excommuni-
 cavit. Diebus sub eisdem Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Ste- Id. ii. 167.
 phannus suspensus est ab ingressu ecclesiæ et divinatorum
 celebratione, eo quod barones Angliæ per diocesim suam
 noluit denunciare pupplice excommunicatos. Rex Johannes Id. ii. 170.
 cepit multa castella et multos nobiles. Multumque accep-
 tans tyrannidem Falcasii, dedit ei castrum de Bedeforde et
 nobilem mulierem Margaretam de Ripariis. Eustachius Id. ii. 155.
 Eliensis episcopus obiit. Pandulphus¹ subdiaconus domini
 Papæ electus est in episcopum Norwycensem.

*In cronicis R. de Wroxham inventa est hæc narratio, scilicet
 sequens de electione Lodowici.*

Barones excommunicati sunt nominatim et in specie; unde A.D. 1216.
 in arcto positi elegerunt Lodowicum, primogenitum regis f. 188b,
 Franciæ, in regem Angliæ. Lodowicus in Angliam veniens, V. vol. ii. col. 1.
 cum ingenti gaudio Londoniis receptus est, cepitque homagia p. 161.
 et fidelitatem ab omnibus, comitibus Warenniæ et Arun- Matt. Par.
 dellæ, Saresberriæ, et baronibus, ac civibus. Cesserunt igitur Hist.
 in potestatem Lodowici omnes provinciæ australes, præter Anglorum
 sola castella Dovoræ et Windeshoueres, et orientales partes ii. 172.
 Angliæ. Id. ii. 179.
 Id. ii. 181.

Eodem anno Alexander rex Scotorum fecit homagium Id. ii. 186.
 Lodowico, sed, facto homagio, tristis ad propria remeavit.
 Rex Johannes in fortitudine gravi provincias de Sutfolk Id. ii. 188.
 et Nortfolk misera contrivit afflictione. Deinde per maris-
 cum divertens, possessiones abbatum de Burgo et Crolondia,
 et ædificia Conani filii Heliæ, combussit, ipsomet² ignem Id. ii. 190.
 supponente, nec prius inde recessit donec omnia consumsisset.
 Deinde versus Aquilonem iter arripiens, aquam marinam
 cum fluviali mixtam sine duce transire præsumpsit; qui
 locus Wellestrem dicitur; sed vix evadens ibidem bigas,
 summarios prædas et rapinas portantes, et omnem thesaurum
 et suppellectilem irrecuperabiliter amisit. Rex cum exercitu
 suo vix elapsus, tristis valde et mœrore confectus, apud
 abbatiam de Suinesheued pernoctavit, ubi ut creditur de
 rebus a fluctibus devoratis tantam mentis incurrit tristitiam,

¹ This sentence is not in Matt. | ² *ipsomet*] ipsemet, MS.
 Par.

- quod acutis febribus graviter cœpit infirmari. Deinde usque ad castrum de Latforde, manno leniter portante, pervenit.
- Id. ii. 192. Deinde in castro memorato decubans graviter infirmatus, at abbate canonicorum de Krokestuna consilium confessionis et eukaristiam suscepit. Deinde Henricum primogenitum suum
- Id. ii. 193. hæredem regni sui constituit. His ita gestis, sciscitabatur ab eo abbas de Crokestune, si ipsum mori contingeret, ubinam vellet eligere sibi sepulturam. Cui rex: "Deo et " Sancto Wulstano corpus et animam meam commendo."
- Id. ii. 194. Cum igitur regnasset annis octodecim, ab hac vita post multas hujus sæculi perturbationes et labores inutiles, in multa mentis amaritudine distractus, migravit, nihil terrenum, immo nec se ipsum, in pace possidens. Sperandum tamen est quod quædam bona opera quæ fecit in hac vita allegabunt pro eo ante summi Judicis tribunal. Construxit namque abbatiam de Bello Loco, Cisterciensis ordinis, et moriturus domui de Crokestune cum corde suo terram decem librarum legavit, et quod per sæcula ascribendum est ei ad laudem, quendam¹ Græciæ philosophum cum magno fastu ad curiam suam in vita sua venientem, qui secundum ejus assertiones fidem catholicam in multis voluit corrigere, repulit nec mutire pertimebat. Istæ sunt terræ quas rex Johannes amisit; ducatus Normanniæ, comitatus Bolismi, comitatus Cenomanniæ, Andegavia, Pictavia, Lemovica, Alvernia, Angolisma. Hæc omnia quandoque² erant regis Johannis. Demum Angliam et Hiberniam tributo subposuit. Et nihil horum revocavit in vita sua.

Matt. Par.
Additam.
vi. 441.

Hæc sequens narratio inventa est in cronicis R. de Wroxham.

- A.D. 1216. Henricus iii., filius Johannis, anno ætatis suæ decimo in die Apostolorum Symonis et Judæ primo magnifice coronatus est, a qua coronatione anni regni sui computantur. Ista coronatio facta fuit anno gratiæ mcccxvi^o. a Stephano³ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. *De prima⁴ coronatione Henrici III. filii Regis Johannis, a qua computantur anni coronationis ejusdem.*

V. vol. ii.
p. 163,
Matt. Par.
iii. 1.
Hist.
Anglor.
ii. 196.

¹ *Quendam Gr. philosophum* | ² *quandoque*] quinque, MS.
 . . . *venientum*] quidam Gr. | ³ This is an error, introduced by
 philosophus . . . *veniens*, | the compiler.
 MS. | ⁴ Written as part of the text.

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Henricus dictus est tercius quia sic intitulatur in cronicis, This seems original.
 historiis, scriptis, et cartis, non ratione numerali, sed ratione Compare the notes
 dignitatis regiæ sive dominationis,¹ verbi gratia. Si numeretur in Matt.
 Henricus I., filius scilicet Willelmi conquæstoris; deinde Par.
 Henricus II. filius Galfridi Plantegeneth, comitis Andegaviæ, Chron.
 et Matildis imperatricis; postea filius ejus Henricus, qui Maj. iii. 1.
 speciosus et junior rex dicebatur; deinde iste Henricus de Hist.
 quo modo agitur; erit profecto quartus. Prætermittitur ergo Anglor.
 in stipite regum regnantium Henricus dictus speciosus junior ii. 196.
 rex; quia nec rite coronatus est, quia contra libertatem
 ecclesiæ Cantuariensis et voluntatem archiepiscopi Sancti
 Thomæ tunc viventis et contradicentis, et nunquam reg-
 navit; mortuus est enim patre adhuc vivente. Ratione
 igitur regnantium iste rex Henricus tercius nuncupatus est, Matt. Par.
 Regi igitur Henrico III. coronato, quem gratia juventutis et Hist.
 innocentia cunctis reddidit amabilem, nobiles regni certatim Anglor.
 convolando adhæserunt. Cumque Lodewicus ac barones qui ii. 196.
 adhuc cum ipso stantes in obsidione castri Dovoræ, de morte
 regis Johannis certificarentur, invasit eos fallax læticia,
 quasi regnum jam sibi subjugassent; sed constantia, probi-
 tate, ac fidelitate Huberti de Burch, constabularii ejusdem
 castelli, confusus recessit, sed castra postea de Hereforde et Cf. id. ii.,
 de Bercham[stede] obsidione vallavit et cepit. 200, 201.

* * * *

Hoc etiam anno obiit Reginaldus de Cresi, persona de A.D. 1235.
 Wroxham. f. 201b.

col. 2.Vol. ii.
p. 217.

¹ *dominationis*] *dominationes*, MS.

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