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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. Volume 3, covering 1265 to 1326, contains the majority of these independent annals, including some which are the work of the Westminster monk Robert of Reading. This volume also includes an introduction discussing the historical value of the chronicle and an exceptionally thorough index, which is invaluable for navigating all three volumes. English side-notes to the text are provided throughout.



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Flores Historiarum

VOLUME 3: A.D. 1265-A.D. 1326

EDITED BY
HENRY RICHARDS LUARD





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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

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

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

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

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed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

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

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

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

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

Rolls House,
December 1857.



FLORES HISTORIARUM.





FLORES HISTORIARUM.

EDITED

BY

HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D.,

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

VOL. III.

A.D. 1265 to A.D. 1326.

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PREFACE.





PREFACE.

In the preface to the first volume of the present General edition of the Flores Historiarum I have endeavoured character of the to trace the history of the book, and to investigate Flores the sources from which it is derived, and the manner rum. in which the compiler has made use of them. It has, I trust, been made clear that the chronicle is the work of various persons, that it was composed at different times, in different places, and with very varying intentions; beginning in the usual ambitious way with a history of the world from the Creation, derived originally from that "Verwirrer der Geschichte,"1 the St. Alban's compilation, and directly from Matthew Paris's edition of that work, and then narrowing its scope to the history of England, derived still from Paris's works till the year of his death 1259, and then from independent and in most cases contemporary sources. I propose to add a few words as to the chief additions made by the compiler to his original authorities, which are characteristick of his work and render it one of the sources which must always be consulted for the history of the years it embraces.

That these additions up to the time when the The earlier original MS. left St. Alban's were made in St. Alban's compiled itself I think has been sufficiently made clear. There in St. is the same interest that is observed in Paris's work Alban's. in the affairs of the great abbey, the frequent intro-

¹ Lappenberg.



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duction of little facts that tend to its honour, and the evidence of opportunities of consulting historical documents kept for preservation in the monastery, and of the writer's knowledge of events going on in other countries besides England. And this is the case still to a considerable extent in the years 1259 to 1264, after Matthew Paris's history is concluded, and when he was no longer living to give advice or assistance.

Character of the additions

In the earlier portion, while there is much matter not to be found in the other St. Alban's chronicles, up to 1259 the compiler has generally contented himself with copying his authorities verbatim, and there is very little to be found there of which the direct source cannot be distinctly ascertained. But with the battle of Hastings, of which the account is greatly enlarged, he begins to introduce passages of his own composition, to re-write, and altogether at times to alter the words of Paris. After the conquest, continual use is still made of the Chronica Majora, though it is no longer verbally copied. And while the Flores may almost be called an abridgement of or an appendix to it, so much so that at times in abbreviating the text words are left out, the omission of which spoils the sense,1 there is yet frequently a tendency to amplification in many of the details, besides occasional additions in the shape of more impressive writing. Thus in the reign of William I., stronger language is used as to the king's oppressions of the English, of his piety in spite of his tyranny, of his penance for his cruelties (ii. pp. 2, 14, 15, 17). In that of William II., the accounts of his benefactions to Battle abbey are enlarged, his veneration for his father's tomb and memory mentioned (p. 17), and his prudence towards those who were inclined to take up Robert's

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 73, 141.



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cause against him; at the same time there is more said of his oppressions, there are additions (very much from the Gesta Abbatum) to the accounts of the visions that preceded his death, and of St. Anselm's preparations for returning home. An elaborate character of Robert of Normandy is given, which seems peculiar to the compiler. In the reign of Henry I. it is especially pointed out that no harm was done to the privileges and dignity of Canterbury in the coronation of the king by the Bishop of London, as St. Anselm was still out of the country; the advice of Anselm after his return to Henry I. as to his behaviour to Robert is another introduction (ii. p. 35). The account of the operations at Tinchebrai can scarcely be relied on; the author speaks of Henry's besieging Robert there, of Robert's escaping from the castle, and then raising an army before the final battle which put an end to his career. The account of his attempt to escape from his imprisonment at Cardiff is taken from the Historia Anglorum of M. Paris, though it differs somewhat from that, as is also the case with the story of his indignation at the garment sent him by his brother. In the next reign it is mentioned that the charter of peace between Henry II. and Stephen was to be kept "loco securissimo." To pass over several introductions respecting Offa and other facts or legends tending to the glory of St. Alban's (ii. 46, 71, 90), we are told in ii. 73 that Archbishop Thomas had his first preferment, Brantefeld,1 from St. Alban's. The mention of the establishment of the festival of the martyred archbishop and of the special collect to be used on the occasion (ii. 84), though in different language, is probably derived from Diceto's account as given in Wendover and Paris. In Henry II.d's reign there are additional particulars as to the

¹ This is Braintfield (or Bramfield), near Hertford.



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reduction of Wales in 1157, (where Paris speaks of the submission of the nobles at Snowdon, but says nothing of Owen,) as to the injuries to the church of Saintes before its relief by the king, and as to the preparations for the crusade in 1178, at which it is said, "Concussum est totum oriens præ timore" (ii. 89); the account of Henry II.d's refusal of the crown of Jerusalem is from the original source, though the language is altered; there are enlargements in the accounts of the battle of Hittin and the loss of Jerusalem, it being stated of the Count of Tripoli that he was "corruptus muneribus." In Richard's reign the mention of the release of the Bishop of Beauvais some time (postea) after his capture is introduced, and there are some additional particulars as to the flight of Philip II. and his fall into the Epte in 1198. Of John an increased horror to what we usually find in the contemporary historians is expressed of his character and actions, stronger language being used than even that of Wendover and His fear of Arthur is brought out more Paris. vividly than usual; there are enlargements as to the return of Bishop Peter des Roches, the establishment of the Franciscans, John's remark on losing Normandy (which Paris does not give in the king's own words), while the account of his reception in England on the relaxation of the interdict is rewritten.

With the reign of Henry III. the introductions relating to Westminster begin—the first being the mention of the church of St. Margaret's being declared independent of the see of London in 1222 (ii. 175). A name I do not find elsewhere (Thomas de Noum) is given among those present at the first siege of Damietta (ii. 167). Another introduction is the mention of the death of Robert Mauduit in 1222. The account of the career of the great enemy of St. Alban's, Fawkes de Breauté, is somewhat enlarged; the statement as to his being



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the real cause of the surrender of Rochelle to Louis VIII. in 1224, though given in the writer's own language, is taken from the defence of Hubert de Burgh by Lawrence of St. Alban's, as given in the Additamenta (Matt. Par. vi. p. 67). The letter of Frederick II. on the recovery of Jerusalem in 1230 (ii. p. 198), though cut short, has an additional paragraph at the close not to be found in Paris.1 A little later we have Stephen de Segrave's advice as to the way of collecting the tithe in 1233 (pp. 207, 208), brought in from an earlier insertion of Paris into Wendover's text, but with fresh matter as to his motives, the intention of Peter des Roches to starve Hubert de Burgh to death (ii. 211), a different account of the disturbances at Oxford in 1238 between the students and the legate Otho, the mention of the prior of Canterbury (John of Chetham) becoming a Carthusian (p. 227), additions to the account of the election to Winchester in 1238 and William of Valence's subsequent proceedings (pp. 228, 229), the consecration of Richard de Wendene to Rochester in 1238 (p. 230), the crusade of that year, Ralph of Maidstone (bishop of Hereford) becoming a Minorite² in 1239, (p. 232,) the despair of Archbishop Edmund in 1240 which induced him to leave the country, given in different language to that of Paris (p. 237), the account of Frederick II. at Viterbo, the career of Richard of Cornwall in Palestine (p. 242), the feelings of the French towards England in 1242, some of them (ii. 257) expressing an unwillingness that it should be subdued, as then there would be no longer a refuge for French exiles, the relations between Louis IX. and the Count of Britanny (p. 261), the reception of Beatrice of Provence in England in 1243

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¹ This addition is not in the copies given in Huillard-Bréholles' collection, or in Pertz, iv. 461.

² He was originally bound to the Dominicans, Hist. Anglor. ii. 374.

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(p. 265), the Winchester troubles in the same year, the increase of heresy, especially of the Paterines (p. 267), from one of whom Matthew Paris has preserved so curious an account of his own life and of the Tartars, the king's expression of his anger at Archbishop Boniface's ingratitude, and his regret at having procured his election as archbishop (p. 278). There are quite as strong remarks as those made by Paris himself as to the relations between England and the Papal court, the extortions in England (p. 307), and the attempts of Innocent IV. to reduce Wales under David to the condition of vassalage to the Pope, while the resistance of St. Louis to his going to Rheims is spoken of in detail and with evident satisfaction (ii. p. 283). The writer seems continually aware of the chief events that were taking place in other countries besides England; thus the capture of Seville by Ferdinand III. in 1248 (though he follows Paris in the error of calling him Alfonso) is highly eulogised (ii. 355), and there are many additional details of Frederick II.d's career, as, for instance, the mention of the surrender of Vercelli to him in 1249 (ii. 358). In the same year the account of the Winchester robbers differs considerably, and the personal appearance and dress of the ambassadors from Germany Richard of Cornwall is especially remarked on (p. 415). From this year to 1259, as has been indicated in the preface to the first volume, the chronicle is a mere transcript of the other St. Alban's chronicles.

Character of the chronicle while still written at St. Alban's.

From 1259, where the writer of the Flores had to do without the guidance of Paris, he evidently shows after 1259, a wish to follow in his steps, and must be considered a first hand authority for many of the ensuing years. He writes also more as if he felt himself personally responsible for what he describes, and once uses the first person (p. 449). In the barons' war, at first he does not seem to take either side very distinctly,



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though he always speaks handsomely of Simon de Montfort, describing him (ii. 454) as "prudentior bellator Angliæ et validior," and (ii. 479) "nobilissimus ac in bellicis rebus probatissimus," and writing usually in his favour, as when he was saved from capture by the Londoners in 1263 (ii. 485). He laments the slaughter of Lewes, and speaks of the sides taken by the different European nations in the quarrel (ii. 501) without pronouncing very distinctly in favour of either party. While he dilates on the general misery caused by the war (ii. pp. 487, 489), the tone is rather in favour of the barons' cause; see especially, ii. 466, 467, 470, 474. He relates the treatment of the aliens in England and the enforced banishment of many, evidently with satisfaction. This is the case as long as the book was written at St. Alban's.

After its removal to Westminster, it is clear that Character a new writer is employed; the chronicle becomes chronicle distinctly royalist in tone, and enlarges on the out-after its rages perpetrated on the barons' side, as, for instance, to Westthe cruclties of Llewellyn under Simon de Montfort's minster. direction. He gives important details of the Welsh campaign, and expresses great satisfaction at Edward's pacification of the country after the battle of Evesham (iii. 8). It is curious to find in one of the MSS. (W., that now at Westminster,) passages of a distinctly contrary tendency introduced,-violently attacking Gilbert de Clare for his conduct in separating from Simon de Montfort, speaking of Edward's triumph at Evesham as "execrabilis," while Simon is described in the language of the Acts of the Apostles as " fidelissimus in sermone et operibus coram Deo " et omni populo atque inter omnes mundanos bel-" lator strenuissimus et sagacissimus," his death being followed by miracles (iii. 4, 5). The résumé of the whole events of the war in the Merton (E. Eton) MS. is markedly royalist in tone, the writer speaking



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of the king and Edward as compelled to accept the Oxford provisions through fear of perpetual imprisonment (iii. 253, 262), while the conduct of the barons is described as oppressive to the last degree; he speaks of their threatening to depose Henry III. and set up another king (iii. p. 262), and to murder several of their more important prisoners at Lewes, if their demands were not granted (iii. p. 260). The "provisiones" are called "proditiones." Here on one occasion (iii. 266) the first person is used. There is a curious paragraph about the Franciscans taking the barons' side in the war (ib.), and a wordy lamentation over the state of England at the time. Extraordinary use of Scripture may be found in several places, e.g., iii. pp. 253, 258.

During the rest of the reign of Henry III. there is considerable evidence of familiarity with foreign affairs. Sicilian matters in 1268, Edward's crusade in 1270, the murder at Viterbo of Henry of Almaine, all meet with a fair amount of notice. The death of Henry III. gives an occasion for a eulogy of that monarch; his innocence, patience, and devotion are singled out for praise, while miracles are said to have taken place at his tomb.

Reign of Edward I There is not much in the reign of Edward I. that will not be found elsewhere; but there are very full and important details of the Scotch war; the siege of Stirling castle by the Scots in 1303 and by Edward in the following year being described with great vividness. The troubles between the king and the clergy are, of course, prominently put forward. There are some valuable additions in this part of the history in the Merton MS.—the detailed accounts of the treason and execution of Thomas Turbeville (iii. 281, 282), of the French expedition under Edmund, Earl of Leicester, the king's brother, in 1295 (iii. 284, 285), and of the barbarous cruelties of William



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Wallace, may be instanced. Some wonderful instances of the use of Scripture will be found in this portion of the Merton edition of the book; see especially iii. 283, where the justiciary sent by the king to the Archbishop to induce him to consent to his demands is compared with the captain of fifty sent by Ahaziah to Elijah (4 Reg. i. 9, 11), and iii. 318, where a speech is put into the mouths of the remonstrants to Edward I. for his exposing himself after his narrow escape at the siege of Stirling castle in 1304, taken from 2 Reg. xi. 20, xviii, 3.

For the reign of Edward II., the last portion of The histhese volumes, written by Robert of Reading at Edward Westminster, must rank as of equal authority with H.d's reign the other chronicles of the time. It appears to me of Reading. independent of them all. The feeling on the whole is against the king; the writer is strongly opposed to Gaveston, strongly in favour of Thomas of Lancaster. The latter is described as "nobilis et generosus," at his death "neither striving nor crying," with miracles following, not only at his tomb, but at a statue 1 of some one else at St. Paul's, which was like him in person (iii. 206, 213). Gaveston's execution is rejoiced over, and the queen is represented as urging the king against him.

As regards other matters, there is a strong feeling expressed against the Templars, the charges against them being spoken of as if they were true,2 and some curious details about two individuals of the order are given. The English parliaments are spoken of as "sophistica et satis ridiculosa," (iii. p. 143). high character is given of Archbishop Winchelsey, and a contrary one of his successor Walter Reynolds,

¹ This seems to have been a tablet, in which there was among others a portrait of the earl; see the

of London in the Fædera, Record edition, ii. 525.

² This is also the case with the letter of Edward II. to the bishop | Tintern additions in MS. Re.

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who was forced into the see by the king; the writer brings an accusation of the worst kind against him, if the paragraph in iii. p. 156, is to be so understood. The chronicler has a strong feeling against the Dominicans, and gives in full what I have not been able to find anywhere else, the paper which was affixed to the door of St. Paul's in 1314, containing an account of all their misdemeanors (iii. 161-167).

His strong feeling king.

Towards the close of the reign the author is very against the violent against the king and the Despensers, and all who favoured their party; thus the two archbishops are compared to Annas and Caiaphas (iii. 206). The account of the battle of Boroughbridge and of the cruelties inflicted by the royalists afterwards differs from what is given elsewhere. The king is never spared throughout the history; his extortions, injuries to the church, falsity, cruelty to his queen, &c., being denounced in very unmeasured terms. probably written while Edward II. was still living, as there is no feeling expressed for his miserable treatment after his dethronement by the queen's party. The history ends (iii. 232) just before the return of the queen to England; the conclusion, which gives the account of his flight before her, his capture and abdication, and the succession of Edward III., being introduced from Adam of Murimuth and Higden.

Style of Robert of Reading.

The style of Robert of Reading shows a great falling off from that of his predecessors; very inferior not only to that of Matthew Paris, but to his immediate predecessors in St. Alban's and Westminster It is wordy and bombastic, and he occasionally introduces foreign words 1-Greek on two or three occa-

¹ The barbarous " parliamen- | long before, the earliest use of it "tum" always used by Reading, being in 1263, while the MS. was had been introduced into the Flores still at St. Alban's (ii. 484).



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sions, French in one and English in one-which makes him at times difficult to understand. But the writers of the early part of the XIVth century are very inferior to those of the XIIIth. Still, inferior as they are, one would be only too glad to have as trustworthy writers of history in the next century. I have spoken elsewhere of the falling off after the reign of Edward II. of the monastick annalists, which, whether due to the ravages of the black death or to a lowering of the character of those who embraced a monastick life, is certainly the case. What would one not give for a Matthew of Paris or even one of his successors in the time of the wars of the Roses!

The Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Stubbs) in the prefaces Reign of to his edition of the chronicles of the reigns of Edward II. Edward I. and II., has so fully sketched the chief characteristicks of the reign of Edward II., that no more can be required on the present occasion. With what is contained in his volumes, the present, and the histories of Trokelowe and Blaneforde, edited formerly by Hearne, and in this series by Mr. Riley, nearly everything relating to the reign of Edward II. is now accessible to the historical student. The continuation of Trivet was published by Hall from the MS. at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1722, and is of no great importance.

The publication of the Flores Historiarum completes The edithe long series of the chronicles and annals which St. Alban's we owe to the writers of the illustrious foundation historians of St. Alban's. They have been published in their plete. integrity, from the MSS superintended, if not written, by their authors, and with their own last corrections, and those of their continuators, indicated in such a way as to make it clear, as far as is now possible,



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to whom each statement is due. It will, I trust, be impossible in future to quote Matthew Paris for any statement that is not his own, to quote "Matthew of Westminster" as an authority for anything whatsoever, or the St. Alban's compilation as of equal value with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles or Florence of Worcester.

In the index to the Flores Historiarum, I have of The Index. necessity followed the plan pursued in that to Matthew Paris's Chronica Majora, and, as in it, have tested every reference in the proof sheets. But it is very difficult, if not almost impossible, to keep entirely clear of errors. And a doubt may exist whether an event, erroneously described by the author, especially when he is altering or falsifying his authorities, should be stated in the index correctly, or with the author's error. To give instances of what I mean; in Paris's, (or rather Wendover's) work (iii. 38) where he is copying Oliverius Scolasticus' account of the siege of Damietta, he has altered "juvenis Leodicensis diocesis" (Liège), to "juvenis Laodicensis diocesis" (Laodicea). I have indexed this, as Paris's own error, under Laodicea, perhaps unadvisedly. In another where the original compiler is copying Marianus Scotus or Eusebius (i. 64), he speaks of Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy, as marrying Antiochus, instead of Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus, marrying Ptolemy; here I have given the correct. statement in the index. It is difficult to lay down anv strict rule for all such cases, as an author's bonâ fide errors are part of his own work, and tend to enable us to estimate his value. But I cannot hope to escape entirely errors of my own, as I find in the index to Matthew Paris I have set down Constance, daughter of Roger of Sicily, as the wife of Tancred



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instead of Henry VI., and have made into one two of the many persons named Æ!fric.¹ Any one who has had much experience in this kind of work will know the difficulty of avoiding similar errors, and the annoyance of discovering them when it is too late for them to be corrected.

Cambridge, February, 1890.

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¹ Index to Matt. Par., p. 7. col. 1, to the present work, p. 391, col. 1, l. 44. It is corrected in the index 1.31, where readi. 544 for ii. 544.