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PIMS
PONTIFICIAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDIÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.
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He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed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They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no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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PREFACE.
The reputation of Roger of Hoveden as an independent historian rests almost entirely on the last of the four divisions into which, in the earlier volumes of this edition, his chronicle has been resolved. This division extends from the spring of the year 1192 to the winter of the year 1201, and fills the latter half of the third and the whole of the present fourth volume. It may be as well to remind the reader that the only one of the earlier divisions, the authorship of which cannot be certainly accounted for otherwise than by ascribing it to Hoveden, the portion that extends from 1148 to 1169, covers a period too remote from the date at which the work assumed its present form, to allow any special value to be ascribed to the personal recollections of the writer, even supposing that writer to have been Hoveden; whilst it is not by any means improbable that in the general search for historical manuscripts which is now being carried on, some materials may be discovered which will account quite differently for the original authorship of the second, as certainly as has been already done for that of the first and third divisions of the work. It is not, however, at all likely that such will be the case with the fourth division. If Roger of Hoveden wrote anything at all, and if the consensus of the many existing manuscripts which ascribe the finished work to him, has any real value and significance, the history of the latter years of Richard and the earlier ones of John must be referred to him as author.
And this conclusion is supported by the little, very little indeed it is, that can be ascertained of his personal history. His position as a clerk or chaplain of Henry II., his connexion with the north of England, his employment as a justice of the forests, his probable connexion with the town of Howden, and through it with the see of Durham and the family of Hugh de Puiset,—that is, all that can be said to be known about him during the years that are the subject of the latter portion of the chronicle,—will be found to agree very well with the hypothesis that ascribes to him the authorship of a work of which so large a part is devoted to the history of the see of York, in which so much prominence is given to the fortunes of the bishop of Durham and his family, and in which the few local and incidental notices that are peculiar to it belong so frequently to the neighbourhood from which the supposed writer took his name.¹

It may further be said that these few points not only are all that can be guessed about Roger of Hoveden, but touch very nearly everything that is distinctive in the chronicle. The abundant supply of valuable public documents is just what might be expected in a compilation made by a clerk of the king's court. The special fulness of the articles connected with the forest jurisdiction is in complete accord with the fact that the chronicler was a justice of the forests; his severity in remarking on the cruelty of that jurisdiction,² if we consider that it becomes apparent at the time at which he is known to have ceased to hold the office of justice, is rather confirmative of the hypothesis than inconsistent with it; and the same may be said of the occasional sharpness with which he rebukes the secular employ-

¹ See preface to vol. i. pp. xiii-
ments of the superior clergy. If more were known of Hoveden’s life, it would doubtless be possible to discover in similar small coincidences additional grounds for maintaining his title to the authorship.

Where so little that is certain can be advanced, it may seem unwise to rely on inferences; but the same conclusion does seem to be drawn from a consideration of the few places in which the writer or compiler allows a glimpse of his personal character to be caught. The only note of character in the book is that tendency to the marvellous on which remark has been made more than once in the prefaces to the earlier volumes. This note, which in a mediaeval historian is, of course, far from being a striking peculiarity, will be found on examination to mark a sort of unity in the method of treatment apparent throughout the work, and further to localize the authorship. The hand that introduced into the matter of fact story of the Durham and Worcester annalists, the miracles of Edward the Confessor, that struck at every opportunity the string of the miraculous apparent in the story of the martyr of Canterbury, that added new terrors and horrors to the sins and mysteries of the emperor Henry V., is doubtless the same that reported, on the authority of abbot Eustace, the neglected warning sent to Henry II. when he spared the heretics of Guienne, and that placed amongst the most precious recollections of contemporary history the miracles wrought by the same abbot Eustace in support of his preaching of the sanctity of the Lord’s day. This spirit of credulity marks some of the most important additions made in this compilation to the

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1 See, for instance, with regard to archbishop Geoffrey, vol. iii. pp. 240, 274; and with regard to Hubert Walter, vol. iv. pp. 90, 91.
4 Vol. i. pp. 163, 181.
5 Vol. i. pp. 272, 273.
earlier writers; it runs through the whole work, and is indeed the only characteristic of the kind that does so; it increases in intensity in the fourth and last portion; and in its fullest development localizes the writer in the neighbourhood of Howden, and the adjoining parts of Lincolnshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire. The argument may be taken for what it is worth. If the question be put, Are we to regard the consensus of the manuscripts as to Hoveden's authorship conclusive, or is the certainty that he was not the original author of the first and third divisions to afford a ground for disbelieving that he wrote the fourth? it may be safely advanced, in support of the evidence of the manuscripts, that there is a distinct mark of unity of manipulation throughout, that that mark is more distinct than elsewhere in the fourth portion, and that it not only serves to determine the unity of the compiler, but to fix definitively the place in which we are to look for him, as the town which gives name to the reputed author in the most authoritative manuscripts. Simply stated, it is a presumption that Roger of Hoveden compiled the whole book, and that the latter portion is more peculiarly his own.

A brief recapitulation of the passages which convey this impression will be sufficient. The only important addition made by Hoveden to the "Historia post Bedam" or "Liber Dunelmensis," on which the first portion of the work is based, is the account of the visions and miracles of Edward the Confessor. The minor additions are, however, marked by a similar motive, the grant of Brakenholm and Hemmingburgh to Durham, an abstract of which is given, is plainly regarded as suggested by the miraculous panic of William the Conqueror when outraging the relics of S. Cuthbert; the charter of archbishop Thomas inserted under the year 1083.

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1 Vol. i. pp. 108-111.
2 Vol. i. p. 127.
was also the result of a vision of S. Cuthbert and a miraculous cure that followed it; the passages touching the filial impiety and disappearance of Henry V. tell the same tale;¹ the story of the sickness and death of archbishop Thomas II.,² whilst it is probably true, is of a character specially dear to the professional hagiographer. These passages, with the exception of the particulars about Henry V., have a local bearing as well. Hemmingburgh and Brakenholm were attached to the see of Durham by a similar tie to that of Howden itself; the result of archbishop Thomas I.'s vision was to liberate the Yorkshire churches appurtenant to the see of Durham from the usual exactions, and of these Howden was one; the death of Thomas II. took place at Beverley.

In the second portion of the work it may suffice to point out the fact that the only transactions which are dwelt on with any detail are those connected with Thomas Becket, who had, before the work was undertaken, arrived at the full dimensions of the popular saint of the day. The general tenour of the history appears indeed to be modified by the writer's prepossessions as a courtier; but the archbishop's escape from Northampton castle is expressly referred to a special providence,³ and in the relation of the martyrdom and the events that preceded it, the additions to the simpler story of the earlier biographers have a special colouring. The supernatural warning vouchsafed to Becket at Sens,⁴ the story of the water changed to wine at the pope's table,⁵ the revelation to S. Godric of Finchale, on the the day of the murder,⁶ and the record, probably entirely unhistorical, of the fate of the murderers,⁷ which are, strictly speaking, additions by Hoveden to the text of

¹ Vol. i. pp. 163, 181.
³ Vol. i. p. 229.
⁵ Vol. ii. pp. 11, 12.
⁶ Vol. ii. pp. 16, 17. This instance is important also as touching chronology. See the note at the place, and below, p. xxvi.
⁷ Vol. ii. p. 17.
Instances from the third portion of the work. Benedict, illustrate the view which twenty years after the event commended itself to our author. So large a portion of the second division of the work is taken up with letters to and from the saint that further examination is needless.

In the third portion of the chronicle, the following additions to Benedict, over and above those connected with the martyrdom, illustrate this point: the story of the captured hare, which, on Henry's landing in Ireland, presaged his victory over the natives; the additional details of Henry's Canterbury pilgrimage in 1174; the vision of Walter, the servant of Eustace of Flay, already referred to; the story of the woman in labour succoured by the devil, which may possibly be the origin of the proverb applied to the birth of illegitimate children, that the devil is the best midwife; the vision of the gigantic expansion of the cross at the battle of Ramlah; the reference, in recording the burial of Henry II., to the prophecy that he should "be veiled among the veiled women;" the additions to the conversation of Richard and Joachim on the Apocalypse, of the life of Antichrist by Adso, and the curious article on the same subject faltering ascribed to S. Gregory.

In the last division of the work the following cases call for special remark: the judgments that fell upon duke Leopold of Austria are traced to his misconduct towards Richard I.; an idea common, as is the language in which the story is told, to William of Newburgh and Ralph of Coggeshale; the story of the Cross of S. Mar-

1 Vol. ii. p. 29.  
4 Vol. ii. 302, 303.  
5 Vol. ii. pp. 132, 133.  
6 The story of the prophecy is given by Benedict, ii. 55; Hoveden, ii. 356; the fulfilment by Hoveden only, ii. 367. He uses the same form in reference to the burial of queen Johanna, vol. iv. p. 96.  
7 Vol. iii. pp. 77–79.  
9 Vol. iii. pp. 85, 86.  
10 Vol. iii. pp. 274–278.
tial at Poictiers weeping on the death of William Longchamp;¹ the unquestioning credit given to the posthumous miracles of bishop William of Poictiers,² whose life, as the historian specially mentions, had been very reprehensible in the sight of men; the revolting miracle wrought on the German crusader who had murdered his comrade;³ the agony of the cross in the cathedral of Dublin at the injuries inflicted on archbishop Cumin;⁴ the story of demoniacal possession in the neighbourhood of Genoa, which, however, may be true in the main, although scarcely probable in detail;⁵ the account of the miracles of Fulk of Neuilly, in connexion with which occurs the well-known story of his personal attack on Richard's vices;⁶ and his supernatural escapes from prison;⁷ the prohibition by a divine oracle addressed to William the Lion at Dunfermline, which prevented him from invading England in 1199;⁸ the long details of the visits of Eustace of Flay to England in 1200 and 1201,⁹ with the curious miracles wrought in confirmation of his teaching; the two extraordinary stories of the supernatural occurrences at the funeral of S. Hugh of Lincoln;¹⁰ one, the recovery of sight by a woman blind of one eye, a cure too common to be regarded as a miracle; the other wrought on a cutpurse who found himself suddenly paralyzed and irresistibly compelled to spout Latin verses; the vision of dean Rolleston of Lincoln, a fortnight after the death of S. Hugh, which seems to have helped to bring about its own fulfilment;¹¹ the announcement of the liberation of Satan in the year 1201,¹² and, last and most signal as an instance, the report of the visit of abbot Eustace to Yorkshire, and of his mira-


VOL. IV.
Curious stories localizing the author.

Inferences.

Contrast between Roger and his predecessor.

How far the narration of miracles affects the credibility of the narrator.

Chicles wrought at Beverley, Nafferton, and Wakefield.¹ This, which is far the most extraordinary illustration of superstitious credulity in the whole work, occurs very nearly at the close of it; and the scenes of it lie within reach of Howden.

Such are the grounds, affording basis for something more than a presumption, of the hypothesis which I have stated above. They are indeed slight in themselves, nor do they serve to do more than establish a difference in character between Hoveden and the writer whose work he was continuing. That earlier writer is singularly free from the gossiping credulity which is common to the writers of the period, even to those who, like Walter de Mapes and Giraldus Cambrensis, might be supposed too well acquainted with the process of fabricating myths to be easily imposed on by the vulgar retailer of miracles. Here, however, we have to contrast Hoveden, not with the general run of the writers of his time, but with this one in particular. The vestiges of this common tendency in our author's treatment lead the way to a further and more important question.

The question how far does the recording of supernatural visions and miracles affect the general credibility of the authors who report them, is one which concerns to a very considerable extent mediæval history in general. The day is happily past when such stories were regarded as consciously purposed impostures; we can now afford to look upon them as part of the current popular belief in a majority of the races and generations of the world, and that in so great a degree that the authenticity of a writer might fairly be doubted, who was alleged as a mediæval historian and did not relate mediæval wonders. And this remark applies not merely to religious or ecclesiastical miracles, but to such portents as the green children who emerged from fairy land into

East Anglia,¹ and the discovery of living dogs and toads in hermetically sealed beds of rock.² If William of Newburgh, the most independent thinker in the whole list of our medieval historians, found himself compelled by the mass of evidence laid before him, and by the authority of his witnesses, to accord a reluctant belief to such prodigies, we can scarcely wonder that the ordinary chronicler relating what from day to day reached his ear and seemed worth recording, should report constantly the occurrence of events which he, in common with the whole of his contemporaries, believed to be special interpositions of Divine Providence. The age of Hoveden believed in the constant infraction, by Divine authority, of the ordinary processes of the course of this world, for the purpose of honouring the relics of a large number of saints and martyrs, and of benefiting the poor and sick, clearing the character of the innocent accused, or protesting against the wickedness of the times, by the overflow as it were of the benignant influences of those holy persons. How such a state of belief came to be usual it is not our place now to inquire; it must be granted that it did prevail, and whilst such occurrences were sufficiently far removed from ordinary experience to compel notice, little misgiving was felt as to the genuineness of the relation, and no doubt entertained as to the origin of the interposition. Further than this, the belief in this constant exercise of miraculous power was closely connected with the habit of referring everything of the nature of unexpected coincidence to the same sort of special providence. Owing to this interpretation, great numbers of events and phenomena are included in the class of miracles, which are capable of simple explanation, or suggestive of much more familiar agencies than the special exertion of Divine power. And of course it fol-

¹ Will. Newb., lib. i. cap. 27.  
² Will. Newb., lib. i. cap. 28.
lows that where every unexpected coincidence is regarded as miraculous and contributes its quota of verisimilitude to the general stock of wonders, a large number of stories that are not to be so easily explained, gains a credence to which by itself it has no such title.

The common sense of mankind will, I think, sanction this rule, that the general good faith of a historical writer is not impaired by his recording prodigies which were believed in his own days, except where he professes himself to have witnessed events which we believe to be impossible. But the question concerns more than general good faith; it affects his general credibility; we require in him not merely honesty but discernment, and ask not simply did he believe what he wrote down, but was his judgment sound enough to make his ordinary narration trustworthy, or were his opportunities of gaining information so good that only common honesty was needed to qualify him for the character of a historian?

Any one who has ever in personal experience struck across the deep and secret vein of popular belief in witchcraft, or who has watched the more refined circles of so-called spiritualism, will allow that neither natural shrewdness and simplicity, nor thorough honesty, nor enlightened education, is an effective hindrance to the belief in the frequent occurrence of events that the great majority of educated men regard as incredible, or in the reference to supernatural power, of phenomena which no small portion of that majority considers to be the result of imposture. The ploughboy who loses his watch applies to the wise woman to consult the stars on his behalf, or to furnish a spell to enchant the thief. The thief fearing to fall under the influence of the charm restores the stolen treasure. No one doubts the truth of the relation which may be easily tested; the very belief in the powers of the witch has wrought the result, which
spreads through the country side, and bases on ascertain-
able fact, a doctrine which neither priest nor schoolmaster
can overthrow. The mediaeval habit of referring such
things to miracle is at the least less degrading than the
modern belief in witchcraft or necromancy; doubtless
where there was conscious imposture the sin was pro-
portionably greater; but where there was not, the de-
vout simplicity of the vulgar mind, the unquestioning
belief in ever-present benignant influences mistakenly
identified, is worthy of compassionate pity rather than
of contempt. It must be remembered that in many of
the branches of knowledge the mind of a monk of the
twelfth century was not in any respect better furnished
than that of a modern rustic. His experience of the
world was as narrow, his power of discriminating be-
tween coincidences and prodigies as limited, his ability
of weighing evidence on the subject of physical pheno-
mena not more exercised. When we deal with secular
writers such as Roger of Hoveden was, we find a greater
weight of experience and more critical power than in a
monk of the common type, but it may be doubted
whether in matters of this special character the ordinary
twelfth century clerk rose beyond the level of the village
politician of the present day, who on the authority of
his weekly newspaper gives the same credit to the quack
advertisement or the gigantic gooseberry as to the tele-
graphed report of the Queen's speech.

But the mediaeval miracle itself is not an easy matter
to dispose of. Those cases, in the first place, which
belong to the class of visions, such as, to take an example
from our author, the appearance of the Blessed Virgin

1 Three workmen are stifled in
cleaning out an old well. William
of Newburgh conjectures that there
was a vein of quicksilver or some
other noxious substance running
through the soil, lib. v. cap. 34;
for the stifling of three men who
went down into a pit in a lime kiln
the writer can give no reason what-
ever.
to the Crusaders,¹ or the miraculous warning of the
death of Henry's sons,² must at once be set by themselves.
They are beyond the pale of ordinary experience, but
they are not incredible as facts and impressions. A man
highly excited by the work on which he is engaged,
thinking by day and by night of the blessings that his
exertions on behalf of Christendom are earning for him,
may have, especially whilst watching and fasting, come
into such a state of mind that his dreams are full of the
subject of his waking thoughts, and as vivid and im-
pressive as waking visions could be. He dreams on
board his ship of the appearance of his patron saint,
S. Thomas, S. Nicolas, or S. Edmund;³ or he gazes upon
the crucifix until the awful figure seems to smile.⁴ He
has seen what he believes to be a miracle; specially
favoured, he would be a traitor to his faith if he did not
publish it. It is recorded, and the miracle propagates;
it suggests the very details of prodigies that constantly
repeat themselves. In this case the error, if there be an
error, is not in the belief of the fact, but in the inter-
pretation. And so wide is the applicability of this prin-
ciple, that it will be found to cover all cases of mediæval
visions which are not compromised by distinct attempts
at prophecy, and such attempts are extremely rare. It
cannot be safely taken for granted that the stories of
such visions are false merely because they are improbable
to our minds; nor can the historian who records them
be contemned either as over-credulous or dishonest, so
long as he contents himself with the record.

A second large class of mediæval miracles deals with
the cures of disease; and of these, exclusive of the con-
siderable majority in which blindness or disease of the
eye is healed, the largest number may be said to consist

¹ Vol. iii. pp. 119, 120.
³ Vol. iii. pp. 42, 43.
⁴ Or to bow, as in the Waltham
   story of Harold; De Inventione S.
   Crucis, cap. 20.
of the cures of nervous complaints, or of those in which the state of the nerves very much affects the part diseased, such as toothache and the like. Unquestionably a large number of cures may be accounted for simply on the ground of the faith of the patient in the remedy applied; a fact which is exemplified in the case of quack medicines at the present day by the testimonials printed by way of advertisement in the papers. Of many of these it may, I believe, safely be affirmed that the ingredients are on analysis found to contain nothing more directly addressed to the remedy of the complaint cured, than were the blood and water furnished by the monks of Canterbury to the pilgrims of S. Thomas. Every such cure would go to swell the long list of miracles and strengthen the faith of successive generations of pilgrims. Cases in which the remedy failed, or the disease returned as soon as the momentary effort was relaxed, would not be recorded, or recorded only as demonstrating the patient's want of faith. Where every one afflicted with neuralgia had recourse to a relic, every one who recovered from it would naturally ascribe his cure to the relic. Here, then, there is no question as to the facts, only as to the connexion between them.

It is probable that an analogous theory might be stated plausibly to account for the great number of cures of blindness which are on record; such, for instance,

1 The recorder of the Canterbury miracles (Benedictus, ed. Giles) gives a case in which a boy was deceived into cure of acute pain by drinking water which was given him as "aqua sancti," that is, water in which the rags of S. Thomas's dress had been washed; the water being really from the nearest well. Lib. iii. c. 46.

2 The Canterbury writer does record occasionally such failures of miracle; lib. i. cap. 40, 41. In these two cases the failure is marked by a vision, in which the saint assures the patient that he shall not be cured.

3 Forty such, if not more, are recorded among the Canterbury miracles; considerably more than a seventh part of the whole number.
as those in which a patient partially blind has persuaded himself that he is entirely so, or in which the remedies used for curing the blindness of one eye have had the effect of producing a morbid sympathy in the other; or in which the strong effort made on faith in the relic has nerved the patient to realize that he was not so blind as he thought he was, and the discovery has itself been regarded as the miracle; but it is needless to dwell on this, because in alleged cases of blindness very considerable allowance must be made for imposture, pretended disease and pretended cure. The opinion of the age set a premium on the reception of miraculous operation. The man who had been cured of blindness by a visit to the shrine of a saint would be popularly regarded as a special object of Divine care, and as such would be able to rely for the rest of his life on the charities of the monasteries, or on the piety of the devout. The practice of pilgrimage opened the way for successful mendicancy. Here again the miracle would be recorded, whilst the imposture was unsuspected; the detection of the imposture in but few cases out of the many would reach the ears of the registrar of miracles. There are, of course, other cases in which the cures may be ascribed to mere natural causes, such as the change of air and food, or the exhaustion of the disease, or its intermittent character. Complaints dependent on digestion, fevers, ague, and even rheumatism, which we may safely argue was occasionally described as paralysis, and diseases of the skin, would fall under this head.

A third class of miracles is that in which results perfectly natural are recorded as supernatural because they have struck the imagination of the reporter as illustrative of a special providence. A candle at the shrine of S. Thomas is extinguished, and the gaseous

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1 A good instance will be found in a story told of a man named Edmund, De Mirac. S. Thom., lib. i. cap. 33.
smoke instantly catches fire again from the other lights; the wooden boxes filled with the water in which the martyr’s rags have been washed burst with the heat of the bearer, or absorb the liquid, and are found empty; a draught of the same liquid has the effect of an emetic, and produces a discharge of cherry-stones; a child remembers in a dream where he has placed the cheese which he has mislaid; an armed knight rides into a church and is thrown by his restive horse; a paralytic old woman is choked with a stolen coin; five thieves are caught with their booty within the precincts of a religious house.

In the large number of cases of this sort, it may confidently be believed that stories true to the minutest particulars are preserved to us, misinterpreted perhaps, but implying nothing that should shake our faith in the narrator.

If, further, we allow something considerable for the influence of local rumour, the accumulative exaggeration of oral report, and the impossibility of contradicting a false or foolish story in any proportion to the extent of belief which it has forestalled, we shall, I think, be able to grant that a sufficiently large assortment of events apparently miraculous might easily be brought to the knowledge of any annalist to warrant him in according credit both to the general proposition, in the belief of which he was probably already settled, and to the par-

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1 De Mirac. S. Thomæ, lib. ii. cap. 14, 15, 16. Compare the letter of the archbishop of Sens to the pope, Hoveden, ii. 24. “De cereis etiam circa corpus positis et ex tinctis sed postea per se reac- censis, non infida multorum reratio est.”

2 This is reported as occurring so frequently that the monks were obliged to use leaden or tin ampullae instead of wooden bottles. The miraculous splittings then ceased, only two or three questionable cases of the disappearance of the water from the ampulla could be made out. Lib. ii. cap. 32–38.

3 De Miraculis S. Thomæ, lib. i. cap. 34, lib. ii. cap. 63. Similar stories about cheeses occur in the miracles of S. Cuthbert.

4 De Inventione S. Crucis, cap. 32.

5 De Inventione S. Crucis, cap. 26.

6 Ibid., cap. 31.
ticular instance. He recorded the fact, or what was put before him as a fact, and accounted for it on the ground that was, on his theory of the government of the world, most probable.

But with all these allowances there remains a very considerable class of wonders of which it can only be said that either they were true miracles or they were blasphemous impostures, the record of which is, if true, a record of miracles, if not true, a conscious lie. There are others which on no theory of miracle can be regarded as conceivably possible, the pretending eyewitnesses of which condemn themselves, but which yet in all ages have found believers. To the first of these belong many of those recorded by such chroniclers as those who collected the miracles of S. Thomas or S. Cuthbert, in which prophetic visions are common, and the instantaneous cure of deep wounds or of such diseases as leprosy and dropsey. To the second belongs undoubtedly the story of the woman who having drunk of a blessed fountain vomited two great black toads, which immediately turned into very great and very black dogs, shortly after became asses, and finally went up into the air, leaving foul vestiges behind them.\(^1\)

Where the narrator, then, declares himself to have been the eyewitness of an impossible event, we can only conclude either that something did occur in his presence contrary to common experience, and that he has exaggerated it up to the dimensions of a lie; or that he has simply lied. But this is only where the recorder does profess himself to have been an eyewitness; the belief of such things being rife, it implies neither foolishness nor falseness to have been deceived by a second-hand tale.

Both Hoveden and his predecessor, the author of the "Gesta Henrici Regis," record a number of physical

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\(^1\) Hoveden, iv. 123.
phenomena which have no connexion with ecclesiastical or religious miracle. Comets, eclipses, mock suns and moons, strange appearances in the sky are duly noticed. More unusual occurrences, such as the fountain of blood running at Kilwinning, the rain of blood in the Isle of Wight, the earthquakes and landslips mentioned from time to time, are remarked on with the natural expression of wonder. But traveller's tales, such as that of the flying fish in the Mediterranean, the fishes of S. Agatha at Catania, the fires of S. Elmo at Messina, are told with more show of misgiving than the visions of the Crusaders or the miraculous cure of Philip II. They were further removed from their experience, more foreign to their mental habits, and incapable of being tested by such criterions as they were capable of applying. The story of the flying fish appeared to Hoveden so strange that he gives it with the solemn attestation, "qui hoc vidit, testimonium perhibuit;" words which, borrowed as they are from the Gospel, seem to imply at once the doubt, and the strength of the evidence to which the doubt succumbed.

In another place Hoveden uses the same strong formula in a way which might be interpreted to show that he was himself an eye-witness. "At Nafferton, a village of Master Roger Arundel, a certain man made himself a cake baked on the hearth on a Saturday afternoon; and he ate of it, and kept back part of it for himself against the morning; and when on the Lord's day he had broken it, blood came out of it, 'and he who

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1 Benedict, i. 313. Hoveden, ii. 285.
2 Benedict, i. 177. Hoveden ii. 136.
3 Benedict, i. 220. Hoveden, ii. 171.
4 Benedict, ii. 123. Hoveden, iii. 53.
5 Hoveden, iii. 54.
6 Benedict, ii. 143. Hoveden, iii. 71.
7 Benedict, ii. 116, 177. Hoveden, iii. 42, 119.
9 Hoveden, iii. 53.
The Nafferton miracle. "'saw bore witness, and his witness is true.'" 1 If Hoveden meant to say that he was himself the witness, and the distance of Nafferton from Howden is not so great as to forbid the supposition, we must conclude either that he was imposed upon, or that he was a party to a fraud. As, however, he uses the like form of expression in the case of the flying fish, in which to almost a certainty the reference is not to himself, his credit in this instance may be saved. He shows an amount of credulity in the matter that contrasts unfavourably with the reticence of his predecessor; he shows that for some reason or other he did yield belief to the coarse and blasphemous impostures of abbot Eustace, but not in such a marked contrast with the popular opinion of his time as to place him in point of credibility below the contemporary authors. Even the professed miracle writers can rarely be charged with perversions of facts in names, dates, and circumstances not directly involved in the miracle immediately before them; it would be unjust to question the honesty of Hoveden or the general authenticity of his narration on these grounds. Nor has the question been so argued here. Lengthy as the remarks may seem, they have a certain bearing on the authorship of the compilation in connexion with which they are introduced. 2

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1 Hoveden, iv. pp. 170, 171.
2 As one cannot be too cautious in touching upon such subjects as miracles, I may be allowed to say here that whilst I should not venture to limit even in thought the action of the Deity by special providences or other departures from the general laws of the world's government, I cannot but regard the constant operation of such interventions by means of false relics, and the greatest part of the medieval relics were false, as such a countenancing of falsehood and imposture as cannot be believed compatible with perfect goodness. In answer to fervent prayer, even where there was very decided and debasing superstition mingled with the prayer, a miracle might conceivably be wrought, but surely not a series of unmeaning prodigies grounding and strengthening a false belief in relics of unquestionable spuriousness.
An examination of the chronological carefulness of the compiler leads to a like conclusion. Hoveden's personality is to a certain degree vindicated by a sort of carelessness about exact dates, which is strongly opposed to the exactness and accuracy of his predecessor; a carelessness not greater than is common with his contemporaries, but which is in contrast with the work of that particular chronicler; which in the same way as his tendency to superstition runs through the whole of the work, and appears most markedly in the concluding portion. A short but summary notice of the points that illustrate this will answer a double purpose.

In the first portion of the work, Hoveden's chronology from the year 878 to 935 is all wrong. He has forsaken his guide, and run into so great difficulties as to be obliged to leave a gap in his computation from 924 to 935. His dates from 1124 to 1135 are a year before the true date; he has been misled by misunderstanding the arrangement of Henry of Huntingdon, and confounded regnal years with the years of the era. This error which, as I have remarked in the preface to the first volume, might be merely a clerical one, has some importance when we find that the same carelessness about regnal years reappears in the later portions of the work.

In the second division of the book the chronology is very much astray. The letters of Becket are in almost every case placed under wrong years; the death of Eustace of Boulogne is placed under 1148 instead of 1153; the appointment of Thomas Becket to the Chancery is misdated; so are Henry's coronation at Worcester, the very important councils of Westminster.

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1 Vol. i. pp. 43-54.
2 Vol. i. p. 54.
4 Vol. i., pref., p. lxxxv.
6 Vol. i. p. 215.
7 Vol. i. p. 216.
8 Vol. i. p. 220.
and Northampton,¹ and Henry's Welsh campaign of 1165.² Although these are the most prominent examples, the confusion of the dates of Becket's letters renders the whole of this division so unsound in respect of arrangement, that it can only be regarded as a very second-rate authority.

In the third division Hoveden has generally adhered faithfully to his prototype; but even here he has some conspicuous faults, especially in the article of additions. Most of these are noticed in the preface to the second volume.³ Such are the misdating of the gift of the county of Mortain to John;⁴ the story of the revelation of S. Thomas's martyrdom to S. Godric at Finchale,⁵ although he has himself mentioned the death of S. Godric as occurring, as it really did, more than a year before; the mistake touching the crossing of the younger Henry to Normandy after his coronation, and the confused account of his father's absolution at Avranches.⁶ The burning of Leicester is dated 1174 instead of 1173;⁷ the marriage of Henry II.'s daughter with the king of Castille is placed in 1176 instead of 1170,⁸ the Portuguese news of the year 1187 certainly does not belong to that year,⁹ and the letters on the dispute touching S. Andrew's not only are misplaced, but appear with interpolated dates.¹⁰ The two latter particulars fall under the head of additions made by Hoveden to his predecessor's work, in which such indications of carelessness would be most likely to occur.

The two most important instances of the sort are, however, the misplacing of the Council of Lombers in 1176 instead of 1165, on which I have remarked at

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length already;¹ and the introduction of the record of a final concord between the bishop of Durham and the archbishop of York at the end of the year 1174.² This last instance requires remark, because it is connected with Hoveden’s personal history, and, like the cases of miracles mentioned above, serves to show the identity of the manipulator, who betrays both his weaknesses in matters of local interest especially. Since the second volume of this work was published I have found in the Monasticon a copy of the agreement, undated, but containing the names of the witnesses. We are thus enabled both to correct the conclusions of the note at p. 70 of the second volume, and so do justice to the accuracy of Mr. Raine in fixing the date of the death of Richard of Hexham; and to state that Hoveden, although he expressly dates the record in 1174, has made a mistake of several years in so doing. The names of the witnesses of the act are A., abbot of Rievaulx, Ralph, treasurer of York, and John son of Letold, archdeacon of York.³ Of these the abbot of Rievaulx, who was none other than the famous Ailred, died in 1167;⁴ Ralph de Warneville became treasurer on the promotion of John of Poictiers in 1163.⁵ The date of the document falls within these two limits. It is true that the two copies do not coincide so closely ⁶

² Vol. ii. pp. 70, 71.
³ Mon. Angl., vi. 1198.
⁴ Chron. Mailros., ad annum.
⁵ Le Neve, ed. Hardy, iii. 158.
⁶ In particular the churches which, in Hoveden’s copy, are said to be in the archdeaconry of Cleveland, are in the other said to be in the archdeaconry of John son of Letold; in the attestations John calls himself archdeacon of York, not of Cleveland. Again, the York churches are described as being in the archdeaconry of York in Hoveden, in the Monasticon as being in the archdeaconry of Geoffrey, that is the provost of Beverley, who was drowned in 1177, and was archdeacon of York or the West Riding. Probably, however, “archidiaconus Eboracensis” was a loose expression, which might apply to all the archdeaconries. On the whole, it is most probable that Hoveden’s is a rough copy of the same document given rather more formally in the Monasticon from the Registrum Magnum Album at York.
as to forbid the supposition that Hoveden's represents a renewal of the agreement which might be made after the death of abbot Ailred; but this can be regarded only as a possibility: as at present informed we must regard it as an instance of inaccuracy. The fact that the copy in the Monasticon contains three additional articles, besides the attestations, renders it more likely that, if they differ in date, Hoveden's is the earlier form.

The following are the most important places in the concluding portion of the work in which Hoveden's chronology appears to require correction, and it is observable that the first of them occurs just at the point at which the older authority stops. (1.) He places in February 1192 a report from Rome of the way in which Richard had received the news of the deposition of Longchamp, which report had been brought by Andrew of Chavigny from Palestine. We know, however, from the Itinerarium that Richard only received the news at Easter 1192, and that Andrew of Chavigny remained in Palestine until September. It is clear, I think, that this is misplaced by several months, and probable that the mention of Andrew is a further mistake.

(2.) The attempts of Philip of France to draw John into his treasonable designs against Richard began as soon as the former arrived home from the Crusade, and their commencement is placed by both Benedict and Richard of Devizes, who give ample details, under the year 1192. Hoveden, using nearly the same language as Benedict, places them after Christmas 1192, when the news of Richard's captivity had reached France. No doubt they were then resumed, and in much the same form as in the preceding year. Hoveden's departure from his authority is not therefore likely to mislead,

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1 Vol. iii. pp. 192, 193, and note
2 Vol. iii. p. 203, note 2.
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but the similarity of the language seems to show that he had confused the transactions of the two years.

(3.) In his account of Richard's bestowal of church preferment during his captivity, our author mentions that the bishopric of Bath was given to Savaric, archdeacon of Northampton. Savaric had been consecrated to his see before Richard was captured, and his share in the negotiations of the release had been already more than once mentioned by Hoveden himself.

(4) The proceedings at the court of Rome in the case of archbishop Geoffrey, which began in 1194 and reached the point at which the archbishop was sentenced to suspension at Christmas 1195, are related as occurring all in 1194. It is true that this is rectified in some measure in the history of 1195, and that the letters from Rome are inserted under their proper dates. It is true also that a double set of suits against Geoffrey was being carried on through the two years, which makes the chronological arrangement in itself somewhat puzzling. But it remains clear from the fact that Hoveden repeats the very language, dates, and legal forms, which he had used in 1194, in his account of the proceedings of 1195, that he had misdated them in the first instance. Further remarks on these suits will be found further on.

(5.) The final concord between William Stuteville and William Mowbray, which was concluded at Louth in Lincolnshire on Septuagesima Sunday in the second year of John, is placed by Hoveden in 1200 instead of 1201; a fact which shows that the composition of the chronicle cannot have been exactly contemporaneous. The condition of the manuscript A. shows that it was inserted as an afterthought, but the mistake is not corrected.
(6.) Under the year 1200\(^1\) are inserted certain rules for the business of the Exchequer, which are dated "post a Pascha, coram rege Johanne, anno regni sui secundo," which belong, if the title, including the date, be an integral part of the document, to the year 1201.

The two last-mentioned instances may be easily explained by a fact, which shows our author's forgetfulness in this respect more clearly than the mistakes themselves, and helps to identify Hoveden as the codifier of the earlier parts of the book. He begins, throughout the compilation, the year at Christmas, following the example of the author of the Gesta. That writer, throughout the reign of Henry II., when changing the date of the year, adds the regnal year of the king. As Henry II. was crowned shortly before Christmas 1154, his regnal years coincide nearly with the years of the era. The same is true of the reign of Stephen, who was crowned, according to the best authorities, on St. Stephen's day. Following, then Henry of Huntingdon's computation of Stephen's years and Benedict's computation of Henry II.'s, Hoveden keeps tolerably straight. The regnal years of Henry I., however, began in August, those of Richard I. in September, and those of John on the feast of the Ascension. In each of these cases our author falls into error. Following Henry of Huntingdon, who arranges the later history of Henry I. under regnal years, and calculating those as years of the era, he makes the error of a year from 1124 to 1135,\(^2\) which has been already noticed. Adopting the same formula for Richard and John, he confuses the dates enough to show his own carelessness, though scarcely enough to mislead a careful reader. The chronicle of Benedict avoids this mistake; but Hoveden regards the year 1191 as being the second year of Richard,\(^3\) although half of it fell in his third year; and

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1 Vol. iv. p. 152.
2 Vol. i. 180-189; above, p. xxv. | 3 Vol. iii. p. 92, compared with Benedict, ii. 150.
in the same way he treats 1192, adding to the change of the year of era the year of the reign, which is not specified by the older historian. As he only mentions the regnal year at Christmas, and that without making an absolute mistake, this inexactness is of no importance, except as illustrating his alteration of or addition to his predecessor's notation. But under John it runs into marked error; the Christmas of 1200–1 is made the beginning of the third year of John, and consequently the final concord dated in the second year is misplaced under the year 1200, and probably the rules of the Exchequer also inserted wrongly.

(7.) It is possible that this same confusion has caused our author to place the transactions of the divorce business of Philip Augustus which belong to Midlent 1201 under the year 1200, the words "eodem anno," with which he opens the history, preceding by several folios the change of the year at Christmas, and the whole negotiation being inserted before the text of the peace concluded in May 1200.

(8.) The large batch of letters which come at the end of the Chronicle is not arranged chronologically, or in the order of the negotiations to which they belong. This is, however, unimportant, as it is clear that the work is abruptly finished, and these documents are really rather notes for a continuation than part of a regularly arranged chronicle.

So few are the points in which a very close examination and collation with contemporary authors can detect chronological error in Hoveden. Their principal importance, I repeat, consists in their betraying, as do the notes of superstitious credulity remarked on before, the work

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1 Vol. iii. p. 179, compared with Benedict, ii. 235.
2 Vol. iv. p. 156.
5 Vol. iv. p. 146.
of a single hand on the diversified and largely borrowed materials of the compilation, and enabling us to say, here is a trace of the man Roger of Hoveden.

It would convey a wrong impression if I were to close this examination without the acknowledgment that these two drawbacks, on which I have enlarged chiefly with the purpose of identifying our author, only affect in a very slight degree, if at all, the value of his work. There are very few mediaeval chroniclers who can be placed on an equality with the author of the Gesta or Chronicle of Benedict, in point of careful chronology, fulness of detail, and accuracy of treatment. To point out that Hoveden comes in a few places below that writer detracts hardly anything from his credit. It may be fairly said that Hoveden's later history is the only work that supplies the loss of his invaluable predecessor. Hoveden's work is our primary authority for the period, although it does fall somewhat below the standard of the Benedict.

Besides the slight faults in chronology just enumerated, the fourth portion of Hoveden contains singularly few statements that can be regarded as erroneous. The confusion of the names of the Flemish princes which occurs several times,\(^1\) and the occasional mistake in the identification of the Christian name of a foreign bishop or king,\(^2\) are matters of slight importance, especially when it is remembered that the work as we have it was not revised or indeed completed by its compiler, and that the number of blanks left for the subsequent insertion of such names testifies to his caution in a very remarkable way. No English writer of the present day, even with the Directory and the Almanac of Gotha by his side, could guard against such little errors of detail; they cannot be made to ground a charge against a twelfth century writer. It is possible to point out a large number of places in Hoveden which are confirmed with

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\(^1\) Vol. iv. pp. 39, 87, 93, 94.  \(^2\) Such as at vol. iv. pp. 94, 119.
the utmost exactness by public records and by other historians such as Rigord, Ralph de Diceto, and others, with whom he cannot be shown to have had any communication. It would be difficult to point out more than one or two in which his testimony is decidedly contradicted. On a careful examination I think the most important discrepancy between our author and the French historians is in the statement made by the former that in the rout after the battle of Gisors in 1198 Miles de Puiset, count of Bar, and John, the brother of William des Barres, were drowned in the Epte. William of Armorica, in the Philippi, states that Philip lost no knight in the river on that occasion, and certainly the count of Bar seems to have survived for many years. Hoveden’s mistake as to the date of the treaty of the year 1200 between John and Philip is easily explained, and is corrected by the copy of the treaty itself given further on. A few other points of the kind may be found treated in the notes.

It remains now to call attention succinctly to the three most important topics that are illustrated by Hoveden in the fourth portion of the work. These are the history of Archbishop Geoffrey of York, the legal and political administration of Hubert Walter and Geoffrey FitzPeter, and the light thrown upon foreign history by the more careful notices of events which took place during the period in Italy, Germany, Norway, and Spain. Of these the first two not only are of great

1 Several of these are pointed out in the notes to this edition, and several more by Sir T. Duffas Hardy, in his introduction to his edition of the Patent Rolls.
2 Vol. iv. p. 60.
3 Guill. Brit. Phil. lib. v.: “Sicque fit ex numero quod rex non perdidit omni, quenquam vel
4 If the article on him in the Art de Vérifier les Dates is to be trusted. Hoveden ought, however, to be good authority on the subject of the Puisets.
interest in themselves, but, owing to Hoveden's opportunities of gaining information, come before us with especial advantage in his pages. A short summary of them, supplementing where it is possible his omissions, and somewhat systematizing his loose details, will serve better than any fancy sketch of his personal share in them, to help us to realize the atmosphere in which he lived, and the characters of the men with whom he associated whilst preparing his history.

I. The religious and ecclesiastical condition of the province of York during the twelfth century was anomalous and extremely critical. The country had never recovered the savage cruelties to which it was subjected by the Conqueror. Northumbria had been one of the best and earliest consolidated kingdoms of the Hextarchy, her kings the bravest and holiest, her missionaries the most devoted; her monasteries had kept up European learning in the darkest age, her mariners and merchants were enterprising, her population equally and abundantly diffused. Archæological discovery testifies to a populousness and a civilization that history seems almost to have forgotten. Under the Danish invasion Yorkshire had gone through no more severe experiences than Middle England; the Angle population coalesced with the Danish immigrants; the lands changed their owners and the villages their names, but the changes were in analogy and in proportion to the usual rule. The conquerors were converted and civilized; but whilst they presented in some respects a marked contrast with the men of the south, the social condition of the country was not very different from what it had been, or from the rest of England. The phantom kings of Danish Northumbria rose and fell under the alternate pressure of West Saxon suzerainty, or recurring invasion from Scandinavia. The archbishop, by far the more permanent institution of the two, vindicated in practice his independence of his southern brother, and not unfre-
quently represented his province as a distinct nationality from that of Canterbury.

During the century before the Conquest the political condition of the northern primacy had been materially varied. The inclusion of Nottinghamshire, a Mercian county, within the diocese of York, made the archbishop a regular member of the Witenagemot of the West Saxon dynasty, and the hold thus given was, by the royal policy, strengthened by suffering the archbishop to hold the extensive bishopric of Worcester in commendam.¹ The adhesion of Yorkshire to the West Saxon race of kings was secured far more by the archbishops of York than by the ealdormen of Northumbria; and notwithstanding many drawbacks from internal quarrels, and the threatening growth of the power of the Scots, the district enjoyed an average tranquillity and comparative wealth and prosperity until the terrible invasion of 1069. What William then left undone was completed by Malcolm and Cospatric in 1070. The ambition and turbulence of the Norman earls and the savage inroads of the Scots prolonged the desolation until the accession of Henry I. Henry put an end to the ravages of the Scots, took advantage of the forfeitures of the Mowbrays to endow a less dangerous body of nobles, and attempted

¹ The connexion of Worcester and York seems to have begun with S. Oswald, who retained the former see, to which he had been consecrated, on his promotion to York in 972. Aldulf, his successor, held the two together until his death in 1002; and Wulfstan, the next archbishop, retained Worcester until 1016, when Leofsi was appointed as bishop. On Leofsi's death Brihtteage, nephew of archbishop Wulfstan, was appointed, in 1033; his successor Living and archbishop Elfric then contested the possession of the see. Aldred, who succeeded Living in 1045, became archbishop of York in 1061; Sampson, the first Norman bishop of Worcester, was brother of Thomas L, archbishop of York; Thomas II., archbishop of York, was son of Sampson, bishop of Worcester. The church of S. Oswald at Gloucester was a peculiar of York, and the cause of one of the quarrels of Richard of Canterbury with archbishop Roger. The close connexion subsisted in one shape or another for at least 150 years.
to restore here as elsewhere so much of the ancient political system as was capable of resuscitation.

But the ecclesiastical organization had suffered as deeply as the social, and in the process of restoration neither church nor state had much choice of means and instruments. The old border sees of Whithern and Hexham had been extinct for centuries. The archbishop exercised or rather claimed to exercise his jurisdiction in the north-western counties through the archdeacons of Richmond, under whose ineffective rule the church was impoverished and demoralized. Nearer the centre the work of restoration was undertaken by the Cistercians; but of the prelates to whom the Norman kings entrusted the see of York, the first Thomas was mainly occupied in a struggle with Canterbury, and seems to have lived most frequently at Gloucester; Gerard, his successor, was a mere courtier, and Thomas II., a pious man, did not live long enough to produce any marked result. Thurstan, the fourth archbishop after the Conquest, devoted himself heart and soul to the revival of religion and of the arts of peace. Thurstan was the great patron of the Cistercians, on whom likewise the nobles, rich in land if poor in money, lavished enormous territorial grants, and the Cistercians, not only by their devotion to the religious improvement of their dependents, but by their attention to sheep farming and grazing, which only could make their estates remunerative in the thinness of the reduced population, laid posterity under a double debt. It was under Thurstan's primacy, moreover, that the see of Carlisle was founded and that of Whithern revived; the former to undertake a substantive share in church government; the latter perhaps to enable the primate to extend the benefit of episcopal work to the remoter portions of his enormous diocese.

No sooner, however, was this measure of policy adopted than it was defeated, and the work thrown back for twenty years. The occupation of Northumber-
land and Cumberland by the Scots coincided in point of time with the paralysis of church government at York, arising from the disputed election of S. William and Henry Murdac. During these years the lands in Scottish hands had no effective spiritual supervision. The Scottish church was disabled for the work by deficiencies of organization, which, already apparent, went on increasing in importance until it fell before the comparative life and order of the Calvinistic reformation. The bishop of Carlisle was only occasionally allowed to visit his diocese, and after his death sixty-two years elapsed before a successor could be prevailed on to accept the see. In Yorkshire S. William was supported by the party of Stephen and his brother the legate; Henry Murdac by the Cistercian interest, backed not only by the archbishop of Canterbury, but by S. Bernard himself, and all powerful at Rome. The better title and the wiser influence were arrayed against each other. Murdac held the see as long as he lived. The restoration of S. William, and the promotion of Hugh de Puiset, who was, like himself, a nephew of Stephen, were probably parts of the general scheme of pacification that belongs to the year 1153. But whilst the princes were struggling, the church was perishing, and the degradation of the latter was accomplished when Osbert of Bayeux, who had been archdeacon to Thurstan and Murdac, having poisoned the archbishop in the Eucharistic chalice, claimed and obtained immunity as a clergyman from the vengeance of the outraged law.

The reign of Henry II. witnessed the restoration of the lost counties and of the territorial completeness of the province. It was, with the exception of one considerable struggle, a period of peace for the north country.

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1 Osbert was of Bayeux, Thurstan's own town. Mon. Angl. vi. 205. He had a son called William of Bayeux, who was at law with the canons of York in 1191. Rot. Pip. 3 Rich. I.
The chair of Paulinus was filled by the active and clever Roger of Pont l'Evêque, and that of Durham by Hugh de Puiset, of whom his worst enemies could not say that he was either indolent or avaricious. Both these prelates showed much zeal and considerable constructive power in their administration: both however were builders of castles rather than of churches, and church builders rather than missionaries. The distant portions of Roger's diocese scarcely felt his rule at all; the nearer were planted with prebendal churches, and brought up to the ordinary standard of the southern dioceses. Craven was however still left to the Cistercians; Richmondshire, Lancashire, and Westmoreland to the absentee archdeacons; the North Riding was full of peculiars of the Church of Durham, ancient demesnes of S. Cuthbert, which had been reclaimed from the prevailing desolation. And Roger moreover was a courtier and a lawyer; he had his quarrels with Becket to carry to their wretched end; he was the greatest power in Yorkshire, and on him the organization of the defence depended as much as that of Durham and Northumberland on the Palatine earl-bishop. The importance of the sheriffdom of Yorkshire was so great that it was generally entrusted to the prime minister of the Crown, the chief justiciar, as the most trusty of the baronage, and in his constant absence the real burden of counsel, if not of authority, fell on the primate.

The close connexion of the archbishop with the court had the further effect of filling all the posts of importance in the northern church with royal officials, who

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1 William of Newburgh's sketch of archbishop Roger is admirable; it is, however, too long to quote. He, like his successor Geoffrey, is charged with appointing beardless boys to prebends; with speaking contemptuously of monks; he was a good husband to his see, but with wonderful blindness thought that he could "obsequium praestare Deo" by posthumous benefactions, when he had neglected to lay up treasure in heaven. Lib. iii. cap. 3.
were absentees and unpriestly, if not irreligious, men. Appointment of absentees. And this evil was aggravated during the long vacancy that followed the death of Archbishop Roger in 1181. Henry’s reasons for prolonging this vacancy can only be guessed at; but it seems probable that he was influenced partly by the large revenue which he was enabled to draw into the exchequer, partly by an aversion to bestow upon any of his clerical ministers a preferment which might involve a second struggle, such as that with Becket had been; partly by an indistinct intention of somehow providing for his faithful son Geoffrey. The course of action adopted was, however, very prejudicial to Geoffrey’s interests; the prolongation of the vacancy being itself a great source of disturbance to the province, and the ecclesiastics who were promoted being of the class most likely to be jealous of a new archbishop, and especially of such a one as Geoffrey. Geoffrey’s troubles were thus created for him long before he had any certain prospect of the archiepiscopate, and the circumstances under which he was promoted to it were untoward in an extreme degree.

In September 1186, Henry II, in a court at Marlborough, proposed to the assembled canons of York the election of a new archbishop; and they nominated five persons for royal approval. These were Hubert Walter the Dean, Hamo the precentor, Bernard, prior of Newburgh, Laurence, archdeacon of Bedford, and Master Roger Arundel; the two last were ministers of the Exchequer, who had at the time the management of the archiepi-

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Footnotes:
1 The proceeds of the archiepiscopal estates were let at ferm in 1189 for 1,056l. 9s. 4d.; the amount of synodals was 29l. 18s. 3d. besides, and there were other windfalls. The ferm in 1185 was 1,112l. 2s. 10d. The see was vacant for eight years, so that the benefit accruing to the exchequer from the vacancy must have been nearly 10,000l. Madox, Hist. Exch. 211. Pipe Roll of Rich. I, p. 9.
The king's reasons for refusing to ratify the election.

Henry refused all five, as he had in the preceding May declined to sanction the election of Richard Fitz Neal, Godfrey de Lucy, and Herbert the poor to the see of Lincoln; on that occasion alleging that all these candidates were rich enough already, and that for the future he would never give a bishopric to any one for love, or relationship, counsel, prayer, or price, but to those whom the Lord should choose. It was no doubt from something like a religious sense of right that he promoted Hugh of Lincoln and Archbishop Baldwin, but his other nominations both before and after this date can scarcely be reconciled with this declaration.

Nothing more was done in the matter until the king's last illness, when he nominated his son Geoffrey. During this time the ministers of the Exchequer received the temporalities of the see, Hubert Walter as dean had the care of the spiritualities, and the episcopal functions were discharged by the bishop of Durham, who as a principal member of the church of York seems to have claimed certain undefined rights in the cathedral body, if not also a voice in the election of the metropolitan, analogous with that which the southern bishops still occasionally exercised in the elections to Canterbury.

Very much of the interest of the subsequent history depends on the character and position of the canons of the chapter at this time. At the head of it was Hubert Walter, the nephew and chaplain of Ranulf Glanvill, justiciar of England and sheriff of Yorkshire. He of course was non-resident, having been generally in attendance on the king, either as the representative of the justiciar who remained in England whilst Henry was

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1 William le Vavassur was joined in the commission with them. Madox, Hist. Exch. 211. Pipe Roll of Rich. I., p. 9.
abroad, or in some capacity connected with the business of the Chancery. Hubert was a man, as his later history showed, of great ability in affairs, a well-trained and most practical statesman, and a thoroughly English minister to a thoroughly un-English king. It is in his relationship to Archbishop Geoffrey that the worst side of his character comes out. As having been elected to the see in 1186, and being in possession, as dean, of the spiritualities, he seems to have regarded himself as having a claim upon the archiepiscopate which the promotion of Geoffrey of course would disappoint. The power which he had in the chapter and diocese in these two capacities was exercised in his absence by his official, Master Bartholomew. Next in importance though not in dignity after the dean, were the archdeacons; Ralph, of the West Riding, of whom we know no more than transpires from his subsequent conduct to Geoffrey; Geoffrey Muschamp, of Cleveland, who afterwards was bishop of Lichfield; and William Testard, of Nottingham. The archdeaconry of the East Riding was annexed, it would seem, to the treasurership. The archdeaconry of

1 Hubert was made dean on the death of Robert Buteville in 1186; only a short time before he was elected to the archbishopric. He attests the king's letters dated at Guildford early in 1187 (Epp. Cant. p. 28). In 1189 he was in attendance on the king in Maine, and apparently had the royal seal at his disposal (Epp. Cant. pp. 282, 283, 284). William of S. Mare l'Eglise, who succeeded to his prebend at York in 1189, is called the king's protonotary, and it is possible that Hubert held the office before him, or that he acted as vicarchdeacon of the East Riding was annexed, it would seem, to the treasurership. The archdeaconry of

2 Hoveden, iii. 7. Benedict, ii. 77.

3 Geoffrey Muschamp was probably appointed by Henry II. just before his death, as his nomination is one of those said to be fraudulently sealed by Geoffrey as chancellor, and as his predecessor Jeremiah is mentioned in the Pipe Roll of I Rich. I. Hoveden, iii. 274.

4 This is an inference from the fact that no archdeacon of the East Riding is mentioned in these disputes, and that the churches which
Richmond, one of the most wealthy and influential posts in the English church, was filled by Godfrey de Lucy, the son of the late justiciar Richard de Lucy,¹ whom we find to have been in constant employment during Henry's reign in the judicial and financial work of the Exchequer, and who is known to us under Richard as bishop of Winchester, alternately the friend and victim of William Longchamp. Of the great dignities of the chapter, the treasurership was held by Geoffrey himself, the king's son; he had received it on the promotion of Ralph Warneville, his predecessor in the chancellorship, together with the archdeaconry of Rouen, and probably other important preferment.² The treasurership was a very valuable post, next in wealth to the deanery, and very far beyond the other dignities. It had been held in succession by S. William, afterwards archbishop; Hugh de Puiset; John of Poictiers, afterwards archbishop of Lyons; and Ralph of Warneville, the chancellor. It was properly in the gift of the archbishop, and in fact Roger, who died whilst the promotion of Ralph de Warneville was in contemplation, had promised the reversion of it to the precentor Hamo,³ thus preparing a new rival and a pertinacious one for his unlucky successor. The chancellorship of the church was vacant. The precentor Hamo was the only dignitary in constant residence. He had filled the office for many years, had been nominated, as we have just seen, by Roger to the treasurership, had been also proposed to the king for

¹ Ben. Pet. i. 334.
³ Ben. Pet. ii. 88. It is added that Henry II. had confirmed the appointment.

[Notes and references are specified by Hoveden as being in the treasurer's archdeaconry are situated in the East Riding. Hugh de Puiset seems to have held it with the treasurership, and as Hoveden was locally within it, it was no doubt an additional reason for his wish to strengthen the family interest there, by obtaining it for his nephew Bouchard. The first person known as archdeacon of the East Riding by that name is Walter of Wisbech, in 1218. Hoveden, ii. 70. Le Neve, ed. Hardy, iii. 141.]

The great dignities of the chapter.
Geoffrey the treasurer.
Hamo the precentor.
election to the see in 1186, and seems from the later history to have embodied all the traditions of the chapter as well as to have wielded all its local influence. Of the other canons only a few names have reached us, and those are of local interest only. But it seems not improbable that the hereditary principle in the tenure of these preferments still retained some vitality. The most important ecclesiastics in Yorkshire after these seem to have been Peter de Ros, archdeacon of Carlisle, and Roger Arundel, a canon of Southwell and custos of the temporalities of the see. It must not be forgotten that the archbishop had at Ripon, Beverley, and Southwell, three other chapters of canons well endowed and largely leavened with influential public men. Amongst these it would be strange if Roger Hoveden were not provided for; that he was so however we have no proof.

The news of Geoffrey's nomination to the archbishopric must have reached England with the news of Henry's death; and it was afterwards said that he turned the fact of his holding the great seal to advantage, by sealing letters of collation to vacant prebends, after his father's decease and before the seal of the new king was made. If the charge is true, his purpose probably was to insure himself a certain party among the canons. Hoveden very justly remarks upon the act as disgraceful if true;
but it does not follow that anything was done without the direction of Henry, whose death was sudden and whose last commands were confided to Geoffrey. Richard seems to have had no fault to find with the nomination at first; Henry's promise made on the 4th or 5th of July at Chinon was confirmed by the new sovereign at Rouen, on the occasion of his investiture with the duchy of Normandy on the 20th of the same month, and Geoffrey immediately despatched his officers with royal letters to York to replace those of the king and the dean, and to transact the business of the election, which must necessarily be conducted in canonical form. So little time was lost in doing this, that on the 10th of August the chapter assembled to make the election.

The prospect of having such an archbishop as Geoffrey after a long interval of quasi independence was not very welcome to the York clergy; but at first they seem to have made the best of it. The archdeacon of Richmond, who probably saw the way to promotion open elsewhere, sent a letter of proxy to assent to it; and a sufficient number of canons present followed the lead; but the act was not completed without a strong protest on the part of Master Bartholomew, the dean's official, who appealed to the pope against the election as invalid, in consequence of the absence of his principal, and of the bishop of Durham the only surviving suffragan. William of Newburgh tells us that the precentor was frightened into taking part; but as we find him a little later good friends with Geoffrey, on whose support he may have reckoned in his pursuit of the treasurership, it is probable that he joined willingly in the election.

Richard himself believed or found it convenient to believe the charge, and Geoffrey seems to have admitted or not to have contradicted it. Hoveden, iii. 274.

1 Benedict, ii. 73.
2 Benedict, ii. 77. Hoveden, iii. 7.
3 W. Newb. lib. iv. cap. 2. Ralph de Diceto also mentions that Hamo published the election in place of the absent dean, c. 653.
Geoffrey seems to have considered that his promptness in obtaining canonical election superseded the necessity of further watchfulness. He neglected to keep Richard in sight, and instead of following the court to England at once, spent some weeks in visiting his estates in Anjou and Touraine. Giraldus Cambrensis¹ alleges that he was reluctant to take orders, and so to cut himself off from a remote chance of succession to the throne. It is possible that there may be a grain of truth in the assertion; that he was anxious to retain his hold on the see of York without taking orders until it was absolutely necessary; it is also possible that Richard’s design was to draw him into Holy Orders by the hope of the archiepiscopate, intending, as was afterwards done, that by means of pecuniary exactions and enforced exile he should be disarmed of any power that the position entitled him to. All this is, however, conjectural. The fact was that from the very moment that his promotion was announced a large number of influences were set to work against him. Queen Eleanor naturally disliked her husband’s natural son, whose behaviour to his father was in such strong contrast with that of her own children. Bishop Hugh de Puisset was very much disinclined to accept as his superior so energetic a person as Geoffrey; and was not without hope of obtaining the see of York for his nephew Bouchard.² The ministerial party moved by Hubert Walter and represented by Ranulf Glanvill remonstrated against the appointment; and the canons who had been absent or in the minority at the election, moved also by Hubert Walter, pushed their appeal. This appeal was formally renewed by Hubert in the presence of five bishops, a few days after Richard’s landing, at Winchester; and the result was the issuing of a mandate from that place that the property both temporal and spiritual of the see should remain as it was at the

Geoffrey's servants displaced.

He makes good his position with Richard.

Promotions at the council of Pipewell.

Appeal of archbishop Baldwin.

death of the late king. In consequence of this Geoffrey's servants were displaced by those of the dean and the Exchequer.\(^1\)

Geoffrey, finding that he was quickly losing the hold on his brother which the remorse consequent on his father's death had given him, now hastened to England; met the representatives of the chapter at London, and after a show of reluctance gave his formal consent to the election.\(^2\) Thence he proceeded to Windsor, where after considerable difficulties he seems to have made good his position against all opponents, or perhaps to have outbid them in promises made to secure the fickle favour of Richard. He appeared at the coronation as elect of York;\(^3\) but the appeal probably rendered it necessary that the process of election should be renewed, or at all events receive papal confirmation.

At the council of Pipewell Richard attempted, by his distribution of ecclesiastical patronage, to satisfy all the opposing interests involved in this question. To Geoffrey he gave the archbishopric; Hubert Walter was reconciled by his appointment to Salisbury; Godfrey de Lucy got his expected promotion at Winchester; the bishop of Durham obtained for Bouchard the treasurership of York, vacated by Geoffrey, and gave his formal assent to the election of Geoffrey.\(^4\) The difficulties of the appointment were however complicated by the conduct of Archbishop Baldwin, who, remembering the old strife between York and Canterbury, forbade the consecration of Geoffrey by any other bishop than himself. This was especially unreasonable, as Baldwin was now starting for the Crusade; Geoffrey's confirmation at Rome could not be transacted before he departed, and the king had determined that Geoffrey should not set foot in England

\(^1\) Ben. Pet. ii. 77.  
\(^3\) Benedict, ii. 79.  
\(^4\) Gir. Camb, p. 383.
during his absence. Geoffrey does not seem to have been aware of this, for a week after the council he obtained priest's orders from the bishop of Whithern at Southwell, and sent Adam of Thornovere to Rome to apply for his pall;¹ the king however forbade his sailing at this time.

At this juncture a little common sense and self-restraint might have stood Geoffrey in good stead. He was eminently impracticable. He had for the moment got rid of his most formidable difficulties; his rivals were provided for by promotion, and he himself was almost in possession. Richard had allowed him to visit his see and had commissioned him to go as far as the Tweed at the head of the baronage of Yorkshire to meet William the Lion, whom he was to conduct to Canterbury to do homage. From Southwell he made his way to York where he speedily involved himself in new troubles.

Geoffrey had been at York sixteen years before, when as elect of Lincoln he had headed the king's forces against the Mowbrays in the great rebellion of 1174, and having beaten them had been received in the ancient city in triumph.² In that struggle he had shown qualities that seemed beyond his years; now, a man of mature age, he showed a want of tact that would have been remarkable in a boy. The promotion of Hubert Walter had vacated the deanery, and the king had given it to Henry, brother of the great William Marshall; he and Bouchard de Puisset were now at York waiting to be installed. Although the king's right to fill up the places, which became vacant during the vacancy of the see, seems to have been fully recognized, Geoffrey was vexed to see himself deprived of the two best preferments in his gift; the precentor Hamo had already, acting in the interest of the archbishop, refused to install the new

¹ Benedict, ii. 92.  
dignitaries on the ground that the right belonged to the archbishop only. Geoffrey himself refused on the excuse that until he was confirmed by the pope his acts would be liable to be invalidated. The dean and treasurer hastened off to complain to the king. Geoffrey was solemnly received in the minster, but as soon as the news reached Richard he ordered all the lay estates of his brother in England and France to be seized. He does not however seem to have threatened his tenure of his canonical rights.

From York Geoffrey proceeded northwards, met the king of Scots, and brought him to Canterbury, where he found Richard's attitude extremely threatening. His enemies had improved their opportunities. Hubert Walter, although now bishop of Salisbury, renewed his claim; Hugh de Puisset vouched for the uncanonical character of Geoffrey's election; stories of Geoffrey's private behaviour were invented and brought to Richard; he had been used to put the cover of a gold bowl on his head and say, "Is not this head fit to wear a crown?" and he had trodden underfoot a portrait of Richard, saying that such a king as he ought so to be treated. And now the disappointed dean and treasurer put in their word; the man was a murderer, the son of an adulterer and a whore, unworthy to be promoted to the priesthood.

Geoffrey, again unwisely, betook himself to John of Anagni, the papal legate, who was then at Dover, and obtained from him confirmation in defiance of these appeals; so little did he understand the nature of his brother. Richard was extremely indignant, but there was a way in which his indignation could at any time be assuaged. He extorted a promise from Geoffrey to pay him 2,000l.; the appeals were then withdrawn, the

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The legate’s confirmation recognized, and Geoffrey’s possessions, personal and official, restored. He in his turn had to confirm the appointments of the king’s nominees, and promised to renew the covenants which his predecessor had made with the bishop of Durham.

Again Geoffrey started for the north. The king left Dover on the 11th of December. Early in January the archbishop elect, the dean, and the treasurer were at York; and before the twelve days of Christmas were over they were in a thicker fray than ever. On the eve of the Epiphany the archbishop proposed to attend vespers in the minster in state. The precentor Hamo and the other canons who were on his side waited to receive him in procession. Whether Geoffrey was behind time or not does not appear; but when the procession reached the choir they found that the candles were lighted and that the dean and treasurer had begun the service. So marked and gratuitous an insult roused Geoffrey at once, he commanded the choir to be silent, and the precentor in a more constitutional way seconded the command. The order was obeyed and Geoffrey himself began to sing the service; thereupon the treasurer ordered the candles to be extinguished; the management of the lights belonged to the treasurer as much as that of the singing did to the precentor; his command also was obeyed, and Geoffrey finished the vespers in the dark. When the service was over he protested loudly against the insult, and suspended the church from Divine service until an apology should be made him.\(^1\)

Geoffrey although impracticable was placable enough; on the following day he offered to meet the dean and treasurer and to receive amends. The church was full of clergy and citizens anxious, no doubt, to see the new archbishop and canons, as well as to witness the issue of the struggle. The two parties met in the choir, and Geoffrey

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1 Hoveden, iii. 31, 32.
was ready to be reconciled; but the two dignitaries not only refused an apology but tried to get up a demonstration against him. A riot followed, the citizens took Geoffrey’s part and were with difficulty restrained by him from falling on his opponents. Dismayed at the result they had recourse to flight; one took refuge in the tomb of S. William, the other in the deanery. Unhappily Geoffrey was not now content with their discomfiture, he excommunicated them both and closed the church.¹

This unfortunate affray defeated one of the main objects of Geoffrey’s visit. It offended Hugh de Puiset, who, as justiciar, forbade the tenants of the see to pay any money to the elect;² and it opened the eyes of the citizens to his uncertain tenure of his office, so that it was impossible to raise a loan. He had to follow Richard to France without the money that he had promised. He found him at Lions,³ about Easter, told his story, and found himself again dispossessed. Not content with this the king now sent the bishop of Bath, Reginald Fitz-Jocelin; Nicolas, dean of S. Julian’s at Le Mans; and Bouchard de Puiset, to Rome to forbid his recognition by the pope.⁴ For this, however, they were too late; Clement III. had already on the 7th of March confirmed the election and sent the pall.⁵ After another tedious negotiation with Richard, in the course of which he offered to surrender the estates of the see for a yearly pension, he obtained grace. At Vezelai he paid 800 marks down; 1,000l. the king forgave him; the balance of the debt he was to account for at the Exchequer.⁶ Before he parted with Richard he had to swear that he would not return to England within three years. Geoffrey

¹ Hoveden, iii. 32. ⁵ Ralph de Diceto, 653. The pope mentions that Alexander III. had already granted Geoffrey a dispensation; from the bar, no doubt, of illegitimacy.
³ Gir. Camb. p. 386. Richard was at Lions in Easter week.
⁴ Gir. Camb. p. 386.
retired to Tours, whence he sent his agents to Rome to watch the proceedings of his adversaries, and if they could not obtain an order for his speedy consecration, to procure the cancelling of the letters which Hugh de Puiset had obtained releasing him from his dependence on the see of York. Geoffrey's agents on this occasion were Simon of Apulia, an Italian lawyer, who had served Henry II., and whom he now, or a little later, made chancellor of York; his friend Hamo the precentor; William Testard archdeacon of Nottingham, and Ralph Wigetoft canon of Ripon; all of whom, except the last, afterwards took a decided part against him.¹

For a year and a quarter Geoffrey stayed at Tours. During this time Longchamp was supreme in England; Hugh de Puiset reduced to insignificance, and living at Howden; the dean and treasurer all-powerful in York. What little action was taken in his concerns was carried on at Rome and Messina. In April 1191 Eleanor was instructed by Richard to inform the pope that the objections to his brother's consecration were removed.² Celestine III., within a month of his own elevation to the papaey, issued an order to the archbishop of Tours to consecrate him, and on the 11th of May authorized him to exact from Bishop Hugh de Puiset the profession of obedience which Clement III. had allowed him to decline.³ Of this Hugh was immediately informed by his agents, and forthwith appealed against it as involving a grievance to his church, placing his own person and church, with all its members, under the special protection of the holy see.⁴ According to Giraldus, the arch-

² Hoveden, iii. 100.
³ This letter is printed in the Monasticon, vi. 1188. The privilege which Hugh had obtained from Clement III. is described by William of Newburgh, lib. iv. cap. 27.
⁴ Hoveden, iii. 169. Benedict, ii. 225.
bishop had been released from his promise to stay away from England for three years, before he parted from Richard; but the exact truth or falsehood of this statement has never been cleared up. He now prepared for his consecration and for his return home as soon as it should be completed.

He was consecrated by the archbishop of Tours in the church of S. Maurice at Tours on the 18th of August, and received the pall the same day from the abbot of Marmoutier. That done he issued a letter to the bishop of Durham to attend a synod of the province of York on the Monday after Michaelmas, in which he should both renew his profession and give an account of his conduct in detaining the procurations due to the see of York from the jurisdictions of Allertonshire and Howdenshire. On the receipt of this summons Hugh again appealed to Rome.

The story of the landing of Geoffrey, his imprisonment and release, the part he took in the humiliation of Longchamp, and the revolution that followed, need not be told here. He joined for a moment with Hugh de Puiset and William Marshall in this business, but almost before it was over the quarrel broke out again. Longchamp's deposition took place on the 10th of October. That done, Hugh laid his case before the bishops. Geoffrey hastened by Northampton, where he had studied in earlier years, and was still sufficiently popular to be welcomed with a procession, to York, where he was enthroned with great solemnity on All Saints' day. Bishop Hugh failed to make his appearance, and after three citations, to which he replied by three appeals, was excommunicated, Geoffrey so far disregarding mode-

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3 Hoveden, iii. 168, 169.  
4 See the preface to vol. iii., pp. lxxv-lxxxiii.  
5 Gir. Camb. p. 400.  
6 Benedict, ii. 225, 226.
rate counsels as to direct that the sacred vessels in which Holy Communion was celebrated in the bishop's presence should be broken up, as polluted.\(^1\) Hugh took up his residence again at Howden, where John visited him at Christmas; he also urged his appeal at Rome. Exasperated by this contempt Geoffrey excommunicated him a second time in more violent terms than before on Candlemas day 1192.\(^2\)

Not content apparently with making one inveterate and powerful enemy, and involving himself in one suit at Rome, Geoffrey soon after this excommunicated the prioress of Clementhorpe for resisting his command to reduce her little nunnery to dependence on the distant abbey of Godstow.\(^3\) She also carried her wrongs to the pope. The heavy hand of Geoffrey fell also on the chapter. Henry Marshall and Bouchard de Puiset were stimulated by the bishop of Durham to renew their appeals, and a new quarrel emerged, the causes of which are obscure, but which alienated from the archbishop his old servant Adam of Thornovere, Peter de Ros, the archdeacon of Carlisle, and Hugh Murdac, another of the canons. As usual, Geoffrey excommunicated them, and as usual, they appealed.\(^4\) Matters looked so threatening that at Midlent the queen summoned the two prelates to London to compel them to keep the peace. They obeyed the summons; Hugh offered to submit to the arbitration of the bishops, but Geoffrey insisted that he should sue to him for absolution and promise obedience. Hugh answered that if that was the archbishop's view he would make no peace with him unless he would publicly confess that his sentence of excommunication was null. Geoffrey would not hear of this, and having added to the number of his enemies the bishop of London and other suffragans

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\(^{1}\) Hoveden, iii. 169.
\(^{2}\) Benedict, ii. 237.
\(^{3}\) Hoveden, iii. 188. Benedict, ii. 240.
\(^{4}\) Benedict, ii. 248.
PREFACE.

of Canterbury, whom he had outraged by having his cross borne erect at the Temple, returned somewhat discomfited to his own province.\(^1\)

It was just at this juncture that a commission was brought from Rome, directed to the bishops of Lincoln and Rochester and the abbot of Peterborough, ordering them to declare that the pope had annulled the sentence against Bishop Hugh;\(^2\) and further enjoining on them that if on inquiry they found that the archbishop had issued the orders for destroying the sacred vessels, the bishop should no longer be bound to make his profession of obedience. The judges delegate undertook to arrange this quarrel. After a hearing early in the spring they adjourned to Midsummer day, and from Midsummer day, as the bishop of Durham was absent from England, to the feast of S. Calixtus.\(^3\) The other disputes queen Eleanor and the justiciar, Walter of Coutances, took in hand. It was necessary to send Hugh de Puiset to France on important business; he refused to go unless the questions were settled. Under this stimulus they issued peremptory letters to Geoffrey to satisfy his discontented chapter, and directed William Stuteville, in case of his noncompliance, to seize the whole estates of the see.\(^4\)

It would have been madness to disobey such a monition; fortunately for Geoffrey his opponents were growing tired of the contest. Bouchard de Puiset, Adam of Thornovere, Hugh Murdac, and Peter de Ros consented to ask formally for absolution, and Geoffrey in return for

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1 Benedict, ii. 238.
2 Hoveden, iii. 170, 171. Benedict, ii. 245. The latter chronicle enumerates here the privileges which Bishop Hugh acquired from Celestine III. No one was to have power to excommunicate him without special mandate from Rome. He was not to be required to make his profession at all. Hugh was not satisfied with this; he sent back his agents to demand entire independence of Geoffrey. The same conclusion is inferred from the language of William of Newburgh, lib. iv. cap. 27.
3 Hoveden, iii. 172.
4 Benedict, ii. 247.
the concession reinstated them in their stalls and emolu-
ments.\(^1\) Hamo and Bouchard also under his auspices patched up an agreement, by which they divided the revenue of the treasurership. Bouchard was to hold it for life, unless he changed his profession or received higher promotion; Hamo in such case to have the re-
version of the dignity. Only the dean held out, and against him the archbishop hurled an avalanche of curses, going so far as to place his metropolitan city under inter-
dict so long as it was polluted by Henry Marshall's presence.\(^2\)

At this point we lose the guidance of the Chronicle of Benedict, and Hoveden does not immediately take up the thread of the story; but it would appear from a scanty notice preserved by Gervase of Canterbury,\(^3\) that the judges delegate arranged a reconciliation between Geoffrey and Hugh at Northampton in October, the old bishop consenting at last to recognize his canonical supe-
rior. The reconciliation lasted for some time, being no doubt strengthened by the union which was effected throughout the north against John, who had taken up arms on the news of his brother's imprisonment. The most obdurate of Geoffrey's opponents was also got rid of soon after. Richard whilst in Germany nominated the dean of York to the see of Exeter.

Up to this time we may fairly regard Geoffrey as not more sinned against than sinning. All the difficulties of his position, the provoking attitude of his opponents, the low standard of ecclesiastical morality, are insufficient to excuse the wanton exercise of the awful weapon of ex-
communication. Henceforth we see him the victim not only of grossly unfair treatment by Richard, but of the less obvious persistent hostility of Hubert Walter, and of cruel ingratitude on the part of his own servants.

\(^1\) Benedict, ii. 248.  
\(^2\) Benedict, ii. 249.  
\(^3\) Gervase, c. 1580, 1581.
His own conduct is as far as ever from being impeccable; he is still a violent, intemperate, impracticable man of the world, but he has no longer to contend with opponents whose party principles and prejudices palliate the guilt of their conduct towards him; his enemies are now the men whose fortunes he has founded, and for whom in great measure the actions have been done which gave an excuse for the enmity of his earlier foes.

The news of Richard's imprisonment reconciled him for a time with Hugh de Puiset, and the promotion of Henry Marshall delivered him from his greatest personal enemy in the chapter. But the necessities of Richard's ransom compelled him to take measures which alienated all his friends at York, whilst the negotiations for the appointment of a new dean resulted in the conversion of his oldest and most confidential servant into a bitter and inveterate personal enemy, whose conduct became a precedent and excuse for a long series of desertions. The promotion of Hubert Walter to the archbishopric of Canterbury, shortly followed by his nomination to the justiciarship, and a year later by his appointment as legate, placed the unfortunate and imprudent Geoffrey at the mercy of an old and honourable but still determined enemy.

Amongst the first persons in England to whom Richard in his great emergency applied for help in raising the ransom money was Geoffrey, on whom, notwithstanding his treatment of him, he felt he could depend, both as his father's son, as an ally who had everything to fear from John, and as a source of revenue which if fairly managed would not be soon exhausted. Geoffrey showed the greatest alacrity in taking up arms for the defence of Richard's rights; and with scarcely less zeal, tempered however by no slight misgivings, he undertook to negotiate for supplies. He laid the matter of the ransom

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1 Hoveden, iii. 222.
before the Chapter of York; ¹ throughout the kingdom, he said, it had been agreed that a very great sacrifice should be made, it was necessary that they should offer a fourth part of their annual revenue. Hoveden, in telling the story, rises in tone for the moment to dilate on the ingratitude of the clergy. He called, counselled, entreated those canons with whom he had had the most friendly relations, whom he had enriched and promoted, to do this. They at once turned round upon him, declared that he was attempting to destroy the liberties of his Church, and that from henceforth they would have nothing more to do with him. The threat seems to have been literally carried out. They left him to the company of his household servants, closed the minster, forbade the ringing of the bells, stripped the altars, locked up the archbishop's stall in the choir, and blocked up the door by which he entered the church from his palace. Coincident with this unseemly state of things arose the quarrel with Simon of Apulia.

This unprincipled adventurer we have already seen acting as Geoffrey's confidential servant. He had been his agent at Rome in 1190; he it was who commanded the archbishop's retinue when he returned to England; ² and Geoffrey had rewarded him with the gift of the chancellorship of York, and even promised him the reversion of the provostship of Beverley. In gratitude and hope alike he might have been patient with a master whose difficulties he knew better than anyone else. The news of Henry Marshall's appointment to Exeter reached Geoffrey whilst he was staying at Ripon, ³ and he prepared to fill up the deanery. He had a brother named Peter, probably, as he is not called son of Henry II., the son of his mother by one of her other

¹ Hoveden, iii. 222. ² Gir. Camb. p. 390. ³ Hoveden, iii. 221.
Dispute as to the filling up of the deanery.

Simon of Apulia elected by the chapter.

Appeals on the subject of the deanery.

Richard connives.

Geoffrey fails to obey the king's summons.

lovers. Peter had been made archdeacon of Lincoln some years before. Geoffrey now proposed to make him dean of York. He was however at Paris, and Richard had sent from Germany an urgent letter desiring that John of Bethune, provost of Douay and brother to the advocate Baldwin, who had accompanied him on his return from Palestine and shared his captivity, should be appointed. In order to avoid doing this, or leaving the preferment open, Geoffrey consulted his two friends, Simon and Hamo, who were with him at Ripon, and the result of the deliberation was that Simon was nominated. Shortly after, when the dread of Richard's interference had blown over, Geoffrey declared that he intended him merely as a stop gap for his brother Peter. Simon insisted that the appointment was bona fide, and threw himself on the sympathy of the discontented canons, helping, no doubt, to organize the opposition on the subject of the money grant. The chapter elected him to the deanery, and then Geoffrey, attempting to disarm Richard's anger, named to the same office Philip of Poictiers, the king's favourite chaplain and clerk, who became afterwards bishop of Durham.

Both parties now appealed to Rome, and both took the precaution of laying the circumstances before the king in Germany. Simon visited Richard in person, and so got the first word. The king at first contented himself with forbidding the appeals and summoning Geoffrey into his presence; but finding that Geoffrey did not obey the summons, he allowed the canons free action against him.1

The archbishop's delay or disobedience was thus accounted for. He had started on the receipt of the king's order, and had reached the coast, when he received the intelligence of the closing of the minster and the other

1 Hoveden, iii. 229, 230.
outrageous doings of the chapter.¹ He immediately sent to York by his clerks a peremptory command to the clergy of the cathedral to return to their duties; this they treated with contempt, and the archbishop found that he must return in person. He did so, arrived at York on the first of January 1194, and found the church deserted.² Taking counsel, as Hoveden tells us, with prudent men, he substituted for the contumacious clerks another body of chaplains, and excommunicated the canons. The latter, determined to lose no time, sent four of their number to the king. These four were Hamo, the precentor, who henceforth throws his influence into the scale against Geoffrey; Geoffrey Muschamp, archdeacon of Cleveland, for whom the archbishop had in earlier years obtained his prebend; William Testard, archdeacon of Nottingham, who, like Hamo, had in 1190 acted as his agent at Rome; and the archdeacon of the West Riding.³ They reached Richard before he heard from his brother, took advantage of his momentary irritation, and obtained leave to carry their appeal to Rome. Simon of Apulia was allowed at the same time to prosecute his claim to the deanery, and the whole party proceeded to lay their complaints before Celestine III. A few days after Richard’s liberation was arranged, and in March he returned to England.

With Richard’s return began new complications for Geoffrey. Nottingham, the first place to which Richard directed his way after landing, was in Geoffrey’s diocese. There Geoffrey met his brother, and was not unkindly received. He had the good sense even to avoid giving

¹ Hoveden, iii. 223. Gervase says that he had got a good way towards the sea, going by cross country roads in order to carry his cross erect in the province of Canterbury; but was ordered back by the archdeacon of Canterbury, and returned to York, c. 1586. That was perhaps the Canterbury view of the story.
² Hoveden, iii. 229, 230.
³ Hoveden, iii. 272.
new offence to Hubert Walter; and by not carrying his cross erect, showed that he had placed himself under strong restraint. Unfortunately this was not met with like moderation on Hubert’s part. He insisted on having his cross carried erect, and when Geoffrey remonstrated, somewhat insolently threw doubts on his right to be regarded as archbishop, winding up with an appeal to Rome against him. Geoffrey complained to the king, who declined to arbitrate, and recommended him not to appear with his cross at the approaching coronation for fear of a quarrel. This caused Geoffrey to absent himself from the coronation, but, anxious to maintain his right, he presented himself to the king at Waltham, near Portsmouth, with cross erect. It was now Hubert’s turn to remonstrate, but Richard refused to settle the dispute; it was, he said, the pope’s duty, not his. Hubert nursed his anger until the king was gone. Notwithstanding this rising cloud, the archbishop and the king were on the best terms during Richard’s visit. Geoffrey sat on the king’s left hand in the great council of Nottingham, was allowed to purchase the sheriffdom of Yorkshire for 3,000 marks, and to treat with contempt the complaints made against him by clerks and laymen of his diocese for pecuniary exactions, the secret of which was well enough known to the king. He attended the king also at Winchester and Portsmouth; although he absented himself from the coronation, it was partly at the king’s request. Richard showed his sense of this behaviour by restoring to him his estates in Anjou and Touraine, and by compelling Longchamp to apologize for, or disavow in legal form, the ill-treatment that Geoffrey had been subjected to at Dover in 1191.

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1 Hoveden, iii. 239.  
2 Hoveden, iii. 246, 247, 250.  
3 Hoveden, iii. 240.  
4 Hoveden, iii. 241.  
5 Hoveden, iii. 242.  
6 Hoveden, iii. 246, 247.  
7 Hoveden, iii. 250, 251.
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But although Richard may have been sincere in his desire of peace and goodwill to the unfortunate Geoffrey, every glimpse of good luck only served to enhance the disappointment which uniformly followed. Hoveden himself exclaims against his folly in undertaking the sheriffdom, and throwing himself into the power of the king in a lay office. The complaints which at Nottingham and in his brother's presence he was strong enough to ignore, were only silenced for a time. The ear of the justiciar was quick, where the king had been willingly deaf. The news from Rome also was untoward, and the dean and canons were on their way home.

The archbishop of Canterbury waited some months before he took the first step in accomplishing the ruin of the rival primate. In August or September, however, when Richard had got as far as Guienne, Hubert, in his character of justiciar, sent to York a commission of the royal judges, Earl Roger Bigot, William of Warenne, William Stuteville, Hugh Bardolf, William Briwere, Geoffrey Haget, and William FitzRichard, to hear the complaints of the canons. These barons carried matters with a high hand. The archbishop's servants who were accused of robbery they took and imprisoned; they then summoned Geoffrey himself to appear before them. He refused, took refuge in his manor at Ripon, and was declared contumacious. The whole estates of the see, with the exception of Ripon, were then taken possession of by the king's officers; the canons were replaced in their stalls; and although the justiciar did not venture to assume the sheriffdom or to remove Geoffrey's sub-sheriff, Roger of Batvent, he placed over them both, as custodes, William Stuteville and Geoffrey Haget. This

1 Hoveden, iii. 261, 262.
2 Roger de Batvent acts as under-sheriff to Geoffrey to the end of Richard's reign, as may be ascertained from the Pipe Rolls; at the same time it seems very probable that Geoffrey never paid the 3,000 marks which he had bid for the office. This sum was still due in 1200. Hoveden, iv. 140.
Unjustifiable conduct of the ministers. was one of the most arbitrary and high-handed proceedings of Hubert's ministry; and hardly anything, either on moral, legal, or constitutional grounds, can be said in excuse for it. The restoration of the canons by force to the places which they had deserted, and to which they had refused to return at the orders of the archbishop, was extremely irregular; and the whole transaction is a serious blot on Hubert's fame.

Scarcely had Geoffrey realized the blow that personal enmity had directed, when the appellants arrived in triumph from Rome. The same month, before Michaelmas, Hamo and the archdeacons of Cleveland and Nottingham presented themselves with papal letters. They had had indeed signal success. Simon of Apulia had been confirmed in the deanery by the pope, the sentences of excommunication issued against the canons had been annulled, and a mandate issued for the restoration of their ecclesiastical rights and properties which had been already effected by the authority of the justiciar. But this was not all: Celestine III. by letters dated May 31 had commissioned the dean of Lincoln and the archdeacons of Leiceste and Northampton, to compel the archbishop not merely to restore the property, but to give satisfaction for the loss involved in the seizure of it, and empowered them to assess the damages; a week after he issued a second commission to the bishop of Lincoln, the archdeacon of Northampton, and the prior of Pomfret, in which he rehearsed the heavy charges laid by the clergy of the province and confirmed by the evidence of thirteen abbots, eleven of them Premonstratensian, against Geoffrey. In these the archbishop is described as neglecting all the duties of his high office, as spending his time in hunting and hawking; he never holds ordinations or synods or consecrates churches; the only spiritual function he discharges is excommunication; he

1 Hoveden, iii. 272.  
2 Hoveden, iii. 285, 286.  
3 Hoveden, iii. 279–281.
destroys the liberties of the Church, prevents appeals to the holy see, and frustrates by violence the execution of its commands; he misuses his patronage in the most shameless way, shows a marked contempt of the religious orders, and has robbed and maltreated his own canons. The delegates are empowered to hear evidence and send it sealed to Rome. If there be a lack of evidence the archbishop is to be made to find compurgators, three bishops and three abbots: if he fail to do that, notwithstanding the lack of evidence, he is to be deposed. If however he has before receiving their citation appealed to Rome, they are to give him three months' notice, at the expiration of which he must appear at Rome. A more outrageous sentence on an ex-parte statement was never issued, nor is it to be supposed that Celestine, arbitrary and violent as he was, would have condescended to such injustice except under strong pressure. It is to be feared that the measure was pressed by the whole force of the royal agents acting under Hubert Walter's direction. The fact that the eleven complaining abbots were Premonstratensians, members of an order specially affected by Hubert, looks like a strong confirmation of this conjecture.

But the canons had not been content with this, they had procured a privilege which was to preserve them against all attacks, not only of Geoffrey but of any other archbishop; this is dated on the 16th of June. It first confirms the dean and chapter in the possession of all their estates, customs, and liberties in the ordinary form

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1 Hubert's abbey, founded at West Dereham, was Premonstratensian, and in his final concord with the monks of Canterbury he proposed to erect a similar house at Lambeth. Itanulf Glanvill, his uncle, founded another, Leystone, in Suffolk; Glanvill's son-in-law, William of Auberville, founded Langdon, in Kent; Helewisia, daughter of Glanvill, founded Coverham abbey in Yorkshire. A large proportion of the Premonstratensian houses in England was thus founded by Hubert's kinsfolk.
New privileges of the chapter.

Restoration of the canons, Sept. 29.

Geoffrey sees to Normandy and purchases Richard's goodwill in November.

of charters, but then goes on to direct that the archbishop shall not have the power to issue sentence against any member of the chapter without the consent of the whole body, nor to relax sentences issued by them against their enemies; that the dean shall not do homage to the archbishop, that the archbishop's nominees to the vacant stalls shall be made to take an oath to the dean and chapter, and be installed by the precentor under the mandate of that body, and that if the archbishop shall fail to fill up the vacancies within the time prescribed by the Lateran council, the chapter shall do it in his place by apostolic authority and without appeal. The last of these powers they intended to use with unscrupulous pertinacity against the archbishop.

We are not to suppose that all these letters were produced at once, although probably the archbishop's agents would be able to guard him against a surprise. The mandate for the restoration of the canons was however published on Michaelmas day by Hugh de Puiset, and the report of the further measures in contemplation had the effect of hurrying Geoffrey to Normandy. He first appealed against the papal sentence and then betook himself to the king, who for a payment of 2,000 marks ordered him to be reinstated in all his rights and properties, and to be no longer molested by lay power in the exercise of his spiritual functions. This decision of Richard, dated at Mamers on the 3rd of November, had the effect of annulling the proceedings taken by the justiciar in September. At the same time the king at Geoffrey's instigation directed that the estates of three of the canons, Geoffrey archdeacon of Cleveland, William of Stigandby, and Master Erard, should be seized, as their title to the preferment was insufficient. These were the men whose collations had

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1 It is printed in Wilkins, Concilia, i. 503.
2 Hoveden, iii. 272, 273.
3 Hoveden, iii. 274.
been sealed by Geoffrey as chancellor after his father's Geoffrey death; they had turned against him the power which his carelessness or chicanery had placed in their hands. Having gained these advantages Geoffrey determined to continue by his brother's side at least until the first violence of the papal procedure should have broken, or more favourable terms could be obtained from Rome. He appointed as his officials at York Master Honorius and Gerard de Rowell, on whom devolved the burden of defending his interests in his absence. He himself did not return to England until after Richard's death.

The year 1195 opened with a tardy attempt on the part of the judges delegate to examine into the charges against the archbishop. The bishop of Lincoln and his colleagues had given Geoffrey ample time to appeal. On the 15th of January they formally began proceedings at York, heard evidence on both sides, and in accordance with their instructions directed both parties to present themselves at Rome on the 1st of June. About the same time, apparently, the other commission which was directed to assess the damages of the canons held two sittings, one at Torksey, the other at Ancaster, and having heard the claims of the injured parties adjudged the archbishop to pay them a thousand marks.

A month after the opening of the commission, the new dean, Simon of Apulia, made his appearance at York; before he reached the gates he was met by a large party

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1 Hoveden, iii. 274.  
2 Hoveden, iii. 298.  
3 Hoveden, iii. 230, 231, 278–282.  
4 Hoveden, iii. 286. William Testard, in 1197, paid 300 marks into the exchequer, "pro habendo " archidiaconatu suo, secundum " quod ei adjudicatus fuit a judi- " cibus delegatis. Madox, Hist. Ex. 336. Simon of Apulia, in 1195, paid 666l. 13s. 4d., "de dono suo" (Rot. Pip. 7 Rich. L), and in the eighth year, 1196, Master Erard, the archdeacon of Cleveland, and William of Stigandby owed 100l. for recovering the king's favour. In this case Simon's payment at least must have been equivalent to a purchase of his preferments, but it was perhaps dictated by a sense of prospective favours.
Simon of Apulia forces his way to the minster. of citizens and clergy; he produced letters of confirmation from both the pope and the king and insisted on being received as dean. Two of the archbishop's adherents Master John Otui, and William de Bonneville, protested against this being done until the whole controversy was settled, and in their intemperate zeal laid hands on Simon. He, in the usual way, replied by excommunication. The citizens thereupon gave way and deserted the assailants. He made his way to the minster and was received by the canons in procession on the 12th of February, and on the 15th the bishop of Durham visited the church and confirmed the sentence issued by him against the archbishop's friends. This was Hugh de Puiset's last public act; he was taken ill, on his way from York to London, at Doncaster, and died at Howden on the 3rd of March.¹

Although Hugh de Puiset had not taken an overt part against Geoffrey since Richard's return, he had generally been found ready to help the other side. His death no doubt delivered the archbishop from a dangerous rival. It would however have been absurd in Hugh to have joined in the accusations made against Geoffrey at Rome, as nearly all of them might have been brought with much greater plausibility against himself.

The absence of Geoffrey and the death of Hugh de Puiset left the north of England without a resident bishop. The approach of Easter made it an important question to what source the clergy should look for the supply of Chrism, the consecration of which ought to take place on Maundy Thursday. Geoffrey's suffragan, Bishop John of Whithern, came to York a few days before, and offered to perform the ceremony, but the dean and chapter refused his services; he went on to Southwell and did it there, the archbishop's officials undertaking the distribution of it. It is a sign of the prevalent spirit

¹ Hoveden, iii. 283–285.
that the archdeacon of Cleveland on the receipt of the sacred substance threw it on a dunghill. The York clergy applied to Hugh of Lincoln for a supply, but here Archdeacon Peter, the archbishop's brother, interposed and forbade the bishop to grant their request, appealing to Rome on his behalf.  

Hubert Walter had now an opportunity of showing his contempt for Geoffrey. The pope had made him on the 18th of March legate of all England. His first measure under his new powers was to come and hold a visitation at York. He came as justiciar as well as legate, on the 11th of June; on the 12th his officers held Assizes; on the 13th he visited St. Mary's and deposed the abbot; and on the two following days held a council at which the leading members of the chapter, Simon, Hamo, and the archdeacons of Cleveland and Nottingham attended. The canons passed at his council are important, but they cannot be shown to have any special bearing on the state of the Church in the province, or on the quarrels with Geoffrey. Although the act of visitation was one of ostentatious contempt, it could hardly have done any harm to the latter; the legate was morally restrained from any substantial injustice; and the only question touching Geoffrey's interests which arose on the occasion was left undecided. The archdeaconry of the West Riding, vacant by death, had been given by Geoffrey first to his brother Peter, who wisely kept out of the hornet's nest, and then to Peter of Dinan,
Hubert avoids involving himself in the local quarrel.

Proceedings at Rome.

The archbishop is suspended, December 1195.

S. Hugh of Lincoln refuses to deprive Geoffrey.

chancellor of Brittany. Peter of Dinan on this occasion demanded installation; the dean and chapter insisted that the appointment under Pope Celestine's recent charter had lapsed to them; Geoffrey's officials appealed, and Hubert not seeing his way to a decision allowed their appeal to stand.¹ Hubert paid a second visit to York at Christmas, but nothing seems to have been done affecting the main question. On one of these two occasions the archbishop's officials refused to receive him as legate, and were in consequence removed by him; but on consideration he restored them, and they retained their authority until the arrival of the sentence from Rome.²

In the meantime Geoffrey, in attendance on his brother, was letting matters go against him by default at both York and Rome. The 1st of June came, and he did not present himself to the pope. Celestine, unwilling to be harsh with him, prolonged the day of grace until the 18th of November. No appearance was entered then, and, a month after, definite sentence was issued; Geoffrey, as contumacious, was suspended from his spiritual functions, and the administration of the diocese was committed to the dean. Three sets of letters were despatched on the 23rd of December, to the dean, to the clergy, and to the judges delegate; the last enjoining the continuation of the inquiry and the furthering of additional evidence to Rome.³

This last injunction was probably the result of an application of the canons who were offended at the remissness of the judges delegate; they had applied for a decree of suspension against Geoffrey, which S. Hugh had refused, declaring that he would rather be suspended himself than suspend the archbishop.⁴

Richard was now

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¹ Hoveden, iii. 297, 298. ² Hoveden, iii. 316, 317. ³ Hoveden, iii. 231, 281, 309-319. ⁴ Hoveden, iii. 305, 306.
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Growing tired of his brother's company. More than once they had had to renew their reconciliation; but Geoffrey, as imprudent as ever, bethought himself at last of rebuking Richard for his sins. This was more than the king at the moment would stand. He went into a violent passion, and directed that he should be dispossessed both of his archiepiscopal estates and of the sheriffdom.¹

The papal mandates reached York early in 1196; the archbishop's officials were removed, the dean undertook the spiritual jurisdiction, and for the time had reached the summit of his ambition. Geoffrey, on hearing the news, made his way at last to Rome, where he appears to have arrived in the spring. With some difficulty he obtained a hearing from Celestine, who was justly provoked at his contumacy; that hearing, however, served materially to alter the complexion of affairs. The accusers admitted that they were unable to prove the charges, and a complete acquittal followed. New letters were issued declaring the innocence of Geoffrey, and "insinuating" that the accusations were false and fictitious.²

Richard's indignation at this news seems to prove that his previous show of reconciliation, however often repeated, was insincere, and that his sole purpose throughout the struggle was to wring money from Geoffrey; whilst they were friends he extorted it in one way, when they quarrelled he confiscated the estates of the see. He now saw that the papal acquittal would make Geoffrey practically independent of him; he immediately directed that the sentence should be ignored, and took upon himself the bestowal of the vacant preferments. Geoffrey hearing this, returned from France, which he had already reached on his way home, and retired to Rome.³ We lose sight of him for some time: he probably remained, if not at Rome, out of Richard's

¹ Hoveden, iii. 287. ² Hoveden, iv. 8. ³ Hoveden, iv. 7.
Rumours of poison and forged letters.

reach for more than a year. During this time very untoward reports were brought to England. Ralph of Wigetoft, Geoffrey’s agent at Rome, being on his deathbed, confessed to the pope that he had sent forged letters to England. Celestine warned Hubert Walter of this, and by his commands Roger of Ripon, the bearer of Ralph’s letters, was arrested, and a quantity of poison found upon him. This he declared his master had given him to poison Dean Simon, who accordingly was summoned to London; the poison, in the shape of gold rings and a belt, was presented to him, and, with the letters, burnt at Tothill fields. The bearer of them was imprisoned. The story, of which the details are very suspicious, was made a ground for new charges against Geoffrey.  

The peremptory action of Richard decided the struggle for the York preferments against the archbishop, whose absence in 1196 lost him some very fine windfalls. Bouchard de Puiset died, and poor Hamo was again disappointed of the treasurership; the king gave it to Master Eustace the keeper of his seal; William de Chimeli was made a bishop, and the archdeaconry of Richmond was likewise bestowed on Eustace. Peter de Ros, archdeacon of Carlisle, died and his stall was given to Aimeri Thebert, nephew of the new bishop of Durham, who had succeeded Bouchard in his Durham preferment.  

In all these cases Geoffrey’s claims were passed over, and the chapter did not venture to assert their right against the king. Richard further nominated Adam of Thornover, Geoffrey’s old servant and recent opponent, to the archdeaconry of the West Riding; but Peter of Dinan, whom the archbishop himself had appointed, managed also to obtain a nomination from the king. The two claimants thereupon agreed to divide the revenues of the

1 Hoveden, iv. 15, 16.  
2 Hoveden, iv. 12, 14.
office, and to occupy the archdeacon’s stall, when they both happened to be in York, on alternate days.¹

Matters languished on until the spring of 1198; and Richard then set himself in earnest to remedy the disgraceful state of anarchy which had so long prevailed. Early in the year he summoned Geoffrey to court, to meet the dean and canons. Geoffrey arrived first, found Richard placable, and made his peace with him once more, Richard on this occasion promising that he would not again interfere with the bestowal of his patronage. He also granted him full restitution, and sent one of his clerks with Honorius, Geoffrey’s official, to England to enforce it. Geoffrey was not to return immediately to England, but to go to Rome on the king’s business; he set off for Rome; two days after his departure the dean and canons arrived at court, and so worked on the king that he delayed the restitution of the archbishopric until Geoffrey’s return; and this done, not being anxious to face the archbishop, they hastened back in triumph to York.²

Several events were now making it extremely necessary that a decision should be come to. Celestine III. was dead, and Innocent III. was likely to look upon matters with much clearer eyes than his predecessor. Hubert Walter’s influence with Richard was becoming smaller, and within a few months he had to resign the justiciarship. The promotion of Eustace the chancellor, and Geoffrey Muschamp, opened again the question of the preferments.³ The news of the pope’s death seems to have stopped Geoffrey on his way to Rome; he returned to the king to Andely, and Simon and the canons were recalled to meet him.⁴ Richard proposed an arbitration; the archbishop of Rouen and the bishops of Winchester and Worcester would act as umpires. Geoffrey

¹ Hoveden, iv. 8, 9. ² Hoveden, iv. 44, 45. ³ Hoveden, iv. 41, 45. ⁴ Hoveden, iv. 51, 52.
The negotiations again broken off by the chapter.

Geoffrey bestowed the archdeaconry of Richmond on Honorius.

Opposition of the dean.

One canon only takes Geoffrey's side.

The negotiations again broken off by the chapter.

consented; the dean and canons refused; they demanded a tribunal consisting of secular canons only, and insisted that before the general question was discussed the archbishop should confirm them all in the preferments which the king had given them. Their arguments weighed with Richard more than can be accounted for, if he were moved by argument alone. He broke off the negotiation and sent back the canons more jubilant than ever.1

The treasurership and archdeaconries of Richmond and Cleveland were now vacant. The first of these was at last handed over to Hamo, and the precentorship vacated by his promotion was given to Reginald Arundel. The archdeaconry of Richmond Geoffrey bestowed on his official Honorius, exacting from him, however, the concession of the right of institution to benefices, a peculiar right of the archdeaconry given in the time of Henry I. as compensation for the loss of the jurisdiction in the new diocese of Carlisle.2 Honorius had been until now a faithful servant of Geoffrey; on his promotion he, like Simon of Apulia and with a somewhat similar excuse, turned against him and involved him in another long litigation. He now hastened into Yorkshire, received the submission of the clergy and presented his letters of appointment at York.3 But Simon was ready for him. The letters were informal, they did not mention the dean; moreover, the king had nominated Roger of S. Edmund, and by virtue of the privilege of pope Celestine Roger was installed; Honorius appealed, but was sent about his business. Hoveden adds that but one of the canons, Hugh Murdac, who on a previous occasion had taken part against Geoffrey, now refused to join in the conspiracy against him, and was excommunicated by the dean.4 He had appealed before the sentence, but the violent and unscrupulous Italian showed no regard to

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1 Hoveden, iv. 53.  
2 Hoveden, iv. 177-180.  
3 Hoveden, iv. 52.  
4 Hoveden, iv. 53.
this, and on Hugh’s presenting himself in the choir, he ordered the candles to be extinguished and stopped the service.

On the failure of the negotiations at Andely, Geoffrey proceeded to Rome and laid his case before the new pope. Innocent III. saw through the duplicity of the king, the unscrupulous craft of Simon, and the wrong-headedness of Geoffrey; he wrote to Richard begging him to be reconciled with his brother, and holding out an indistinct threat of interdict if he should not. Richard thereupon made a last attempt at compromise; he sent the bishops of Durham, Ely, Winchester, Worcester, and Bath to propose peace; Geoffrey was to confirm the king’s gifts; the king would then restore him to his see.1 Geoffrey demurred; would the mediating bishops put their advice on record that it might go sealed to the pope? They refused, and the treaty was again broken off. Geoffrey returned to Rome and obtained a decision in his favour on all points. The king’s agents reported to him that this was to be enforced by interdict. Before, however, the letters were issued, April 28, 1199, Richard was dead. Geoffrey had advanced eight days’ journey from Rome when he heard of it; he returned, to make assurance doubly sure, to the holy city.2

Much of the interest of the contest now terminates. John, at all events at this period of his life, did not dislike Geoffrey so much as Richard had done. The difference in their age, probably, precluded the feeling of personal rivalry, which had embittered the relations of Richard with a brother, whose early exploits and military accomplishments were little inferior to his own. In the great struggle of 1191 John had taken the part of Geoffrey, and before the papal sentence in his favour reached England, the change of sovereign had had the effect of

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1 Hoveden, iv. 66, 67.  
2 Hoveden, iv. 67, 92.
improving the archbishop's prospects. Honorius was immediately received as archdeacon of Richmond; Simon thereupon excommunicated him, and John was obliged peremptorily to direct the status quo to be observed until he should be able to decide. His decision, promulgated a few weeks after his coronation, was in Geoffrey's favour. Whilst still in England he ordered that the archbishop's manors should be restored as soon as he returned.

The brothers met at Rouen on the 24th of June; several of the canons placed their presentations in the hands of Geoffrey as having been illegally acquired, and he proceeded to readjust them as equitably as he could. Adam of Thornovere, the dean Simon, the new precentor, and others still held out. Cardinal Peter of Capua had been sent by Innocent to arrange, if possible, the many causes of discontent and trouble now operating in both England and France, and so pave the way to a new crusade. Under his influence the two parties agreed to accept as arbitrators the bishop of Lincoln and Master Columb, the pope's subdeacon; but the influence of Hubert Walter and Geoffrey FitzPeter was used to prevent the completion of any arrangement, and mutual recriminations at first seemed the only result.

At last, towards the end of the year 1200, a formal peace was concluded at Westminster. Bishop Herbert of Salisbury and abbot Alan of Tewkesbury, the last judges delegate appointed by the pope, were accepted as arbitrators: after long discussion Geoffrey received to the kiss of peace, first, his old ungrateful servant William Testard, then Reginald Arundel the precentor, and at last Dean Simon himself. Personal enmity being at an end, all further questions were to be settled in the chapter-house at York.

1 Hoveden, iv. 89.  
2 Hoveden, iv. 93.  
3 Hoveden, iv. 99.  
4 Hoveden, iv. 126.
The great ecclesiastical dispute ends here. The peace of Geoffrey with John settled no principle, for no principle was involved in the quarrel. It would be well if we could assert that Geoffrey had learned wisdom and moderation by it. But this was not the case. A month was scarcely over when he had rushed into a quarrel with John. The king had summoned him to go to France; he had neglected to obey; he had refused to let his tenants pay the carucage; John was provoked; he was again dispossessed by the sheriff of Yorkshire, his own tenure of the sheriffdom having at last expired; and he retaliated by excommunicating not only the sheriff and all his abettors, but all those who had irritated the king against him. At the same time he excommunicated the townsmen of Beverley for breaking into his park.¹

John, acting under good advice, tried to avoid another struggle. The archbishop in resisting the royal exactions would have a strong party on his side, the same party, in fact, that he had formerly alienated by the exactions he had made in the interest of Richard; the king ordered his estates to be restored on the understanding that he should give an account of himself before the Curia Regis, and pay a sum of three thousand marks which he owed king Richard.² Some insults offered by his servants to John, on his visit to Beverley in January 1201, embittered matters still further, but at Midlent he received his brother at York and made peace again with a pecuniary fine; and in May John issued a full charter of restitution in return for a promise of a thousand pounds sterling, for the payment of which the archbishop pledged his barony to the king.³

At this point Hoveden's chronicle ends; but we leave Geoffrey, although reconciled with John, again engaged in a struggle with the chapter. The suit of Honorius was still being prosecuted.⁴ Reginald of Arundel the

¹ Hoveden, iv. 139, 140.
² Hoveden, iv. 140.
³ Hoveden, iv. 157, 163.
⁴ Hoveden, iv. 177-184.
Constant quarrels of the dean and archbishop.

Atmosphere of Hoveden’s last days.

Conclusion of Geoffrey’s adventures.

Precentor was dead; Geoffrey nominated a new one; the dean objected. Geoffrey appointed his official, Ralph of Kyme, to the archdeaconry of Cleveland, which he had unwisely left unclaimed since 1198; the dean declared that it had lapsed, and that the chapter had presented Hugh Murdac. Geoffrey insisted on installing Ralph; Simon insisted that only the precentor could lawfully install, and now there was no precentor. So Geoffrey excommunicated Hugh Murdac, whom two years before the dean had excommunicated as his partizan. Next the provost of Beverley died. Geoffrey appointed his brother Morgan; Simon appealed against this on the ground that the archbishop had promised the reversion of the provostship to himself, the bitterest, most ungrateful, most unscrupulous of his foes.

Such was the atmosphere in which the last days of Roger Hoveden were spent; an atmosphere so redolent of curses that one cannot wonder at his belief that the devil was just then unloosed. Reflections on the story are needless.

Archbishop Geoffrey lived for more than ten years after our chronicle closes. His struggles with the dean and canons continue, but they are lost sight of in the more important contests into which he was forced by John’s unconstitutional demands for money. He never again was brought so low as he had been under Richard, but in 1207 he was compelled to choose between unconditional submission to John and exile. He chose the latter; left England, rather than pay the sums demanded by the king, and never returned. He died in 1212, and was buried in the church of the order of Grandmont, Notre Dame du Parc, in the neighbourhood of Rouen.

1 Hoveden, iv. 158.
2 Hoveden, iv. 174.
3 Dr. Ducarel saw his monument with this epitaph:
   "Regis erat natus, meritis et honore probatus,
   "Vermibus esca datus, his qui jacet incineratus.
   "Hic quid opes sequiris, quid, homo, fugientia queras?
   "Oe speculo quid eris, finemque tueris mediteris."
His character has been variously read; all things considered he seems to have resembled Richard in his nobler traits and in his least repulsive faults; to have been generous, impulsive, and open-hearted; his sufferings were the result, firstly, of his unhappy position, laying him open to insult and extortion, and increasing his natural irritability; secondly, of that thoughtless, violent, impracticable temperament, which made him the victim of unscrupulous opponents, and which seemed to justify the oppressiveness of his brothers and the ingratitude of his servants. Like Ishmael, his hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him. Otherwise he left behind him the reputation of personal temperance and a pure life.¹

II. The special importance of the ministerial career of Archbishop Hubert Walter arises from the facts, first, that being the nephew, pupil, and confidential friend of Ranulf Glanvill, the prime minister of Henry II., and having occupied a position involving constant and close intercourse with that king during the latter years of his life, he must be regarded as the most likely person to have had a thorough acquaintance with the principles that guided the reforms of Henry's reign, and as probably developing those principles in the changes or improvements which he adopted when he was himself practically supreme; and, secondly, that the period during which he either exercised the authority of the crown as justiciar, or in his offices of chancellor, archbishop, and legate, brought his powerful influence to bear on the sovereign as well as the people, was the last

¹ "Cur fundum fundo cumulas, " quadrasses rotundum? " Stereus in immundum tandem " restat tibi fundum. " Sed vivas mundo ut sis salvis " a morte secundo."—Ducarel, Anglo-Norman Antiquities, p. 38. It is interesting to observe that he was buried in a church of the good men of Grandmont, as his father had wished to be. The day of his death was Dec. 18. Stapleton, Norman Rolls, ii. clxx.¹ Stubbs (ed. Twysden), c. 1724.
period of orderly government that preceded the granting of Magna Carta. On Hubert's death the regular administration of the country was thrown out of gear by the tyrannical conduct of John, who had felt himself under the influence of his minister, as long as he lived, to a degree which mere gratitude and the sense of his usefulness can only insufficiently explain. Hubert's advice had been with Richard all-powerful; with John it had a certain weight, sufficient to modify if not to overrule his self-willed behaviour; he exercised a control, the removal of which was felt by the king as a great relief, whilst the nation, with whom, as his master's servant, he had never been popular, found almost immediately that in him they had lost their best friend, the only bulwark strong enough to resist or to break the attack of royal despotism.

In tracing through the measures of Hubert and the men of his school, certain steps of growth and development which connect the legal reforms of Henry II. with the improved sense of public law and national right that find their expression in the great Charter, I am not so rash as to claim for him the character of a great politician, or even a consciously intentional programme for the education of the people for the exercise of self-government. The utmost that could be predicated of him in that direction would be that he was wise enough to see that an extension of self-agency on the part of the people in the lines in which they were accustomed to act for local business, was a pledge of peace and good behaviour; that the more they could be made to perceive that every man has a stake in the public weal, and may take a share in the maintenance of the public peace, the more certain would be the dependence of the commonwealth on the people; the more thorough and lasting the peace, the safer and quieter the country, the more ready and the more able it would be to supply the wants of the crown.
The growth of our constitution was never, at least during the middle ages, sensibly affected by philosophical or doctrinaire views. The several steps of growth have been almost always of a character that might seem accidental, were it not that even in their most experimental forms they testify to an increasing confidence on the part of the rulers, in the wisdom of trusting to the people, and a corresponding sense on the people's part, of the wisdom of a just and moderate use of their powers, as the surest way to retain and increase them. For example, in the process by which the custom of county representation,—itself being, as the concentration of all local machinery, the basis of English self-government,—reached its growth, no step is more certain or important than that by which the principle of electing knights representative to choose the grand juries and recognitors of the assizes was introduced. Yet no one will for a moment think of asserting that that custom was introduced in order to make a conscious advance towards the working out of the principles of liberty. Neither when we regard the custom of assessment by jury, as a step in the education of the people towards taking the command of the national purse, do we for a moment contemplate that education as a purpose in the mind of the ministers who originated the plan. The result is not accidental, because it sprang from the increase of confidence between the governors and the governed, and proceeded by the evolution of principles, the working of which we can trace, in measures which suggested themselves as the readiest for the moment and occasion; but were it not for this, it might seem as if the end and the means had only the most casual connexion. And so throughout the whole story. The English constitution owes all in it that is peculiar to itself to the accumulation of precedents that were found to answer other ends than those for which they were originally devised; it is full of anomalies and abounds
in checks and counterchecks which would be intolerable in an ideal polity; its history is a very chapter of accidents and experiments until it is read in the light of this truth.

As law took the place of despotism, and organization succeeded to routine; as peace and security increased wealth, and the consciousness of wealth made peace and security more precious; as the people educated themselves by the exercise of their judicial and economical powers on a small scale, for the exercise of the same powers on a great scale; the advance towards a more or less perfect system of self-government was found to be rapidly accelerating. The source of the advance was in the deeper current to which the outward and visible signs of it were ascribable; signs, the relation of which to the main result was on a superficial view little else than accidental. But the actual result was shaped by those signs. In the strong conservatism of English politics every such sign is incorporated and perpetuated. The expedient of to-day is a precedent for all time; if it fails it is not cast aside and a new one devised, but its failure is remedied by some new and special contrivance which in its turn is incorporated, is found to answer some other end, and is perpetuated too. The structure, however inconvenient, is not demolished and rebuilt, but a room is added here and a passage there; the chapel of the old house becomes the muniment room of the new; the presence chamber of the old palace, a mere passage to the halls and courts of the full-grown edifice; but every original chamber remains, and without it the structure would not be, as it would not have become, what it is. With the superficial student and the empiric politician, it is too common to relegate the investigation of such changes to the domain of archaeology. I shall not attempt to rebut the imputation; only if such things are archaeology, then archaeology is history; and that is as much as its most fervent students would
ask for it. If by archaeology is meant the science of the obsolete, I deny that they are archaeological; it is only to the plucked flower that the root is archaeologically related. The healthy nation has a memory as well as aspirations involved in the consciousness of its identity; it has a past no less living than its future. Even the energy that is based on reform and repentance cannot afford to think of that past as the dead burying its dead.

Hubert Walter undertook the office of Great Justiciar at the beginning of the year 1194, and retained it until the middle of the year 1198. On John's accession he became chancellor, and continued in that post until his death, exercising, however, through his important position as legate and archbishop, an amount of authority that no chancellor before him had enjoyed, and scarcely inferior to what he had possessed as justiciar. It is to his career, however, as justiciar that the following remarks chiefly apply. That portion of his history is the one illustrated by Hoveden, and it is also the one in which such principles of administration as he had find their freest expression.

The principal events of this administration were, in the first year of it, the collecting of the large sum to be paid for Richard's ransom, the management of the king himself during his visit to England, and the judicial iter of 1194. The year 1195 is marked by the archbishop's appointment as legate, and the circumstances which attended his first exercise of his new powers. Hoveden's pages are filled with the troubles of Archbishop Geoffrey, and the only significant constitutional measures are those taken for the maintenance of the public peace. In the year 1196 come the design of remodelling the Exchequer administration, the riot of William FitzOsbert, and Hubert's first threat of resignation. The assize of measures is the only important act of the year 1197. The following year is remarkable for the successful opposition of S. Hugh of Lincoln to an unconstitutional
PREFACE.

Summary of the events of Hubert's administration.

Judicial and financial business.

I. Financial collection of Richard's ransom.

demand of Richard; for the elaborate scheme devised for
the assessment and collection of the carucage; and for the
withdrawal of the archbishop from the office of justiciar.
As all these events are given by Hoveden in detail, and
as his account of them is not to any important extent
complicated by the statements of contemporaries, it is
not necessary to reproduce it in this place. It will be
sufficient if I attempt, under the two heads of judicial
and financial business, to point out the bearings of
Hubert's policy, and to show the way in which his
measures were tending to the end of self-government.

Magna Carta being the translation into the language
of the thirteenth century of the ideas of the eleventh,
through the forms of the twelfth, we may naturally look
for some significant transitional data in the policy of
a minister with such antecedents as those of Hubert
Walter.

The financial history comes first both in place and
importance. The effort that England made for the
ransom of Richard far transcended anything of the kind
that had taken place before. It comprised all the ancient
devices for procuring supplies, and formed a precedent
for new ones. The proceedings by which it was carried
out fall partly in the year 1193 and partly in 1194, for
the aids demanded by Richard in person in the latter
year were probably intended to complete the sum re-
quired of him, although it cannot be said with any
certainty that they were so applied; and it is not quite
clear, from either the language of the chroniclers or the
public records, how the disposal of the funds levied in
1193 is to be distinguished from that of 1194.1

1 The measures taken are de-
scribed by Hoveden in more places
than one. In vol. iii. p. 210 he
mentions first the demand of a fourth
part of revenue and mobilia, of the
scutage, and of the wool, and the
treasure of the churches. At p. 225,
after recapitulating these in differ-
ent order, he adds that some of the
bishops took a fourth, some a tenth,
of the revenue of the clergy. At
p. 222 he says that Archbishop
The sum to be raised was after some negotiation fixed at 150,000 marks, 100,000l. sterling: an amount more than twice as large as the whole revenue of the country accounted for in the last year's exchequer of Henry II. Unprecedented as the occasion was, it does not appear to have led the way to any national deliberation on ways and means. Richard wrote urgently to his principal barons and prelates, but the responsibility of the budget was undertaken by queen Eleanor and the justices; they demanded a scutage from the tenants by knight service, a hidage or carucage from all tenants in socage, a grant of a fourth part of revenue and goods from all persons whatsoever, by way of donum or aid; the wool of the Cistercians and Gilbertines, and the gold, silver, and jewels of the churches. The "communis assensus" which admitted the demand, must be

Geoffrey demanded a fourth part of the revenue of the canons of York. In the history of the council of Nottingham in 1194 he specifies the king's demand of the carucage, iii. 242. Yet the mention of the scutage and carucage occurs first in the Pipe Roll of 1194. Is it possible that the impost raised in 1193 were collected by some process different from the ordinary one of the Exchequer? It was certainly entrusted to special officers (vol. iii. 212), but it is more probable that the measures of 1194 were merely the legal carrying out of the plan devised in 1193, than that two scutages should be collected for the same purpose in two successive years, of which only one should be mentioned in the national accounts. William of Newburgh expatiates on the disappointment that was felt at the insufficiency of the sums first raised: "Putabatur quidem tanta pecuniarum coacervatio redemptionis regnum summan niis convenisset ad summam; quod accidisse creditur per fraudem executorum. Denique per hanc prime collationis instigium sufficientiam, ministrii regii senatum tertiamque instaurant, quosque locupletiores pecunias spoliavit, manifestum rapiuntur dedecus honesto redemptionis regim nomine palliant." After mentioning the collection of the treasures of the churches, he proceeds: "Tota tamen illa opus coacervatio, ut dicitur, ad complendam regim redemptionis atque expensarum ejus summam minus sufficere potuit." Lib. iv. cap. 38.

1 "Statutum est communi assensu," R. de Diceto, 670. This writer does not mention the scutage or carucage under the year 1193,
Attributed not to the vote of any general assembly, but to the feeling of common helplessness. The aid was one of the three customary aids, and even under Magna Carta might be taken without reference to the common council of the realm.

The scutage.

(1) In demanding a scutage of 20s. on the knight’s fee the justices did not go beyond the average rate of scutage. The rate in the 33rd of Henry II. was the same, and the three other scutages raised in Richard’s reign were also 20s. on the knight’s fee. John’s first scutage was raised to two marks. The sum thus levied must have amounted to not less than 25,000l. if rigorously collected; but it was probably assessed on the old system, and if so would not amount to more than 12,000l.

The hidage or carucage.

(2) The hidage or carucage, if levied at 2s. on the hide or carucate, must have been nearly the same in amount as the ancient Danegeld, and produced a sum of about 5,000l. This sort of impost had been levied during Henry II.’s reign, generally under the name of donum, and as supplementary to the scutage.

An additional presumption that Hvoden’s statements refer generally to the imposts raised in the two years for the purpose. See the last note. 1 If we compare the account given by Madox from the Pipe Rolls of the sums paid as scutage in 1172 with those paid in 1194, we shall find them nearly identical; e. g. in both cases the archbishop of York pays 20l. for his knights, William Fossard 31l. 10s., and so on. If the same sums were paid, no doubt the same deductions were made, and the same compositions held good. The scutage of 1194 would thus produce no more than those of Henry II.’s reign. This enables us to understand the relief given by the 44th article of the Magna Carta of 1217, “Scutagium capiatur de cetero sicut capi con- sicut tempore Henrici regis avi nostri;” John’s scutages having been larger in amount and arbitrarily imposed. Madox, Hist. Exch. pp. 411, 441.

2 On the hypothesis stated in the last note. For instance, the hidage of 1194 was in Somerset 293l. 18s. 2d.; in Dorset, 241l. 3s. 9d. The Danegeld levied in 1156 was, in Somerset, 277l. 10s. 4d.; and in Dorset, 228l. 5s. The difference might be accounted for by either the reclaiming of waste or the varying number of persons excused. Madox, Hist. Exch. pp. 411, 412, 476, 477, &c.
(3.) The grant of a fourth part of revenue and mobilia may be contrasted with the two particulars just mentioned. It no doubt took this form in consequence of the urgency of the occasion, and was the source of the largest portion of the sum achieved. Although revenue and personal property had been long liable to taxation in the shape of talliage and donum; this appears to be the first occasion on which they were subjected directly to central taxation. The Dialogus de Scaccario describes the two methods of determining the incidence of talliage; *per capita,* poll tax, or local assessment. Here, however, we have a direct demand of the central authority on the individual. The principle was, however, not quite a novelty although the form was so. The assize of the Saladin tithe formed the precedent for demanding a fixed portion of each man's goods, and the assize of arms brought personal property under direct contribution for the national defence. Either of these ordinances would also have afforded a precedent for an equitable method of assessment by a jury of the venue; but we have no authority that shows it to have been followed on this occasion. This impost is the precedent for the grants of subsidies in the shape of tithes, sevenths, thirteenths, fifteenths, and other proportions, which in the next century largely supersede the earlier methods of taxation.

(4.) The demand of the wool of the Cistercians and Gilbertines is an important precedent also for the raising of revenue on and through the staple article of English production.

(5.) The demand of the treasures of the churches, an

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1 *Per capita* may mean rather a household or family tax than a poll tax; it was the arrangement by which all the payers paid equally, without respect to the difference of their ability. To alter this and substitute an assessment by which each man would pay in proportion to his wealth was the pretext of the riot of William FitzOsbert. Hoveden, iv. 5. See Dialogus de Scaccario, lib. ii. cap. 13.
expedient which, although occasionally threatened by our other sovereigns,¹ was not actually repeated until the days of Henry VIII., is a sign of the enormous effort made by the government on this occasion, too enormous to be taken as a safe precedent. Unfortunately we have no clue whatever to the actual proportions of the required sum made up from these three last sources. The country endured the united pressure of taxes which had never been imposed before at the same moment, and of some that were never proposed again. England, although the largest and wealthiest part, was far from being the whole, of the area to be taxed²; and yet either because the money was not honestly applied, or because the produce fell short of the estimates, considerable arrears of the ransom were unpaid in 1195.

In the council of Nottingham in 1194 Richard demanded a carucage of 2s. on the carucate; as the mention of hidage comes into the Pipe Rolls only in this year, we must conclude that this was the occasion on which this portion of the revenue applied to the ransom

¹ This is illustrated, as well as the demand of the wool, by the measures taken by Edward I. when in severe financial difficulties in 1294. *Hemingb. Chron.* vol. ii. pp. 53, 54.

² The Norman Exchequer Roll of 1194 is lost. In that of 1195 is an entry stating that Geoffrey the Exchanger (Cambitor) renders account of 22,891l. 7s. 4d. Angevin, for 5,722l. 16s. 10d. sterling; and 4,600l. and 400l. Angevin; altogether 27,891l. 7s. 4d. Angevin, of which 16,000l. Angevin, answering to 6,000 marks of silver, was paid to Ruffus de Volto and Everard the chamberlain, the emperor's messengers, for the delivery of the hostages. Stapleton, vol. i. p. 136.

This may have been, however, only the English contribution in transitu. Further on, p. 172, William Poignant renders account of the receipt of 4,000 marks raised by talliage on the town of Caen for the king's ransom, an enormous sum. The citizens of London in 1194 owed 1,500 marks of *donum*, "pro beneficio domini regis et pro liberaltate suis conservandis et de auxilio suo ad redemptionem domini regis" (Madox, 412), a statement which shows that they were determined to get all they could for their money. It is very unfortunate that all our information on this most important business is fragmentary.
was granted. The language of Hoveden leads to the conclusion that in form it was an innovation.\(^1\) On the same occasion he asked for the wool of the Cistercians, who compounded for it with a fine. Probably in this case also the negotiation was supplementary to that of the year 1193. The king further demanded a third of the military service of the country to go with him to Normandy. If I am right in supposing that both the scutage and the carucage were collected on the ancient assessments which had been in use in Henry II.'s reign, the largest part of the burden of the ransom must have been defrayed from the donum of the fourth part of revenue and personal property, the most oppressive and general of the imposts; and we may attribute to the inquisitorial and universal pressure of this exaction, the discontent with the fiscal administration which seems to have followed, as well as the urgent measure of reform which the justiciar attempted later in the year.

The judicial iter of 1194 was the necessary consequence of Richard's return and of the restoration of the governmental machinery. Like the similar proceedings under Henry II. it was directed with a view to fiscal advantage; the inquest of sheriffs of 1170\(^2\) was followed as a precedent; exact inquiry was made into the escheats, patronage, wardships, and other feudal incidents, and into the debts and available property of John. Strict directions were given for the re-stocking of the lands in the royal possession, and for the supervision of the commercial and monetary dealings of the Jews. A tallage of cities, towns, and demesne lands was also ordered.\(^3\) A measure, however, of far greater importance which the justiciar proposed, the examination into the accounts of

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\(^1\) Hoveden, iii. 242.
\(^2\) See Benedict, vol. iii., pref., lxvi., clv.-clviii.
\(^3\) This tallage, cruel enough after the enormous exactions of the year, is accounted for in the Pipe Roll of 1195, Madox, p. 486, and partly probably in that of 1196.
Receipts taken by the sheriffs, bailiffs, foresters, and other servants of the Exchequer, since the beginning of the reign, was deferred. Such an examination would no doubt have shown the very great discrepancy between the sums collected by the local officers and those which were paid into the treasury; would have proved the often suspected fact that the system of ferm or composition was ruinous to the exchequer, which lost the benefit of such increments as would arise from the extension of cultivated lands and improvement in agriculture; and would have demonstrated the necessity of a new and general system of assessment. It was defeated, however, probably by the influence of the fiscal officers; although Richard was in the greatest straits for money, and even raising funds by granting licences for tournaments which had the year before been forbidden by the pope.²

The Pipe Rolls of 1195 testify to the collection of a scutage for the army of Normandy imposed in the seventh year of Richard, and those of 1196 to a third scutage imposed in the eighth year; both of these were of the same amount, 20s. on the knight’s fee.³ Neither of these is noticed directly by Hoveden. In the latter year the king was so much dissatisfied with his receipts from England that he renewed the proposition for a visitation of the Exchequer, and, greatly against the archbishop’s wishes, sent over the abbot of Caen, a clerk well

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1. Hoveden, iii. 267.
2. Hoveden, iii. 268.
3. Madox, 443, 444. These are not to be supposed to be collections of arrears; they are distinctly called, the first, “Secundum Scutagium exercitus Normanniae assisum anno præterito,” i.e. 1195, Rot. Pip. 8 Rich. 1.; the second, “Tertium Scutagium exercitus Nor- maniae assisum hoc anno,” i.e. 1196, ibid. The first scutage of Richard being apparently one for Wales, levied in 1189 or 1190, and accounted for in the latter year. These three were scutages in the restricted sense of commutation of service, and the sum raised in the same way for the ransom, although called also a scutage, is not numbered amongst them, but regarded as an arld.
versed in the method of business pursued in the Norman exchequer, to make inquiry into the receipts of the royal officers.\(^1\) The carrying out of a measure which, however necessary, would be very distasteful to the officials, was again impeded, this time by the death of the commissioner to whom it was confided. The abbot died at London a few days after his arrival.

We may conjecture that Richard was prompted to this proposition chiefly by his own necessities, but he may partly have been influenced by the condition of popular opinion, which insisted that whilst the nation was heavily burdened the crown was poor, and that the fault must be laid upon the ministry. This feeling found its expression in the revolt of William FitzOsbert or Longbeard,\(^2\) which broke out shortly after the death of the abbot of Caen. The ostensible reason of the disturbance was the unfairness of the assessment for the taxes payable by the citizens of London. Hoveden, who seems to have regarded the grievance as a real one, distinctly states that it was caused first by the frequency of the imposts, and secondly by the fact that, owing to the craft of the richer citizens, the main part of the burden fell on the poor. That the higher rank of citizens had the power of doing this, either by raising the sums demanded

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\(^1\) Hoveden, iv. 5. W. Newburgh, lib. v. cap. 19. The latter authority states that the abbot obtained the commission by assuring the king that he was cheated of half his revenue by the officials of the exchequer: “fraude officialium regiorum urario ejus plurimum deperire; qua nimium deprecium hensis et castigata, absque omni provincialium gravamine duplicia posse fisica accedere.”

\(^2\) William of Newburgh (v. 29), although expressing an opinion condemnatory of William FitzOsbert, distinctly connects the two events: “Similitudine vel causae vel propriae consone videbantur. Abbatibus enim ut commoda regia cum quiete provincialium quaereret, fraudem atque effrenem avaritiam officialium regiorum castigandam esse sensebat. Iste autem . . . allegans . . . quod ad omne edictum tum regium divites, proprii fori tunias parentes, pauperibus per potentiam omne onus imponerent, et ararium principis multa summa fraudarent.” Nearly the same words as Hoveden uses.
probable explanation of William FitzOsbert's movement.

per capita,\(^1\) or by unfairly assessing the poorer people, is indeed clear. It is probable, moreover, that the ruling body was in close connexion with the Exchequer,\(^2\) the monetary dealings of which brought them in contact; and that the justiciar, on interfering in the dispute, took their side too strongly. That William Longbeard was an ordinary demagogue, a deserter of the ranks with which his birth naturally associated him, may also be true;\(^3\) but the fact of the grievance is not impugned by such a consideration. The archbishop, after he had raised enormous sums for Richard, found that he was discontented; the people refused to believe that all the money raised reached the royal coffers; the system of the exchequer and the vested interests of the sheriffs were too strong to be broken down, and the method of taxation was becoming obsolete. The archbishop, weary with the odious work, teased to death by his monks, who had now appealed to Rome against him on account of the pollution of Bow church, where William Longbeard was seized, offered to resign the justiciarship. After urgent remonstrance from Richard he withdrew the offer. Hoveden tells us that during the two preceding years he had collected for the king not less than 1,100,000 marks of silver, a statement which must be erroneous,\(^4\) but the

1 See on this Madox, 506.
2 For instance, Henry of Cornhell, the head of one of the two great parties of the citizens, was manager of the Mint in 1191, and Reginald of Cornbell after him, apparently during the whole reign of Richard. Madox, 631, 632, 666.
3 See the sketch of his history given by Sir Francis Palgrave in the preface to the first volume of the *Rotuli Curie Regis*.
4 Hoveden, iv. 13. I think the sum is incredible. At the same time it is clear from the extracts given by Madox from the Pipe Rolls that the sums of money passing backwards and forwards at the exchequer were much larger than they have been during the previous reigns. The sum of 1,100,000 marks is said to be computed as of silver of the realm of England; no deduction can be made from it, therefore, as being of foreign coin: it represents a sum of 733,333l. 6s. 8d., or 366,666l. 13s. 4d. per annum; a sum curiously approximating to Ordericus' statement of William the Conqueror's daily income of
belief in which shows that the oppression by way of taxation must have been unprecedentedly heavy.

The Assize of Measures is the only fiscal act that marks the year 1197. Its chief importance lies in the fact that the wording of Magna Carta, in the clauses that touch this question, is borrowed from it. It was found too severe for the commercial spirit of the country to bear, and was set aside by the justices early in the reign of John.

We come thus to the year 1198, a year signalized by at least two highly important events. In the great council of the nation assembled at Oxford early in the year, Hubert announced a demand of the king that the barons should furnish him with a force of 300 knights, to be paid three shillings a day each. Two of the bishops, S. Hugh of Lincoln, who represented at the time the religious party in England, and the old school of liberty for which S. Anselm and Thomas Becket had contended; and Herbert of Salisbury, who represented the older

1,061l. 10s. 1½d., on which see Maseres, p. 258. According to the computation of the learned baron, the sum must be multiplied by three to find the present value in silver, and then by twenty to ascertaint its value in exchange for produce. This would make the sum annually raised by Hubert equal to 22,000,000l. of our money, which is quite inconceivable. If the sum had been given in figures we might suspect that a cypher too many was inserted, and that we should read 110,000 marks, or 73,333l. 6s. 6d., but this would be much less than would be probable. Altogether the passage defies explanation, except on the ground that medieval statements of number, except in strictly legal documents, cannot be interpreted with any approach to exactness.

1 Hoveden, iv. pp. 33, 34.
2 Hoveden, iv. 172.
4 Herbert of Salisbury, called le Poor, was the son of Richard, arch-deacon of Poictiers, that is, Richard of Ilchester, the clerk of the Exchequer to Henry II., and afterwards bishop of Winchester. This is, I think, proved by the documents printed in Madox's Formulare Anglicanum, pp. 47, 52. It is curious that he should be known by the name of Poor, a name which certainy seems to imply some connexon with Roger le Poor of Salisbury and so with Nigel of Ely, Richard Fitz Neal and the chan-
traditions of the Exchequer; opposed the grant, and the
archbishop was obliged in chagrin to withdraw his
proposition, although it was supported by the bishop of
London, the treasurer. Whatever were the grounds of
the opposition of S. Hugh, ecclesiastical or constitutional,
this occurrence is a landmark in English constitutional
history. It may be placed on a par with S. Thomas's
opposition to Henry II. in 1163 at Woodstock, but it is
the first clear case of the refusal of a money grant de-
dmanded directly by the crown, and a most valuable
precedent for future times.

The other mark of the year is the plan devised for the
collection of a carucage.\(^1\) This impost was probably
intended to redress the balance between the tenants in
knight service, who had lately paid two scutages, and
the tenants in socage, who had not been taxed for four
years; and this may account for the fact that it was
fixed at five shillings on the carucate, more than double
the rate collected in 1194. A still more important inno-
vation was the determination that every hundred acres
should be regarded as a carucate.\(^2\) Formerly the word
was strictly interpreted to mean the land that could be
cultivated with a single plough, and of course, according
to the character of the soil, the extent varied indefinitely.
The substitution of a uniform for a variable carucate\(^3\) was

cellor, Roger le Poor. If this be
so, then we have the family exer-
cising a sort of hereditary judicial
and fiscal influence for nearly a
century and a half, Richard le Poor,
bishop of Durham, dying in 1257.
\(^1\) Hoveden, iv. 46, 47.
\(^2\) According to the *Dialogus de
Scaccario*, i. 17, the *hide* was a
hundred acres, that is, it was re-
garded by the time of Henry II. as
of that extent. This act of Hubert
then identifies the carucate hence-
forth with the hide, as far as con-
cerns extension. In the same spirit
of definition the prices of cows,
pigs, sheep, &c., the *animalia pac-
bilia*, are fixed, instead of being
allowed to vary according to the
size or condition of the animal.
See the seventh clause of the
XXIII\(^4\): article of the assize of
1194. Hoveden, iii. 265, 266.
\(^3\) A parallel case to the variable
carucate is the variable oxgang
which subsisted in the last century:
\(^4\) Each field (of the common fields
of Pickering) consisted of 22
a great advantage to the Exchequer, and the allowance of a hundred acres to the plough was not an illiberal measure towards the cultivators.

But a consequence of greater importance resulted from the change; the land in cultivation must be remeasured. The old hidage measurement of Domesday must be given up with all its machinery of deductions and excuses; and for this purpose was to be employed the plan of assessment by jury, of which the Domesday record was the most valuable precedent, but which since Domesday had been used only for the assessment of income and personal property. To collect this tax the king sent through each county of England a clerk and a knight, who, with the sheriff and lawful knights chosen for the purpose, sworn to fulfil the king's business faithfully, caused to come before them the stewards of the barons of the county, and from every township the lord or bailiff of the township, and the reeve with four men of the township, whether free or villein, and two lawful knights of the hundred, who swore that they would faithfully and without fraud declare how many wainages of ploughs there were in each township, how many in demesne, how many in villenage, how many in alms; and on the wainage of each plough they imposed first two shillings and afterwards three. The account was written in four rolls, kept by the clerk, the knight, the sheriff, and the stewards of the barons respectively. The money was received by two knights and the bailiff of each hundred; they accounted for it to the sheriff, and the sheriff accounted for it at the Exchequer. The plan contains several other minute directions, but the above are enough to show that the principle of representation for the pur-

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1 See the title of the Ely Domesday. Domesday, vol. iii., p. 497.
2 Hoveden, iv. 46, 47.
pose of assessment was fully recognized as applicable to real property, whilst the mention of the chosen knights, who in each county were to superintend the proceeding, points to the speedy approach of a time when the ideas of representation and election were to be permanently united. The setting aside the great and venerable assessment book of William the Conqueror for a new valuation to be made by the representatives of the taxpayers was surely a long step towards the exercise by the taxpayers of a direct hold on the determination of taxation. When the elected knights who now superintended the valuation should be called to the royal councils, and there take part in the voting of the impost, the constitutional fabric would come not far off its rough completion. Within less than twenty years the principle which involved this result was to be admitted.

Unfortunately the records of the Exchequer do not enable us to say whether this elaborate plan was carried out in its integrity; but it remains a singular link between Domesday Book and Magna Carta, and a most important precedent. An examination of the documents contained in the Faedera and Parliamentary Writs, on

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1 I have put together the chief documents illustrative of this process in Select Charters (Oxford, 1870), pp. 274, 342, 345, 351, 355, 357, 491. In the first, in 1207, for the assessment of the thirteenth, the use of jury is not mentioned; in the second, the carucage of 1220, election in full county is used; in the third, the thirteenth of 1225, both election and jury are employed; in the fourth, the fortieth of 1232, the townships are represented by four elected men and the reeve in each case; in the fifth, the scutage of 1235, the arrangement is simply feudal, the collection is by the stewards of the barons; in the sixth, the thirteenth of 1237, the knights collectors are nominated, the local assessors, the reeve and four elected men. In the last case, the talliage of 1304, the collection is made simply by the king's officers. The comparison shows the maintenance of the royal authority in cases of strictly feudal taxation, such as scutage and talliage; and the employment of election and representation in both the collection and assessment of the non-feudal or national, such as carucage and the taxes by rate of tenth, thirteenth, &c.
the question of assessment and collection of taxes, carucages, thirteenths, fifteenths, and the like, shows how from time to time the main principle was varied, until, a hundred years exactly from this date, the right of the commons to representation, and the right of the parliament to regulate taxation, being admitted, the details of the arrangement by which men's minds were prepared and educated for the work, sank into secondary importance.

If we suppose that the difficulties of the task thus undertaken were greater than Hubert Walter was able to meet, we may be not very far wrong. The day fixed for the return of the new valuation was the 31st of May; before the 14th of July he had resigned, and his successor was appointed. The first act of the new administration was to order a new iter of the judges, and this was accompanied by a new and more stringent publication of the forest assize. The impost of the carucage was resisted by a portion of the monastic clergy, and a measure of practical outlawry against the whole clerical body was needed to enforce the payment. This severe act was the first sign of the change in the spirit of the government. Another was the augmentation of the scutage and carucage at the beginning of the reign of John, followed by the speedy and heavy increase of taxation which in 1207 culminated in the demand of a thirteenth, and caused the exile of archbishop Geoffrey; by the substitution, for the system of jury assessment, of the direct valuation of the justices; and by the great expansion of the system of fines, which drove the barons into rebellion. Some of these measures Hubert might have connived at, but we can scarcely suppose that he would have taken

1 Hoveden, iv. 63.
2 The scutage was raised to two marks on the knight's fee in 1199, Madox, p. 444; and the carucage from two to three shillings on the carucate in 1200. Hoveden, iv. 107. R. Coggeshale, c. 860.
the chief part in originating them. He had probably held the supreme financial authority as long as he could conscientiously exercise it. He resigned it by express command of Innocent III.

II. Judicial measures.

The minutiae of the judicial measures of Hubert's administration are not less important than those of the fiscal; but they are simpler and more distinctly indicative of progress. The first act to be noted is the direction for the judicial iter of 1194, which has been several times referred to already.\(^1\) The first clause of this document directs the process of electing the grand jury of each county. Four knights are to be chosen from the whole county, who by their oath are to choose two lawful knights of each hundred or wapentake, and those two are to choose ten knights of each hundred and wapentake; or, if there be a lack of knights, ten lawful and free men; so that those twelve may together answer on all heads, for their whole hundred or wapentake. It is necessary for the understanding of this direction to recur to two points in the legislation of Henry II.; the Assizes of Clarendon and Northampton,\(^2\) and the institution of the Great Assize.\(^3\) The two former measures constitute what may be called by anticipation the grand jury, the inquest by twelve lawful knights of each hundred, and four men and the reeve from each township, into cases of reputed criminals in the hundred, with a view to the presentment of the guilty to the itinerant justices. Such is the character of the body instituted in 1194, but its functions are extended to all the business of the judicial visitation. How this representative body was under the assizes of 1166 and 1176 constituted we are not told; but it is most probable that the lawful knights

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1 Hoveden, iii. 262.  
2 Hoveden, ii. 248, for the assize of Clarendon; ii. 89, for that of Northampton.  
3 Glanvill, de legibus Anglie, lib. ii. c. 7.
were simply nominated by the sheriff in the same way as the recognitors for the assizes of mort d'ancestor and darrein presentment; it is, however, just possible that they were elected in the local assemblies, in which case the reform now adopted must be referred to earlier practice. But it is in the ordinance of the Great Assize that the closer parallel to the direction of 1194 is to be found. According to that institution the twelve recognitors are to be nominated by four summoned knights of the shire in which the disputed property lies. In that case the selection is removed by one step from an arbitrary selection by the sheriff and placed in the hands of a body of four. In the direction of 1194 then, first, the practice of electing through four representatives is extended from the Great Assize to the grand jury; secondly, by the interposition of a second act of selection, the four knights are to choose two who are to co-opt ten; that is, the selection is placed two steps instead of one only from a simple nomination. A further point, which is of importance, is the recognition of four knights as a sort of representative quorum of the county court for these purposes.

The use of the word election for the process by which these four knights were singled out leads to a further question. Are we to understand that they were chosen in the court of the wapentake and county, or that they were mere nominees of the sheriff? I have already said that the probability is that in the selection of lawful men to act as recognitors in assizes of mort d'ancestor and darrein presentment, although the word eligendi is used, we are to understand that the choice was made by the sheriff

1 Glanvill, xiii. 3. “Summone, per bonos summonitores, duo-decim liberos et legales homines de visineto.” They were probably nominated by the reeve from a list, or at his or their convenience.

2 The word eligendi is used. Glanvill, xiii. 3.

3 Glanvill, ii. 7.
How the recognitors of the assizes were appointed.

Only. Those recognitors were required only for the particular case for which they were summoned, and there seems to be no reason to suppose that the shiremoot or hundredmoot was called together on purpose to elect them. The sheriff had a list of the knights, and ways of ascertaining the names of the lawful men of the district, and summoned out of them those most likely to be well informed as to the matter in hand. And the same course was probably, if not certainly, adopted in the selection of the four knights who nominated the recognitors of a great assize. We may conclude that the great balance of probability is in favour of the practice of simple nomination as in use under Henry II.

Election of knights to take the assizes, prescribed in 1215.

If, however, we look on to Magna Carta, we shall find that the principle of election in and by the county court was in 1215 the rule in all cases of the sort. By the 18th clause, recognitions of novel disseisin, mort d'ancestor, and darrein presentment, are to be taken in the county courts only, on a particular day, and in a special place, four times a year; that is, instead of having a special nomination of recognitors at the discretion of the sheriff for each case, all such business is to be concentrated in quarterly courts of the whole shire. But further, these assizes are to be taken by the king's itinerant justices, with the assistance of four knights of each county chosen by the county court. Here, then, the principle of election is clearly stated, and the concentration of the assizes at the county court of course made that plan of election as certainly feasible as the earlier practice of holding them at the discretion of the sheriff, or of the curia regis, made it difficult. A similar rule is laid down in clause 48 of Magna Carta for the inquiry into forest grievances by twelve sworn knights of each county, to be chosen per probos homines ejusdem comitatus.

This being so, at what period between 1176 and 1215 are we to look for the transition from the principle of nomination to that of election? We naturally should
fix it at the point of time at which the special assizes for which the knights representative were required were concentrated in the county court; and that appears definitely to be the assize of 1194 now before us; the second chapter of which specifies among the capitula for which the grand jury is to answer, all recognitions and all pleas which have been summoned before the justices by the writ of the king or chief justice, or sent before them from the chief court of the king; whilst the 18th article includes the cases of great assize also, where the land in dispute is below a certain value. Not only is there no extant assize earlier than this, in which the principle is laid down, but there is the strongest possible ground for believing that no such document was issued between 1176 and 1194. I think then we may with great probability conclude that when the word eligendi is used for the appointment of the four knights of the shire, for the purpose of nominating the grand juries of the hundreds, it means that they were elected by the county court, as the 18th clause of Magna Carta describes, and as the later parliamentary representatives were chosen.

A further argument in the same direction may be drawn from the 20th article of the assize of 1194; which directs that in every county shall be chosen three knights and a clerk, guardians of the pleas of the Crown. This direction is the origin of the institution of coroners, who have always been and still are elected by the whole body of the freeholders.

The creation of this new office, an elective office, and one which relieved the sheriff from a considerable portion of his work, indicates a disposition on the part of the justiciar to limit the sheriff's direct exercise of judicial functions, which is in strict accordance with the proposed examination into his fiscal exactions, to which reference has been already made more than once, and which was intended to be carried out this very year. It would
Functions of the sheriffs limited as the elective principle gains ground appear that the tendency of the local magnates to use the sheriff's office for their own purposes was too strong to be overcome by the mere personal and official changes carried out by Henry II; and that it was necessary to introduce an organic modification of the functions of this ancient magistrate. The time was not come at which the county court could be trusted to elect the sheriff; the only alternative was to limit his functions. It will be seen on a general survey of the whole history of local administration, that as the elective principle gained ground the powers of the sheriffs were limited. The present assize not merely throws a large part of their duties on the elective coroners, but forbids that the sheriff shall be justiciar in his own sheriffwick, or any county in which he has been sheriff since the coronation of Richard. Magna Carta forbids that any sheriff, constable, coroners, or other royal bailiffs, shall hold pleas of the Crown.

The oath for the conservation of the peace ordered by Hubert in 1195 to be taken by all men throughout the kingdom is a valuable illustration of the permanence and adaptability of one of the very ancient legal customs of the country. The laws of Canute direct that every man above twelve years shall make oath that he will neither be a thief nor cognizant of one; the assize of Clarendon was based upon the obligation of this oath, although it devolved the execution of it upon a select body of knights and lawful men. It is now revived in the earlier form: they shall swear that they will keep the peace of our lord the king to the best of their ability; that they will not be thieves, or robbers, or receivers of them, nor in any matter consent to them; that when they learn the existence of such criminals, they will do

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1 Art. Super Cartas, cc. viii. and ix. Statutes of the Realm, i. 139, 140.
2 Hoveden, iii. 299.
3 Secular Dooms, cap. 21.
their best to take them and deliver them to the sheriff; that when hue and cry is raised they will follow, and will deliver to the sheriff those who refuse or avoid the duty. This oath is to be taken by all over the age of fifteen before knights assigned for the purpose. These knights assigned appear to be the lineal predecessors of the more modern justices of the peace. The legislation of the reign of Henry III. incorporated the system of the assize of arms with that of watch and ward and hue and cry, and the whole of the measures existing for the conservation of the peace were codified in Edward I.'s statute of Winchester. The assigned knights of whom we read here for the first time become under Edward III. able to try felonies, and are called justices of the peace. There does not seem to be any ground for the assertion that these were at any period elective functionaries.

These are then the judicial measures of Hubert iter of 1198. Walter's justiciarship. The directions for the iter of 1198, issued soon after his resignation, contain no important change, unless the order that the elections for the great assize shall be taken before the itinerant justices may be regarded as a repromulgation or extension of the application of the elective principle to that process, which is unnecessary. The forest assize, reissued at the same time, varies but little from the assize of Woodstock of 1184.

The principles which may be regarded as definitely worked out for the first time in the archbishop's general administration are, the application of direct taxation to personal estate and revenue; the employment of assessment by jury to determine the obligation of the cultivated lands to carucage; the introduction of the representative principle into the county administration on a scale hitherto unprecedented; and the application of the elective process to the selection of judicial representatives. That the last was not a mere accident or coincidence may be shown, I think, from the fact that the first
extant charter of a town which contains the provision for the election of its ruling magistrate is that of Lincoln, of 1194. This privilege, which had been at an earlier period purchaseable by fine for the particular occasion, is now made perpetual, and a precedent for a large class of similar charters in the early years of the next reign, during which the archbishop’s influence with the king was the strongest. But this opens up a subject far too complex and extensive to be touched here.

III. The light shed by Hoveden, following the direction taken by his predecessor, on questions of foreign history, was the subject of several pages of the preface to the second volume of this edition. The general statements made there I shall not repeat, but content myself with pointing out the passages which specially illustrate the value of the work in this regard.

1. The places which touch upon the history of the emperor Henry VI. are numerous, and though not of first-rate importance, decidedly valuable in the comparative barrenness of the continental authorities of the period. The chief of these are, the account of the coronation by Celestine III. and of the consequent destruction of Tusculum, derived probably from the canons of York who were then at Rome, or from the members of Eleanor’s retinue who had visited the city at that time; the particulars of the internal dissensions of the German princes, which are brought out in the history of the negotiations of Richard for his release; the hostile attitude of the emperor towards France, which partly resulted from Richard’s release, and was partly the purposed effect of his diplomacy; the cruelties and outrages committed by Henry in the Sicilian kingdom in 1194; the German crusade of 1197; the reverses of the imperial

1 Fœdera, i. 52.  
6 Vol. iii. pp. 300, 302, 303.  
7 Vol. iii. 268-270.  
arms in Sicily the same year; and the illness and death of Henry himself, followed by the collapse for the moment of all his dynastic plans in both Germany and Italy.  

2. The history of the empire, as distinct from the personal history of Henry VI., is illustrated by the account of the election of the emperor Otho IV., and his subsequent struggle with Philip of Swabia, as well as by the precedent notices of the adventures of the children of Henry the Lion. As William of Winchester, the younger brother of Otho, was brought up in England, and resided at the court of Richard during a part at least of the later years of our chronicler; as the intercourse moreover between Otho and Richard, although not between Otho and John, was continuous and friendly, it is easy to account for the special value of these particulars in the prevailing barrenness of the foreign writers of the time. The details of Otho's election, although not above legal and antiquarian criticism, are of great authority. Of the commissioners who attended on Richard's behalf, the bishop of Durham, Philip of Poictiers, was, in all probability, in constant intercourse with Roger of Hoveden, living at Howden, and having been as a royal clerk or chaplain acquainted with him in earlier years; another, William de Chimili, was archdeacon of Richmond; another, the count of Aumale, was the great potentate of the East Riding. From one of these, or from some person in the retinue of one of them, our author must have received his information; it is even possible that he himself attended the bishop of Durham on the occasion.  

3. Hoveden's contributions to the history of the papacy are not so large as might be expected from the continuous communication existing during his period

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between York and Rome; the most important, perhaps, are the accounts of the attempt made by Celestine III. to influence the choice of his successor,\(^1\) and of the early reforms of Innocent III.\(^2\) He has, however, preserved one detail of considerable importance touching the municipal condition of the city of Rome, the history of the change in the senatorship in 1194, with the short review of the previous condition of that magistracy.\(^3\)

4. French history is so closely connected with English during the whole reign of Richard and the portion of John's reign which is embraced by the chronicle, that it is unnecessary to point out any special passages that throw light upon it. The measures taken by Philip to obtain a divorce;\(^4\) his dealings with the Jews;\(^5\) and his conduct of the quarrel between the university and citizens of Paris,\(^6\) are the best instances of our author's contribution to the separate history of France.

5. The same may be said of Scotland. Of incidents of purely Scottish history, the transactions of William the Lion with Harold MacMadit,\(^7\) and his negotiations for the marriage of his daughter with Otho of Saxony,\(^8\) are specially noticeable. Hoveden's exact details on the subject of the homage at Lincoln in 1200 and the negotiations that led to it, are very valuable.\(^9\) So is also his story about William's intention of invading England at the beginning of John's reign, an intention which he gave up in consequence of a dream or vision which he had when spending the night at Dunfermline, the burial place of his great-grandmother, S. Margaret.\(^10\) The statement of our author\(^11\) that in the year 1197 the king of Scots introduced into his dominions the oath for conser-
vation of the peace which had been prescribed in England in 1195, may seem startling to those antiquaries who insist that the English reforms in law and police had been anticipated by king David, and were in fact borrowed from him by Henry II.; but there can be no doubt that it is a statement that throws light on a very obscure subject, and affords a glimpse of the process of imitation by which Scotland was assimilating herself to England in matters of the sort; a process which continued until the wars of Edward I. threw her upon the French alliance, and caused her to adopt the French in preference to the English constitutional principles of law and government.

6. The few obscure notices given by Hoveden, of the affairs of Norway under Swerre Birkbain,¹ are important chiefly as showing a certain amount of national intercourse, and of the interest that still existed in England as to the history of the northern kingdoms.

These instances will be, I think, sufficient to show both the value of our Chronicle, the painstaking exactness of its author, the soundness of his means of information, and the amount of intelligence as to foreign affairs which prevailed around him. The notices of Spanish and Oriental history are of less importance, and have, although recorded within a very few years of the time at which the events occurred, acquired from distance a tinge of the legendary character which diminishes their value.

The relations of the several Manuscripts used in the preparation of this edition, are not for the last portion of the work very different from what they were in the third division of it.

MS. A. (Laud 582) continues to bear out its character MS. A. of the original and most perfect draught. From it the whole of the present text is taken. The only apparent

exception is the insertion of the letter of Celestine III. to the judges delegate in the cause of the monks of Coventry:¹ this letter is not found in MS. A.; it appears first in the margin of B., and from B. has been copied into the text of D. and I. Another insertion printed by Savile from the Laud MS., the history of the philosopher Secundus, although certainly not Hoveden's, but added long after his time, on a spare leaf, from the Speculum Historiale of Vincent of Beauvais, I have thought it best to retain in a note;² and with it a curious and garbled extract from John of Salisbury, which Savile omitted, although it is written in the same hand. Every consideration that I have been able to apply to this precious MS., has condued to strengthen my conviction that in it we have the most authentic representation of our author's work, and in all probability the original MS. of it from the year 1181 onwards.

MS. B., the Arundel MS. 69, retains also to the end the character of a fine and close reproduction of the text of A., with the same important exception, an increasing tendency to omit letters and documents, more especially those connected with Archbishop Geoffrey's history. In some few cases moreover the writer of MS. B. has supplied the blanks left in MS. A. for proper names; but with the exception of the Coventry letter he has added nothing.

MS. C., Arundel 150, towards the end of the work becomes more faithful to the exemplar represented by MSS. A. and B.; but its arrangement is so fragmentary and disjointed that it is useless for the purpose of collation.

MS. D., Cotton Claudius B. 7, bears to B. the same relation that B. bears to A., that is, it is generally a faithful copy, but towards the end of the work the omissions and abridgments are more frequent, and the

hiatuses more glaring. MS. D. omits many of the northern details that are retained by MS. B., and adds nothing. The two long paragraphs from this MS. which I have given in the note on pages 190, 191, are curious only as not being, so far as I am aware, referable to any known chronicle from which they could have been extracted. They are found in MS. D. in the same hand as the rest of the text; and in MS. C. are added in a modern one. They could hardly be Hoveden’s on any theory.

MS. G., Harl. 3602, does not, as the work approaches its close, maintain the character of a faithful and intelligent reproduction of MS. A. It is sufficiently near it to show that the writer was not indebted to any other example; but the abridgments and omissions become more frequent and more arbitrary, so that for several important documents, copies of which might be looked for here, we have no other text but the Laud MS. It is unnecessary to particularize these, as they have been all pointed out in the notes.

The index of geographical forms which follows the text and precedes the general index, has been drawn up as carefully as I could do it without giving special dissertations on each questionable word; and has been added as almost indispensable for the ordinary reader. In the identification of the names I ought to acknowledge my obligations especially to Mr. Hodgson Hinde’s index to Symeon of Durham, to Mr. C. H. Pearson’s valuable series of maps illustrative of English History, and to Mr. King, the editor of Murray’s Handbooks of Yorkshire and other counties. It should be understood that this index does not profess to be an exhaustive enumeration of the places in which the particular forms are found.

In the preparation of the General Index I have attempted, not, I fear, very successfully, to carry out the plan of Mr. Luard in his Index to the Annales Monastici.
The work was one of considerable labour, but it will probably never have to be done over again.

To the Rev. C. W. Boase, M.A., of Exeter College, I may be allowed here to express my gratitude for the interest which he has shown and the advice he has given me, in the process of the work.

I have appended a long list of errata and corrections. I fear they are many more than the most indulgent critic would admit to be venial. As, however, the object of a good edition is not to prove the editor infallible, but simply to present his author in the best and purest form, I hope that the reader will allow the acknowledgment and careful correction of the errors to counterbalance the original fault.
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

Vol. I.

Page xviii, line 26, "final concord." On the true date of this document, see some remarks in correction of the text, in the preface to vol. iv. p. xxvii, above.

xxxiv, note 1, an additional reference may be given, to Walter de Mapes, De Nugis Curialium, ed. Wright, pp. 228, 229.

lxiv, line 1, "final concord," see preface to vol. iv. p. xxvii.

lxxii, line 2. This is a mistake; the latter part of Hoveden's Annals was known to Wendover and Paris; see vol. iii. pref., p. xvi.

lxxii, line 17, "Ailred of Rievaulx." This is wrong; the earlier portion of Walter of Coventry's Memorialis is drawn from Florence of Worcester. It is only in the MS. of Benedict, Cotton, Julius A. xi., that Ailred's work is found in connexion, and that casual only, with the Gesta Regis Henrici; see the preface to Benedict, vol. i. p. xxxii.

lxxii, note 2, for "Harl. 685" read "Harl. 689."

lxxiv, note 1, cross out at the end "xviii. 164–187." These pages contain the continuation of Hoveden's Chronicle, ascribed to Walter of Coventry.

lxxxvi. This description of the MS. Arundel 69 is supplemented, so far as regards the later portions of the Chronicle, in the preface to vol. ii. pp. xi–xiii; preface to vol. iii. p. xvi; and preface to vol. iv. p. cxi.

lxxxvi. This description of the MS. Arundel 150, is supplemented, so far as regards the later portions of the Chronicle, in the preface to vol. ii. p. xiv, and preface to vol. iii. p. xvi; and that of MS. Claudius B. vii; at vol. ii. pref., p. xiv, vol. iii. p. xvi, vol. iv. pref. p. cvi.


xcviii, line 22, for "MS. a" read "MS. 'a.'"

xi, note 1, for "Bemondsey" read "Bermondsey."

8, line 18. Some attempt should have been made in a note to identify Streburg and Homunic, the other names speak for themselves. Homunic should undoubtedly be read with Simeon of
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

Page Durham Homwic. It is Southampton. This is made clear by the words of S. Willibald's biographer, "ad loca venerunt des-
-\" cimionium quod dicitur Hambieh." Mab. AA. SS. O. S. B. Soc. III., p. ii., p. 335. Stamboll sets the question in a note. Hamelea is the river Hamble, and Homwic or Hambie is Southampton. It is also no doubt the Homwig of Nithard, iv. 3, which Pertz wrongly identifies with Hamburg.

Streburg is more obscure. It might be Strasburg, although it is more likely to be some town in England. Stourbridge, Stur-

ningster, Stradbroke (?).

12, line 33, for "Efwine" read "Elfwine."
43, note 4, for "Hovoden" read "Hoveden."
46, line 15, insert a full stop after "spatio."
47, line 4, read "fuisse."
51, marginal abstract, for "Tottenhall" read "Tettenhall."
53, line 34, read "patri."
56, line 29, for "Taddenescylf;" read "Taddenescylf;" the place is Tanshelf near Pomfret. (Raine, note on Sim. Dun.)
64, marginal abstract, line 1, for "978" read "973."
94, last line, read "sua."
107, marginal abstract, line 19, for "Portskewrth" read "Port-
"skewth."
111, line 19, for "non" read "non."
112, marginal abstract, line 21, for "Stanford" read "Stamford."
124, notes, line 8, for "utilitate" read "utilitati."
136, line 9, for "reference 2" read "1."
136, marginal abstract, erase lines 19 to 21. The mention of the bishop of Durham does not occur in the text but in note 2.
155, line 31, after "sequentii" insert reference to note 4.
157, marginal abstract, last line, for "May 11" read "November 11."
182, notes, line 4, for "163" read "page 163."
191, note 1, line 3, for "Gesta" read "Gesta."
192, line 4, after "supremus" insert reference to note 1.
196, note 5, erase sed.
201, note 1, for "earl of Holderness" read "lord of Holderness."
213, marginal abstract, line 3, for "Eugenius II." read "Eugenius III."
231, note 1, line 2, read "appears."
255, margin, line 1, for "A.D. 1165" read "A.D. 1167."
256, note 3, line 3, insert "MSS."
259, marginal abstract, lines 12-14, read "make him desert the "cause of the church."
273, margin, line 7, read "of their mother church."
282, line 10, for "de molitus" read "demolitus."
VOL. II.

Page xviii, line 3, for "Gaucelin" read "Gocelin."
" XXX, line 21, for "conquerer" read "conqueror."
" I, line 2, for "Riddel" read "Ridel."
" lxxii, note 1, last line, for "1199" read "1201."
" lxvii, note 1, last line, for "261" read "268."
" lxxii, line 28, for "develop" read "watch."
" lxxxiii, lines 8 and 28, for "Louis" read "Lewis."
" lxxxvii, note 3, for "Silvester, IV." read "Silvester IV."
" 14, line 21, the broken word is satellites.
" 22, line 1, for "quibus" read "quibus."
" 40, line 26, erase the reference 3.
" 45, note 2, line 4, for "Labbé" read "Labbe."
" 52, note 1, for "Leones" read "Leones."
" 57, line 6, for "upud" read "apud."
" 59, line 2, erase the marks of quotation on each side of frater.
" 60, note 1, for "St. Liz." read "St. Liz."

note 1. Since this was printed I have found a copy of the document printed in the Monasticon, in consequence of which this note should be expunged. See on the question some remarks in the preface to vol. iv. p. xxvii.
" 82, line 28, after "suo" insert reference to note 2.
" 94, note 1, line 7, erase the word own.
" 98, note 3, insert the note mark 3.
" 105, line 1, erase the comma after filius.
" 123, line 7, for "Castella" read "castella."
" 127, inner margin, line 4, for "i. 194" read "i. 149."
" 130, inner margin, last line, for "162" read "i. 162."
" 143, note 1, line 3, after "writer" substitute a full stop for the comma.
" 144, note 7, expunge the note with its reference in the text; it was the son of this Peter who became count of Nevers.
" 184, insert 1 before the first note.
" 190, note 2, line 7, for "MS." read "MS. C."
" 194, note 2, line 2, for "eal" read "lord."
" 194, note 2, line 11, for "in Holderness" read "on the Humber, in Lincolnshire."
" 197, inner margin, last line, for "250" read "i. 250."
" 218, note 3. The statements of this note should be corrected by the explanations given in the preface to vol. ii. pp. xlv, xlvii.
" 223, marginal abstract, line 5, read "Tenementale."
" 230, marginal abstract, line 3, for "it" read "is."
" 253, note 1, line 4, for "Harleian" read "Harleian."
" 259, inner margin, line 4, for "276" read "i. 276."
" 261, line 26, for "habeat," read "habeat."
cxii ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 291, line 10, for "in unum" read "in unum."

" 297, note 1, line 2, erase the full stop after "Mansour."

" 334, line 33, the broken word is regi.

" 339, note 3, line 1, erase the comma.

" 353, note 4, line 3, for "son" read "grandson." The bishop was son of earl Robert II., and brother of Robert III.

" 365, note 1, for "Rigord" in this note read "William of Armorica;" and see preface to vol. ii. p. lxvii, note 2.

VOL. III.

" xii, line 32, for " 7 " read " 6."

" xx. The mark prefixed to the third note should be 3 not 2 as it now stands; and the mark to the fourth note should be 4 not 1 as at present. Erase the mark 4 of reference in line 14 of the text and substitute 4 for 5 in the last line of the text.

" xxi, line 6. I have omitted to notice another short visit paid by Richard to his father in England in 1179, of which there are notices in Benedict I. 213, and in R. de Dieoto, c. 604. He crossed to England soon after Whitsuntide in that year. The length of the visit is not stated.

" xxi. It is not quite clear that the Stephen de Turonis of Benedict and Hoveden is identical with either the Stephen de Marza of Richard of Devizes, or Stephen of Turenham. In the note to p. 3 I have suggested that they were the same person, but there are considerable difficulties in the identification, and on the whole it is safer not to do so without new evidence.

" xxxiv, note 3, line 6, for " historians" read "historian."

" xxxvi, note 4, line 5, insert a comma after the word matters.

" xii, fourth note, for "i" read "1."

" lxix, line 9, for "canons" read "monks."

" lxix, note 3, line 12, for "Austin canons" read "monks of S. Mar-"' tin's." St. Martin's Dover was a Benedictine house. It had been filled with Austin canons by Archbishop William of Corbeuil, but on his death in 1136 they were expelled and a colony of monks from Christchurch, Canterbury, substituted for them. See Ger-"' vase, c. 1342.

" lxxxvii, note 1, line 1, for "172" read "173."

" xcii, note 3, line 3, for "forma" read "firma."

" cxiii, line 207, the 3 belongs to the next line fervente.

" cxv, line 263, the 2 belongs to the next line ferus.

" cxx, line 409, for "succensum" read "succensam."

" 18, before the fourth note insert 4.

" 54, line 3 from the bottom, erase "in."

" 57, note 1, omit the dates 1183–1190; the duration of the arch-"' bishop's pontificate is uncertain, but he was certainly alive in 1191. See vol. iii. p. 87.
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS. cxiii

Page 62, line 32, for “e” read “et.”

83, line 4, for “regn” read “regna.”

95, note 2, for “Sancho V.” read “Sancho VI.”

122, note 3, line 3, for “Marcellus” read “S. Marcellus.”

129, margin, line 12, read “James of Avesnes.”

153, line 14, for “domin” read “domino.”

168, note 2, line 7, for “580” read “1580.”

173, line 17, for “eclesiae” read “eclesia.”

180, note 2, for “Pentecostes,” read “Pentecosten.”

181, margin, line 9. April 28th, the 4th of the kalends of May, was the day of Conrad’s death, not April 27th as given in the text; see R. Dieeto, 667.

181, line 15, insert a full stop after “excoriatus est.”

192, note 1, line 11, for “from” read “to.”

205, note 1, line 5, for “ignobles” read “ignobiles.”

224, note 5. The attempt in this note to trace the affinity between Philip’s first and second wife is based on a mistake. S. Canute, duke of Sleswick, and king of the Obotrites, the father of Waldemar and grandfather of Ingeburga, was a different person from S. Canute, king of the Danes, father of Count Charles of Flanders. Robert Friso, count of Flanders, was father-in-law of S. Canute of Denmark who died in 1086. It is probable that Philip’s counsellors had made the same mistake, for no other colourable account is given of the connexion between the houses of Denmark and Hainault. There is in J. P. de Ludwig’s Reliquie, vol. ix. pp. 591–650, a long pedigree of Ingeburga. S. Canute of Denmark was great uncle to S. Canute of the Obotrites, but it was through his wife, a Flemish princess, that he was connected with the count of Hainault, and that connexion was extinguished by the death of Count Charles. The following is a sketch of the pedigree:—

Sweyn II., king of Denmark.

| S. Canute of Denmark, died 1086. | Eric I., king of Denmark, died 1103. |
| Adela, daughter of Robert Friso, count of Flanders. | |

Charles, count of Flanders.

S. Canute, king of the Obotrites.

Waldemar I., king of Denmark.

Canute VI. Ingeburga, wife of Philip II.
Additional notes and corrections.

Page 227, line 28, for "Apostoli," read "Apostoli."

231, margin, line 5, after "June 1," insert "1195." Hoveden has here run into the year following that on which he is properly engaged; see remarks on this in the preface to vol. iv., p. xxix.

237, line 1, for "Johannis" read "Johannes."

241, line 21, for "facta" read "factus."

245, note 2, line 3, for "original" read "original."

248, note 2, for "William de Fortibus" read "William of Redvers."

254, note 3. Hoveden (vol. iv. 60) states that Miles, count of Bar, was drowned in the Epte at Gisors in 1198; but the date as given here is upheld by the authors of the Art de Vérité les dates; and William of Armorica in the Philippi states that Philip lost none of his nobles on that occasion. (ed.Pithou, p. 289.)

266, line 23, erase the comma after "ecclesia."

279, line 4, for "archidiaconis" read "archidiacono."

285, line 11, for "predictæ" read "predicta."

287, line 24, for "archiepiscopato" read "archiepiscopatu."

301, note 2, line 2, for "Rigood" read "Rigord."

302, transpose notes 1 and 2.

302, note 4. The word given here Charroux should probably be Châteauroux, see vol. iv. p. 149.

307, note 2, line 3, for "1198" read "1197;" and see vol. iv. p. 25.

Vol. IV.

13, margin, line 16, for "Contances" read "Coutances."

21, note 5, line 3, for "1206" read "1197."

42, prefix 1 to the first note.

45, margin, line 16, for "dies" read "die."

46, margin, line 8, for "carucage" read "carucage."

49, note 1, line 3, for "Baluzes" read "Baluze's."

53, note 4, line 3, for "Gameges" read "Gisors."

59, note 2, read "om. I."

117, margin, line 20, for "Feb. 6," read "Jan. 21." This agreement is inserted by Hoveden wrongly under the year 1200; it belongs to the next year; see note 4, p. 118; and above, preface, p. xxix. Septuagesima Sunday in 1200 was Feb. 6, in 1201 it was Jan. 21.

149, note 2. It is most probable that the place in question was Châteauroux, and that the agreement in question was made at a meeting held between that place and Ysouaudun, in pursuance of the arrangement made by the treaty of 1194; see vol. iii. p. 259.
CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.
CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

PARS POSTERIOR.

Colloquium inter regem Franciam et regem Angliae.

Eodem anno, post festum Sancti Hilarii, Philippus rex Franciae et Ricardus rex Angliae convenerunt apud Lovers ad colloquium; ubi inter eos consilio hominum suorum ita convenit, quod rex Franciae quieta clamavit regi Angliae et hæreditibus suis, ab ipso et hæreditibus suis, Ysoudun cum pertinentibus suis, et totum jus quod habuit in Berria, et Alvernia, et Gasconia; et reddit ei quieta castellum de Archis, et comitatum de Auco, et comitatum de Albermarlia, et cætera castella multa, quae occupaverat per guerram. Et haec contra rex Angliae quieta clamavit regi Franciae castellum de Gysorcio, et totum Wogesin Normannicum: et ut haec omnia rata haberentur, statuerunt inter se poenam xv. millia marcarum argenti, ita quod ille, qui hanc pacem frangeret, dare alteri xv. millia marcarum argenti, et super hoc invenerunt sibi ad invicem fidejussores.

Præterea rex Franciae petiit ad opus suum Andeli, manerium Rothomagensis archiepiscopi. Quod cum

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1 Eodem anno] Rigord gives Jan. 15 as the date of the treaty, ed. Pith., p. 197. The archbishop of Rouen, in a letter addressed to Ralph de Diceto, gives an account of the conference. This letter shows that it began within the octave of the Epiphany and lasted three days at least. R. Dic. 686, 687.

2 Ysoudun] Ysodun, D. 1.; Yson-dun, G.

3 Gysorcio] Gisorcio, I.

4 omnia] om. D. I.

A 2
nulla ratione fieri posset, rex Franciæ postulavit sibi fieri fidelitatem a Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo de illa parte archiepiscopatus que est in regno Franciæ, scilicet de Vogesin le Francais. Videgit igitur Rothomagensis archiepiscopus hoc sibi grave et ignominiosum esse, appellavit ad dominum papam pro statu ecclesiae suæ, et abit, timens ne dominus suus rex Angliæ ipsum ad hoc faciendum propter favorem regis Franciæ cogeret. O ambitio, quam ceca semper! O quam præsumptio pessima! O quam perdit concessa qui inconcessa captat! Philippus itaque rex Franciæ terrenum obsidens regnum, impugnat coeleste; terrenis inhians irruit in Divina; destinatus ad scelus, ad periculum promptus, paratus ad crimen, causas innocentiae non requirit, jus abnegat; confundit fasque nefasque, cui nequitia est sodalis, cui otiosa est æquitas, iniquitas semper est amica, qui caedibus vivit, qui se munit sanguine, qui crudelitatibus sævit, cui de morte stat totum, de amore constat nihil. O!

Si quoties peccant homines sua fulmina mittat

Jupiter, exiguo tempore inermis erit.

Procedente itaque tempore, ponuit regem Franciæ se talem fecisse cum rege Angliæ conventionem: et magnum congregavit exercitum, et obsevit Albemarliam: quo facto, rex Angliæ præcepit saisiri in manu sua, in omni loco dominationis suæ citra mare et ultra, omnes res et possessiones abbatum de Majurmuster, de Cluinni, et de Sancto Dionisio, et de la Charite. Erant enim predicti abbates fidejussores erga regem Angliæ, quod rex Franciæ suprædictam pacem servaret;

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1 *Francais*] Franciscus, B. D. I. 
3 *Cluinni*] Cluny, I. Hugh of Clermont, 1183-1198. 
4 *Sancto Dionisio*] Hugh Foucauld, 1186-1197. 
5 *de la Charite*] Savarie, or William, prior of la Charité. 
6 MS. G. which now frequently abridges the text, completes the sentence "de pace servanda."
et nisi fecerit, darent regi Angliæ xv. millia marcarum argenti.

Eodem anno Robertus comes Leicestriæ, datis Philippo regi Franciæ duabus millibus mares argentì, et quieto clamato ei castello suo de Pasci, liberatus est a captione illius.


Interim Philippus rex Franciæ cepit per vim castellum de Albemarle, et subvertit illud, et rex Angliæ dedit ei tria millia marcarum argenti pro redemptione militum et servientum suorum, qui capit fuerunt in Albemaria.

Deinde rex Franciæ cepit per vim Nonancurt, et Johannes comes Moretonii, frater Ricardi regis Angliae, cepit castellum de Gameges.

Eodem anno orta est dissensio inter eives Londo- niarum. Frequentius enim solito propter regis cap- tionem et alia accidentia imponebantur eis auxilia non modica, et divites propriis parcentes marsupiis volebant ut pauperes solverent universa. Quod cum quidam legis peritus, videlicet Willelmus cum Barba filius Osberti, videret, zelo justitiae et sequitatis ac- census, factus est pauperum advocatus; volens quod unusquisque, tam dives quam pauper, secundum mo- bilia et facultates suas daret ad universa civitatis negotia; et abiit ad regem trans mare, et impetravit
A.D. 1196. *April.*

The archbishop's severity towards the discontented.

London merchants arrested at Stamford Fair, at Midleaut, March 31.

Attempted arrest and flight of William Fitz-Osbert.

He is dragged from Bow church and hanged.

Indignation of the monks of Canterbury at the violation of Bow church.

ab eo pacem sibi et populo. Unde Hubertus Walteri, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, regis justitiarius, plurimum in iram commotus, praecepit, ut ubicunque aliquis de plebe inveniret extra civitatem, caperetur tamquam hostis regis et regni. Contigit autem quod in medio Quadragesimae, apud nundinas de Stanforde, capti sunt quidam mercatores de plebe Londoniensi per praeceptum justitiarii regis. Deinde praecepit idem justitiarius, ut supradictus Willelmus cum Barba ad eum duceretur etiam invitus, ad quem capiendum cum quidam de civibus, Gaufridus nomine, veniret, prae dictus Willelmus cum Barba interfecit eum; cumque alii eum capere vellent, ipse aufugit cum quibusdam suorum, et incuserunt se in ecclesia quae dicitur ecclesia Sanctae Marie del 1 Arche; qui cum inde exire nollent, factus est insultus in eos: et cum nec sic reddere se vellent, ex praecepto archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, regis justitiarii, appositus est ignis, ut per funum et vaporem ignis exirent. Cumque prae dictus Willelmus exiret, quidam extracto cultello evisceravit eum, et sic ductus est ad turrim Lundoniarum, et ibi judicatus est suspendi. Alligatus 2 igitur cauda equi, trahirur per vicos civitatis et plateas, ad patibulum, ac suspensus est, cum octo sociis suis. Ceteri vero cives Lundoniarum, qui adhaeruerant ei, posuerunt se in misericordia regis, et obsides dererunt de pace servanda regi et regno.

Monachi autem Sanctae Trinitatis Cantuariensis, scientes quod ecclesia sua Lundoniiis, quae dicitur Sancta Maria del Arche, ita violaretur per praeceptum archiepiscopi sui, qui, quamvis regi serviret, tamen ecclesiastica jura deberet servare illesa, indignati sunt, et gravatum est cor eorum super eum, et non potuerunt eum eo quicquam pacifice loqui.

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1 del] de, B. D. I. Gervase gives the date of the catastrophe, 'April 6, c. 1591.
2 Alligatus] est, ins. B. D. I.
Eodem anno Ricardus rex Anglæ dedit Othoni nepoti suo comitatum Pictavis.

Eodem anno cum comitissa Britanniae, mater Arturi, veniret per mandatum Ricardi regis in Normanniam loqui cum eo, venit obviam ei Ranulphus comes Cestriæ, maritus ejus, ad Pontem Ursonis, et cepit eam, et inclusit eam in castello suo apud Sanctum Jacobum de Beverun; quam cum Arturus filius suus liberare non potuit, adhæsit regi Franciæ, et terræ regis patrui sui combussit; deinde rex Anglæ magno congregato exercitu intravit hostiliter Britanniam, et eam devastavit.

Interim Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus tandem ad sedem apostolicam accedens, diutinam moram ibi fecit, dominumque papam in omnibus agendis suis valde sibi difficilem, et contra se supra modum commotum, invenit. Processu vero temporis ipsi et adversariis suis tunc præsentibus data estaudientia: et cum prædicta et alia plura ei objicerentur, quæ omnia archiepiscopus falsa esse constanter asseruit, requisiti adversarii utrum proposita probare vellent, post deliberationem petitam et concessam, responderunt se onus probationis nolle suscipere. Archiepiscopus vero se ab objectis immunem esse sufficienter ostendit; unde dominus papa eum de consilio totius curiae ad officium et beneficium restituens, omnibus prelatis et aliis clericis per Eboracensem diœcis constitutis dedit in mandatis, ut ei tanquam archiepiscopo in omnibus debitam exibiret reverentiam et obedientiam; in sinuans in rescripto suo qualiter archiepiscopus se ab objectis immunem esse, et omnia ab adversariis de eo disseminata falsa et fictitia esse declaravit. Restitutionis vero ejus notitia ad regem Anglæ perveniente, qui archiepiscopum temporalibus jam prædum spoliaverat, et ad ejus, ut dicebatur, cum adversariis suis aspirabat depositionem, valde turbatus fuit, et duobus adversariis suis præcepit, ut se de cura spiritualium
intomitterent, nec archiepiscopum nec officiales suos aliquam habere administrationem permitterent. Ipse etiam rex præbendas Eboracensis ecclesie, et alia beneficia vacantia, pro voluntate sua clericis suis concessit et distribuit. Archiepiscopus vero a curia Romana reidiens, et in Gallia moram faciens, non ausus terram regis ingredi, cum non posset in conspectu regis gratiam invenire, ut vel temporalium vel spiritualium possessione gauderet, reversus est, et ad curiam Romanam eundi iter arripuit.

**Interim dominus rex Angliæ, præce Arturi duces Britanniae, et aliorum virorum potentum, dedit Petro de Dinan licentiam agendi contra Adam de Tornovere super archidiaconatu de Westrihing, quem rex præfato Adæ dederat. Inter quos tandem convenit in hunc modum, quod magister Simon Apulus, Eboracensis ecclesie decanus, et capitulum ejusdem ecclesie, concessione et voluntate prædicti Adæ, receperunt Petrum de Dinan in archidiaconatum de Westrihing, et in stallum miserunt tam in choro quam in capitulo; et ipse Petrus vices suas, et illius archidiaconatus administrationem, commisit ipsi Adæ de Tornovere sub annua pensione lx. marcarum; statuens quod praedictus Adam archidiaconatum illum in integrum habeat et teneat omnibus diebus vitae suæ, et reddat ei singulis annis inde xl. marcas de pensione; et si Petrus supervixerit Adam, recipiat archidiaconatum de Westrihing sine aliqua contradictione vel diminutione. Praeterea inter illos statutum est, quod quandocunque simul fuerint in Eboraco, unus illorum una die tenebit stallum in choro nomine archidiaconi, et alter illorum...**

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1 *Dinan*] Originally written thus in A., but altered to Dinant in an early hand, in which very many attempts at the correction of the text are made. B. and G. have *Dinant*, Peter of Dinan became soon after this bishop of Rennes.

2 *ipsi* om. B. D. I.

3 *ex.* Savile reads "60."

4 *marcas* argenti, ins. B. I.
altera die similiter, et sic mutabunt vices suas de die
in diem quaedam moram simul fecerint 1 in Eboraco.

Et ut haec 2 conventio inter illos rata sit, et inviolata permaneat, capitulum Eboraci eam confirmavit sigillo suo: sed antequam hujus conventionis notitia perveniret ad Eboracensem archiepiscopum, ipse hujusmodi litteras patentes misit in Angliam;

1 Gaufridus Dei gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et Anglia
2 primas, decanis, presbyteris, et universis clericis per archi-
diaconatum constitutis, salutem et paternam benedictionem.
3 Noverit universitas vestra nos Petro de Dinan clericis
4 nostro archidiaconatum de Westribing caritatis intuitu de-
disse: in quem Adam de Tornovero, sicut a multis certissime
5 didicimus, nescimus cujus auctorieta, se intransit, et nomen
6 archidiaconatus sibi usurpat, 3 locut ordinatio archidiacono-
natum, dignitatum, et ecclesiis nostris archiepiscopatus
7 ad nos ad nos tantum, quibus hoc Divina miseratione est
8 concessum, pertinet. Et idem etiam Adam, post restitutionem a domino papa nobis factam, contra nos et officiales
9 nostris in administratione rerum spiritualium diabolico in-
stinctu se immiscuit. Nos autem quicquid ipse Adam in

10 institutionibus, in excommunicationibus, in suspensionibus
11 et in aliquibus alis, qua nomine archidiaconi fecerit, irri-
tantes, et penitus auctoritate nostra adnihilantes, jam dictum
12 Adam excommunicatum, vobis mandantes, et in virtute
13 obedientiae precipientes quatenus in nullo ei de ecretro re-
spondeatis, sed ut excommunicatum vitietis. 4 Preterea vobis
14 notificamus, quod sententiam in Paulinum de Ecburford, 5 et
15 in alias qui contra obedientiam nobis debitam veniunt, ab
16 officialibus nostris magistro Radulfo de Kima, 6 et magistro
17 Honorio 7 non 8 ratam habemus et confirmamus. Valete."

Eodem 9 anno, mense Julii, Philippus Dunelmensis electus ordinatus est in sacerdotem ab Henrico epi-

1 moram simul fecerint | simul
2 ut haec | omitted in B. D. I.
3 usurpat | usurpavit, Savile.
4 vitietis | habeatis, Savile.
5 Ecburford | Edburford, G; Ecburford, Savile.
6 Radulfus de Kima | Shortly
7 Honorio | Afterwards arch-deacon of Richmond.
8 non | So MS. A.; om. G., which is probably right.
9 Eodem | Here MSS. B. D. I. resume.


Archbishop

Godfrey
declares

Adam a

usurper,

and excom-
municates

him.

June 15.

Ordination of Philip
closet of

Durham.
A.D. 1196.  
June 15.  
Ordination of Philip of Poltou.  

War between the king of Scots and the earl of Orkney.  

Submission of the earl; his promises.  

The earl fails to fulfill his engagements.  

Eodem anno Willelmus rex Scottorum, magno con- 
gregato exercitu, intravit Moreviam ad debellandum 
Haroldum Macmadii, qui terram illum occupaverat.  
Sed antequam rex Cathanianam intraret, Haroldus fugit 
ad naves suas, nolens contra regem bellum inire.  
Tunc misit rex Scottorum exercitum suum ad Turseham, 
villam prædicti Haroldi, et castellum suum ibidem 
situm prostravit.  

Deinde in autumno rediit rex Scottorum in Murre- 
viam usque ad Ilvernarran, ut recipeteret ab Haroldo 
inimicos suos; quo cum Haroldus prodixisset usque 
ad portum de Locloy prope Dilvernarran, permisit eos 
abire; et sero, redeunte regé de venatu, venit ad eum 
Haroldus adducens secum duos pueros nepotes suos ad 
tradendum regi in obsides; et interrogatus ab regé ubi 
essent inimici ejus, quos tradere debuerat, et ubi esset

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1 Haroldum Macmadii ] Harold son of Madach earl of Athol, was earl of Orkney from 1138, when he was quite a child, to 1206.  
2 Turseham ] That is Thurso.  
3 Orchadam ] Oreadam, B. L.  
4 Haroldo juniori ] Harold son of Eric and Ingigerda, daughter of Ronald, who had shared the earldom of Orkney during the youth of Harald Mac Madach; Robertson, Scotland, &c., pp. 405-411.  
5 Orchadaiam ] Orkeneam, B. D. I.  
6 Ilvernarran ] Now Nairn.  
7 Haroldo ] Haraldo, D. I.
Torphinus filius ejus, quem obsidem dare promiserat, respondit, "Permisí eos abire, sciendo quod si tradiderit "sem eos vobis, non evaderent manus vestras; filium "autem meum adducere non potui, quia in terra illa "non est alius hæres." Igitur quia ipse conventiones, quas cum domino suo regi fecit, non servaverat, judi-catum est eum in captione regis remansurum, donec filius ejus veniret, et obses fieret. Et pro eo quod ipse permissit inimicos regis abire, judicatum est ipsum de-meruisse terram quam ille\(^{1}\) de rege tenebat. Et rex duxit\(^{2}\) secum Haroldum usque ad castellum Puellarem, et tenuit eum in vinculis, donec homines sui de Or-chadiam adduxerunt filium suum Torphinum: et tra-dentes eum domino regi obsidem, liberavérunt Harol-dum de captione regis. Et Haroldus reversus est in Orchadiam, et ibi mansit\(^{3}\) in pace et quiete, donec Haroldus junior, accepta a Suero \(^{4}\) Birkebain, rege Nor-weæ, licentia calumniandi medietatem Orchadise, ad-duxit secum Siwardum Murd\(^{5}\) de Hegland, et alios multos bellatores, et Orchadiam invasit; et noluit Ha-roldus senior cum eo pugnam ingredi, sed abiit in insulam de Man, relicta Orchadia; et ibi congregavit navigium, et homines multos. Similiter fecit Haroldus junior, et adiit insulam de Man, volens congrèdi cum Haroldo seniore; sed Haroldus senior ante adventum Haroldi junioris in Man, per aliam viaem ingressus est Orchadiam, cum navigio suo, et interfecit omnes quos in Orchadia invenit. Quo audito, Haroldus junior re-versus est\(^{6}\) in Cathenes apud Wic, et commisit præ-lium cum Haroldo seniore: et in prælio illo Haroldus junior et omnis exercitus ejus interfeci sunt. Inter-fecto itaque\(^{7}\) Haroldo juniori, Haroldus senior venit ad

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1. *ille*\(^{1}\) ipse, D. I.
2. *rex duxit*\(^{2}\) reduxit, B. I.
3. *mansit*\(^{3}\) manxit, A.
4. *Suero*\(^{4}\) Swero, B. D. I.; Birka-bain, D.
7. *itaque*\(^{7}\) nuncque, D. I.
regem Scotorum per conductum Rogeri et Reginaldi, episcoporum Sancti Andrae et Rosmarkin, et obtulit regi copiam auri et argentii pro Cathania, id est, Catenes, rehabendo; cui rex respondit, quod terram illum sibi traderet, si uxorem suam filiam Malcolm Machaz\(^1\) dimisisset, et priorem sponsam suam, sororem Dunecani comitis de Fif, resumpsisset, et tradidisset ei in obsidem Laurentium clericum suum, et Honaver\(^2\) filium Iggemundi; quod Haroldus facere noluit. Venit ergo Reginaldus\(^3\), filius Sumerled, rex de Man, ad Willelum regem Scotorum, et emit ab eo Chathaniam, salvo regis redditu annuo.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Willelmo de Chimely, archidiacono de Richemund, episcopatum Abrincarum\(^4\) in Normannia; et idem rex dedit magistro Eustachio, sigillifero suo, archidiaconatum de Richemund.

Eodem anno Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas, et apostolice sedis legatus, et totius Angliæ summus justitiarius, sepe et multum sollicitavit per internuncios suos dominum suum Ricardum regem Angliæ, ut eum liberaret a regimine regni, ostendens ipsum non posse sufficere regiminis ecclesiae et regni. Cum igitur rex, licet invitus, eo quod non erat inventus similis illi, qui conservaret leges et juris regni, precibus tamen illius inclinatus, illum a sollicitudine reginis removere vellet, poenituit eum tale fecisse regi mandatum, expertus, quod in custo-

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\(^1\) *Malcolm Machaz* ] Malcolm MacIeth, earl of Moray; said to be identical with Wimund bishop of Man. W. Newb., i. 24.

\(^2\) *Honaver* ] Bonaver, i. Inge- mund was governor, under Norway, of the isle of Man in 1111. Robert- son, i. 364. Whether the same person may be questioned.

\(^3\) *Reginaldus* ] Ronald, king of Man, was son of Godred. Ronald, son of Somerled, was a subordinate king of the Sudreys. Robertson, *Scotland under her early Kings*, i. 412.

\(^4\) *Abrincarum* ] Abricarum, B. William de Chimeli was bishop elect of Avranches from 1196 to 1197, and translated to Angers before consecration; he was bishop of Angers from 1197 to 1202, when he died.
diendis illis est retributio multa, et inspectis scriptis, et computationibus auditis, mandavit regi, quod infra biennium proximo preteritum adquisierat ad opus illius undecies centena millia marcarum argenti de regno Angliæ; subjugens, quod si servitium ejus videretur illi necessarium, non recusaret laborem, nec fatiiscentem causaretur aetatem. O infelicem¹ presulem! licet sepius legisset "Neminem posse duobus dominis servire; aut " enim unum odio habebit, et alterum diliget; aut unum " sustinebit, et alterum contemnet."); præelegit tamen officium sacerdotale postponere, quam regi terreno non adhaerere: et sic accepta regni regiminis potestate, officii administrationem ecclesiastici, cui professionis voto strictus fuerat, parvipendens, pro castris regis Angliæ stare non recusavit.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Philippo Dunelmensi electo licentiam fabricandi monetam in civitate sua Dunelmensi, quod prædecessoribus suis a multo tempore retro non erat permíssum.


Eodem anno Comes de Sancto Egidio duxit in uxorem Johannam sororem Ricardi regis Angliæ, quondam reginam Sicilie.

Eodem anno obiit Henricus Wigornensis episcopus, cui successit, dono Ricardi regis, Johannes de Constantiis, Rothomagensis decanus.

Eodem anno obiit Willelmus, comes de Salesbiri, filius comitis Patricii; cujus filiam et heredem Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit in uxorem cum comitatu Salesbiriensi Willelmo fratri suo notho.

Eodem anno obiit Mauricius episcopus Parisius.² The bishop's mint re-established at Durham.

¹ infelicem] felicem, B. D I.; MS. G. omits the sentence.
² Eodem . . . decanus] om. B. D. I. An attempt has been made to erase the entry in MS. A. The bishop died in fact in 1195, and his death is recorded in vol. iii. p. 306.
Eodem anno obiit Bela rex Hungariae; post cujus obitum Margareta uxor ejus, soror Philippi regis Franciae, quae quondam exstiterat regina Angliae, uxor Henrici regis junioris, acceptit crucem Jerusolimitanae professionis, et in terra Jerusolimitana apud Accon in Dei servitio permansit,1 usque ad consummationem vitae sua.

Eodem anno obiit Bucardus,2 Eboracensis ecclesiae thesaurarius, cujus thesaurium Ricardus rex Angliae dedit magistro Eustachio3 sigillifero suo.

Eodem anno obiit Petrus de Ros,4 quo defuncto, Ricardus rex Angliae dedit Aimerico,5 nepoti Philippi Dunelmensis electi, archidiaconatum Carleoli,6 et Philippus Dunelmensis electus dedit eidem Aimerico nepoti suo archidiaconatum de Dunelmo, et ecclesiam de Accllet,7 quae praedictus Bucardus habuerat.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliae8 firmavit novum castellum in insula de Andeli, contra voluntatem et prohibitionem Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi; et, quia rex ab inceptis desistere noluit, predictus archiepiscopus dedit sententiam interdicti in Normanniam, et abiit ad summum pontificem.

Eodem anno facta congressione inter familiam regis Franciae et regis Angliae, Hugo de Chaumunt, miles probus et dives, et valde familiaris regi Franciae, captus est, et regi Angliae traditus; quem rex Angliae tradidit Roberto de Ros custodiendum, et Robertus tradidit illum Willelmo del Espinai servienti suo custodiendum in castello de bona Villa supra9 Toke; qui cum minus

1 permansit] permanxit, A.; she died in 1197. See p. 32 below.
2 Bucardus] Burcardus, D.
5 Aimerico] Aimeric Thebert, archdeacon of Carlisle, 1196; also archdeacon of Durham as late as 1213.
6 Carleoli] Cardeoli, I.
8 Angliae] om. B. I.
9 supra] super, D. I.
caute custodiretur; per murum de nocte demissus

undex Agobi is iratus, eo quod Hugo de Chaumund

sic manus suas evasit, cepit Robertum de Ros, et in-
carcervavit, et cepit de eo m. et cc. marcas argenti de
redemptione, et Willelmus del Espinai, proditor domini
sui, suspensus est in patibulo.

Eodem anno Radulfus de Wigetoft, clericus Gaufredi

Eboracensis archiepiscopi, infirmabatur Romae usque ad

demortem, et coram domino papa Celestino et universis
cardinalibus confessus est, quod ipse multas litteras
falsas in curia Romana adquisierat, tam de negotio
domi sui Eboracensis archiepiscopi, quam de suo ne-
gotio proprio; et quod jam illas in Angliam praemi-
serat. Unde dominus papa in mandatis dedit Huberto

Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ut si aliquae litterae super
negotio Eboracensis archiepiscopi inventae fuissent con-
tinentes aliquid citra æquitatem et justiam, retine-
rentur. Unde factum est, quod Rogerus de Ripun,

clericus, portitor harum, qui et toxicum portabat, in-
ventus est Lundoniis, dicens quod Radulfus de Wigetoft

tradiderat ea illi. Dicebat etiam quod toxicum illud
tradidit ei fuerat ad perdendum magistrum Simonem

Eboracensis ecclesiae decanum, et quosdam alios ejusdem
ecclesiae canonicos. Ad vocationem igitur Huberti Can-
tuariensis archiepiscopi, regis justitarii, venit Lundoniis
predictus decanus Eboraci, et tradita sunt ei venenum
illud, et annulare, et zona pulcherrima toxicata ad
combureendum; quibus traditis, convenit multitudo
maxima virorum et mulierum, in loco qui dicitur
Totehil, ut testes fierent combustionis illorum; et sic
igni tradita sunt, et redacta in cinerés; portitor autem

1 demissus] dimissus, Savile.
2 confessus est] inserted in later
hand in A.
3 Angliam] Angilia, B. I.
4 Ripun] Ripunt, B.; altered in

A.D. 1196. He escapes. Richard
langs Wil-

liam of

Espinali.

Ralph of

Wigetoft, at

Reme, con-

fesses that

he has sent

forged

letters to

England.

Roger of

Ripon

arrested at

London,
carrying

poison and

forged

letters.

The letters

and poison

are burned

at Totehil.

a later hand to Ripunt, A. The

paragraph in G. is much abridged.
5 harum] litterarum, ins. Savile.
6 Wigetoft] Wigetoft, I.
7 Totehil] Totehil, C.
illorum in carcere servabatur; et adversarii Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi omne crimen ei objiciunt.


Octavus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliae.


Normandy is still under interdict

Anno gratiae millesimo centesimo nonagesimo septimo, qui est annus octavus regni Ricardi regis Angliae, idem Ricardus fuit in Normannia apud Burum die Natalis Domini, quæ quarta feria eventit; plurimum confusus, eo quod Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus noluit relaxare interdicti sententiam quam in Normanniam tulerat. Corpora enim defunctorum insepulta jacebant per vicos et plateas civitatum Normanniae. Misit ergo rex Willelmum Eliensem episcopum cancellarium suum, et 2 Lexoviensem episcopum, et

1 Bealvaiz ] Bellavez, Savile ; Belavez, B. D. I.
2 cf] blank for name of bishop of Lisieux, William de Rupierre, bishop 1191–1201.
Philippum Dunelmensem electum, ut coram domino papa causam suam defenderent contra praefatum Rothomagensem archiepiscopum. Qui cum Pictavim venissent, Willelmus episcopus Eliensis, regis cancellarius, ægrotavit usque mortem, et mortuus est, et sepultus; et quandiu ipse in extremis laborasse videretur, quædam crux lignea in cathedrali ejusdem civitatis ecclesia, quæ dicitur crux Sancti Martialis videbatur ita vehementer, quod quasi rivulus aquæ, ab oculis ejus defluens, faciem illius rigaret. Populus autem dicebat hoc jam tertio evenisse; primo in obitu ejusdem civitatis episcopi; secundo in recessu Johannis Belesmains, ejusdem civitatis episcopi; tertio in obitu istius Willelmi Eliensis episcopi.

Quo defuncto, Lexoviensis episcopus et Dunelmensis electus processerunt in negotio domini sui. Dominus rex, non immemor servitii quod praedictus cancellarius ei fecerat, dedit Roberto fratri illius, priori Eliensi, abbatiam Sanctæ Marie Eboraci, quem Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolice sedis legatus, bene-dixit in abbatem.

Convenientibus igitur in presentia domini papa Celestini praefato Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et episcopo Lexoviensi, et electo Dunelmensi; archiepiscopus Rothomagensis protestatus est jus suum, quod habebat in Andeli, et injuriam quam Ricardus rex Angliae ei fecerat firmando castellum in patrimonio ecclesiae Rothomagensis injuste et contra voluntatem et assensum illius. Ad quod supradicti regis nuncii responderunt, quod dominus rex sæpe et multum obterulant ei per internuncios suos, videlicet viros venerabiles et discretos,
A.D. 1197.
Argument of Richard for fortifying Andely.

episcopos et abbates, comites et barones, se in omnibus satisfacturum illi ad estimationem proborum virorum.
Asserebant enim ex parte regis, quod ipse insulam illam de Andeli, in qua castellum firmaverat, nullo modo dimittere posset, quia rex Franciae et sui perinde transitum faciebant in Normanniam, et sepius eam devastabant; et ideo rex Anglie locum illum muni-erat ad defensionem terrae sue contra regem Franciae. Et super his predictus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus et præfati regis nuncii compromiserunt se examini domini papæ et Romanae ecclesiae. Unde factum est, quod dominus papa et cardinales post diutinam deli-berationem, attendentes damna et inopportunitates que acciderent Normanniae, nisi locus ille de Andeli firmaretur, consuluerunt præfato Rothomagensi archi-episcopo, quod cum domino suo rege amicabiler com-poneret, et ab eo sufficienter recompensationem ablata-torum recipieret, secundum proborum et sapientum virorum estimationem; dicentes bene licere regi et cuilibet potenti infirmiora terræ sue munire, ne perinde dannum sibi et suis contingat.

De consecratione Philippi Dunelmensis episcopi.


1 ideo] idcirco, Savile.
Redeuntibus autem ad dominum Ricardum regem Anglie, supradicto Rothomagensi archiepiscopo et Lexoviensi et Dunelmensi episcopis, cum forma pacis inter predictum regem et Rothomagensem archiepiscopum de consilio domini papaæ et cardinalium ordinata; idem rex, convocatis episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus Normannicis, dedit Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo et ejus successoribus, in recompensationem villae suae de Andeli, villam de Depe cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et vallem de Malauai, et molendina de Robec in civitate Rothomagi, et Luvers cum pertinentiis suis, et carta sua confirmavit. Hæc contra Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus quietum clamavit Ricardo regi Anglie, et heredibus suis, Andeli cum pertinentiis suis, ab ipso et successoribus suis.


Eodem anno Campani et Flandrenses et Britones, relictio rege Franciae, adheserunt Ricardo regi Anglie; datis hinc inde obsidibus, quod non facerent concordiam neque pacem cum rege Franciae, nisi de communis illorum consilio. Rex enim Anglie illos, et fere omnes potentiores de regno Franciae, muneribus allexit: nam ejus prælarga manus donis cætera vincebat dona;

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1 Malauai] altered to Malandai, in A. Savile has Malandai, MS. I. omits the word.
2 et vallem... suis] om. D. I. The Act by which the exchange was finally completed is given by Ralph de Diceto, cc. 698, 699; and is dated October 16. The papal confirmation is also given, but without date, col. 701. There are some differences between these and the account in the text.
3 frumentum] frumenta, D. I.
A.D. 1197.

"Nec tamen in dando mensuram deserit, immo, "Singula describit certo moderamine finis."

Dedit itaque Baldewino comiti Flandriæ pro auxilio suo quinque millia marcarum argenti; et quod ipse cum rege Franciae pacem non faceret, nisi de consensu regis Anglie; similiter fecit ei rex Anglie.


Interim Baldewinus comes Flandriæ obsedit civitatem de Araz; quo audito, rex Franciae venit illuc cum copioso exercitu; in cujus adventu comes Flandriæ, relicta obsidione, redivit in terram suam, et rex Franciae secutus est eum: cunque rex Franciae longius proces-sisset, comes Flandriæ fecit pontes diruere ante regem Franciae et retro, ita quod neque victus neque exercitus ejus potuit ad eum accedere. Tunc rex Franciae in arco positus supplicavit comiti Flandriæ, ne ipse coronam Franciae contaminaret, asserens quod ipse ea intentione Flandriam intraverat, ut cum illo amicabi-liter componeret; jurans quod ipse redderet illi totum jus suum, si dimisisset Ricardum regem Anglie extra

pacem. Et quia comes Flandriæ contra pactum¹ quod cum rege Angliæ fecerat venire noluit, cepit colloquium inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ, feria quarta post festum Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis, inter Gwaillun² et Andeli; et sic rex Franciæ liberatus a captione comitis Flandriæ redit in Franciam, sed nullam conventionem, quam comiti Flandriæ fecit, tenere voluit.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit magistro Eustachio,³ vicecancellario suo, episcopatum de Ely.

Eodem anno Johanna soror Ricardi regis Angliæ, uxor Raimundi comitis de Sancto Egidio, peperit filium suum primogenitum, et vocatum est nomen ejus Raimundus.

Eodem anno obiit Resus filius Griffini rex post cujus obitum facta est discordia inter filios suos, quis eorum loco patris regnaret: ad quam exstinguen-dam Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, regis justi-tiarius, fines Gwalliae adiit, et pacem inter illos fecit.

Interim Philippus Belvacensis episcopus, missio Aurelianensi episcopo fratre suo Romam, dum adhuc esset in captione regis Angliæ, in hac forma scriptit Celestino summo pontifici;

Epistola⁶ Philippi Belvacensis episcopi ad Celestinum papam de captione sua.

¹ "Venerabili domino et patri Celestino, summo pontifici, The letter.
" Philippus Belvacensis episcopus salutem, et obedientiam canonicæ devotionem. Superæ dignitatis favor felicitatem " vestram et multiplices successus evexit in altum, ad me-

¹ pactum] factum, B. D. I.
² Gwaillun] Gwaillun, I.; Gwan-nun originally in A., corrected to Gwaillun, Gwaillun, B.
³ Eustachio] He was consecrated March 8, 1198, at Westminster. R. Die. 701.
⁴ rex] A blank left for the name of the kingdom. C. supplies Wallia.
⁵ He was prince of South Wales 1136–1197.
⁶ Epistola] This letter, with the answer of the pope, is regarded as certainly fictitious. They are in all the MSS.
A.D. 1197.
Letter of the bishop of Benouais to the pope complaining of his imprisonment.

moriam reducens illud legale, 'Insontes invitat ad culpam, qui suntes præterit impunitos.' Universis ecclesiis jam quasi notorium habetur, quam irreverenter, quamque inhumanitas in dominum suum regem Francorum rex Anglæ jam pridem insurrexerit, similis homini, qui montem magnum fune circumligatum tentat dejicere: afferens igitur secum ignem et gladium, subnixus etiam apostaticis Bra- bancorum cohortibus, patriam nostram irruebat circum-
quaque depopulando. Quod cum visissem, illius legalis non immemor, 'Vim vi repellere licet,' et illius, 'Pugna pro patria,' militum et civium euneis et aciei procerum im-
mitux, hostibus irruentibus obviam exivi. Sed humanis
noverca fortuna consiliis propositum rei sinistro mancipavit
effectui. Captus quidem ibi sum, et vinculis gravibus et
catenis addictus; nec ordinis dignitas nec Dei reverentia
remedii alicui vel mitigationis mihi contulerunt. Taliter
ergo rex Anglie in christum Domini more lupino saevire
non formidavit, nec vestris auribus incognitum existima-

philosophus

e ergo dissimulatis? Quid pater videret filium
 errare, et taceret? Quid virga filium non percuteret, ut
 gladium non incurreret? Desperat pater de filio, quem
 comminatione non corripit, vel flagello. Luce quidem
clarius elucescit, quod rex Anglie, ceterique complices sui,
qui violenter manus in nos injeicerunt, dicte sententiae ca-
none inciderunt; injurias nobis et molestias enormiter
illatas vestrae paternitati lacrymabiliter insinuans: lacrymis
nostris et petitioni clementer condescendatis. Indignum
est siquidem subjectorum petitionem ad vos directam, vacuam
reverti et inanem, quam etiam humiliatem redolent, et rati-
nis subnixa est presidio. Nec immunis est a culpa, quia
quod potest corrigitere, dissimulat emendare; nec caret
scrupulo societatis occulte, qui manifesto facinori desinit
obviare. Licet igitur verba doloris totiens multiplicaverim,
pater sancte, ne miremini. Nescit, immo nequit pectoris
claustrum dolor assiduus sepeliri. Valeat paternitas vestra.
Rescriptum Celestini papa ad Philippum Belvacensem episcopum.¹

"Celestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto fratri Philippo Belvacensi episcopo salutem, et ab exorbitatione reditum maturare. Sinistre licet tibi eviscridi, nec mirum. Cunctorum enim mercetur odium, qui omnium se in commune approbat inimicum. Præsulem namque pacificum exuens, militem bellicosum induisti: clypeum pro infusa gladium pro stola, loricam pro alba, galeam pro mitra, lanceam pro baculo pastorali, ordinem rerum et seriem perturbas, temerarius bajulasti; non vim, sicut allegas, sed virun tum vi repellere volens, non pro patria, sed contra patriam pugnant. De Gallia namque vestra jam publice declarare possimus: 'Vae terræ cujus rex puér est.' Rex namque vester regi Anglorum sacramento corporali praestito tenebatur astrictus super indemnitate tam oppidorum quam terrarum suarum sibi fidelter observanda, saltem usque ad reditum ab itinere peregrinationis suæ. Sed contra fidem et sacramentum impudenter veniens, oppida predicti regis violenter occupavit, terram suam hostili manu crudeliter vastavit: ab ergastulo rediens tandem regi vestro rex ille viriliter occurrat, non de multitudine, sed in Domino Deo spem ponens. Non enim virorum, vel virium, sed virtutum copia bella vincantur. Pro rege quidem Anglie contra superbiam humiliatas, contra injuriam jus et aequitas; contra arrogantiam et intemperantiam, modus et modestia hucusque dimicaverunt. Numerosis enim virtutibus non viribus imnunes viri victoriam consequuntur. Injuriam armis irrogatam armorum propulsare remodio leges et iura permittunt. Nunc vero tamen, licet sero, rex Anglie se suamque manifestavit animositatem; quoniam vix est, ut virtus clausa celari, ut animositatis ardor extingui, ut probatias scintilla comprimi valeat, et includi. Virtus enim claudi nescit: et ignis oppressus in flammam erumpit. Effrenem siquidem domini sui venasie non solum consiliarium, sed et compli nem te tam insipientem quam insolentem exhibuisti; quæ sistiæ et inventisti; pulsasti, et pulsatus proculabisti; in favem quam fecisti, merito incidisti; ubi autem inventus, ibi judicatus. Sicut igitur ex litterarum tuarum nobis directarum tenere perpendimus; excessus proprios nobis impu-

¹ It is hardly necessary to remark that this letter is a fabrication.

² proprios patrios, Savile.
A.D. 1197.
Letter of the pope to the bishop of Beauvais.

"tans, culpam tuam in nos retorquere labores, nos tepidos
asse rerens et dissimulatores. Quid ergo si ovis in pastorem,
in patrem filius insurget? nec pastor, quem non pavisse; nec
pater erit, quem non posniteat educasse. Nocens ergo in
homine telum est, simplicitatis imagine malignam astutiam
palliare. Regi tamen Anglorum pro te litteras dirigimus
supplicatorias. Qualitate namque captionis tuae medullitus
inspecta, in tali casu non possumus nec debemus imperare,
sed tantum supplicare. 
Vicitis 1 ergo sapienter vincendum 2
est, quia sic legitur, 'Sapientia vincit malitiam.' Nos autem
pro te supplicamus non importune, sed opportune. Argu-
mentum enim differentiae est importunae, 3 importuna precum
instantia. Debitum quoque facilius exsequitur patiens ex-
spectatio, quam extorquet importuna petitio. Interim vero 4
vinculis et lamentos mancipatus, vincula tua lamentaque
leniter patienterque sustineas, juxta illud poete,—
" Leniter ex merito quicquid patiare ferendum est:
" Quae venit indigne poena dolenda venit.

Eodem anno obit Willelmus 5 Pictavensis episcopus;
et quamvis vita illius viseretur hominibus valde repres-
hensibilis, tamen ipse post obitum ejus claruit in
miraculis.

Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciae, et Ricardus rex
Anglie, statuerunt inter se treugas a festo Sancti Hilarii
in unum annum; habentes in proposito, quod interim 6
pacem et concordiam finalem inter se facerent.

Deinde Baldewinus comes Flandriæ venit in Angliam
in peregrinacione ad Sanctum Thomam Cantuariensem
martyrem.

Eodem anno filius Henrici Romanorum imperatoris,
quam pepererat ei Constantia imperatrix, filia Rogeri
quondam regis Sicilie, puer septem annorum, baptizatus
est, et vocatum est nomen ejus Fredericus.

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1 *Vicitis*] Victor, Savile.  
2 *vincendum*] vincendus, Savile.  
3 *importuna*] om. Savile; inopor-
tuna, B.  
4 *vero*] ergo, B. D. I.  
5 *Willelmus*] De Tempier, bishop,  
1184-1197: died Mar. 29. MS. D.  
6 *interim*] iterum, Savile.
Eodem anno Jordanus de Curci, frater Johannis de Curci principis regni de Ulvestir in Hibernia, a quodam Hibernense familiaris suo interfectus est. In cujus vindictam praedictus Johannes frater ejus commissit prelium cum Hibernensibus regulis; ex quibus partem fugavit, partem stravit, et terras eorum sibi subjugavit; quorum partem magnum dedit Dunecano filio Gilberti filii Fergus, qui eo tempore, quo praedictus Johannes preliaturus erat cum Hibernensibus, venit ad eum in Hibernia cum gente non modica auxiliaturus illi.

Eodem anno Nicholaus episcopus de Wie in Norvegia commissit prelium cum Suero Birkebain, et ab eo victus fugit, omnibus suis fere interfectis.

Eodem anno prefatus Aurelianensis episcopus, qui pro liberatione Philippi fratris sui Romam profectus fuerat, obit apud Senes-la-veille.


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1 Dunecano Lord of Galloway.
2 Suero] Swero, B. I.
3 Aurelianensis Aureliensi, A.
4 Maguntino] Blank for the name in A. Conrad of Wittelsbach.
5 Reno] Henry, the son of Henry the Lion, made Count Palatine in 1196.
6 Loven] Loven, A., corr. Lovein, Luvein, B.
7 Saringes] Berthold V. was duke of Zähringen from 1178 to 1218.
8 Swythe] Perhaps Philip of Swabia; but C. and G. read Sweehe.
9 Baiveria] Lewis I. of Wittelsbach, 1183-1231.
10 Lambury] Waleran was son (not brother) of Henry III., duke of Limburg, who reigned from 1170 to 1221.
statuit inter Christianos et paganos. Unde Saphadin frater Saladini et caeteri pagani, plurimum commoti, interfecerunt omnes quos attigerant Christianos, et obsederunt Jopen.

De obitu Henrici comitis de Campania.

 Comes autem Henricus de Campania, qui per electionem regum Franciae et Angliae, et Templariorum et Hospitalorum, praeerat terre Jerosolimitanae, exercitum Christianorum paravit ad obсидиonem illam solvendam: et dum ipse nixus columnae cujusdam fenestrae in thalamo superiori, loqueretur ad turbas, fracta est columna illa, et ille corruens in terram, fractis cervicibus exspiravit. Saraceni vero ceperunt Jopen, et interfecerunt in ea plus quam viginti millia Christianorum. Post obitum vero Henrici comitis de Campania, dux de Luvain et Henricus dux Saxoniae ¹ receperunt se in civitate Accon; sed nihil possederunt extra portas civitatis, et nihil victus potuit eis affерri propter metum paganorum. Exercitus autem imperatoris, qui de Alamannia et caeteris terris ejus iter Jerusolimitanum per mare susceperat, transitum fecit in ² Normanniam et Angliam; et sic rectum cursum tenens usque in Hispaniam, eripuit civitatem Silviae de manu paganorum; quam penitus destruxerunt, non relinquentes lapidem super lapidem: timebant enim quod, si eam tradiderant regi Portugalensi, ipse eam amitteret, sicut prius fecerat.

De miraculo quod contigit in peregrinatione Alamannorum versus Jerusalem.

 In peregrinatione autem peditum gentis ejusdem imperatoris, contigit quoddam miraculum novum et a seculo inauditum. ³ Accidit itaque, quod duo Alemanni, vicini et compatres, consortium inierunt quod simul

¹ Saxonie] de Saxonie, B. I.
² [a] per, I.
³ MS. D. has this paragraph as far as terrem, and then omits down to egressus, p. 27.
irent in illa peregrinatione Jerosolimitana, in uno hospitio et una expensa consortes. Cum igitur tempus motionis instaret, unus illorum venit ad domum alterius nocte una hospitaturus, et cum illi ostenderet pecuniam, quam secum in via deferret, paterfamilias consilio uxoris sue interficit illum et pecuniam illius cepit; et imponens collo suo cadaver interficti, profectus est ut illud in aquam projiceret; sed nullo modo potuit illum a se projicere; et in diluculo domum rediens cum cadavere collo suo inhærente per tres dies in absconso latuit; sed cum diutius sustineret hoc non potuit, per rexit ad pontificem suum, ut eum consuleret quid super hoc sibi esset agendum; et præcepit ei pontifex in virtute obedientiae, ut ipse cadaver illum secum in terram Jerosolimitanam ferret, ut sic expiatis sordibus, redderet animam suam coelorum sedibus: et sic poenitentia ductus processit cum aliis peregrinis, portans in collo suo defunctum illum, ad laudem bonorum, et malorum terrem.

Eodem anno Henricus Romanorum imperator cepit magnates Sicilie, ex quibus quosdam incarceravit, quosdam diversis ponis afflictos morti tradidit; Margaritum etiam admiralem, cui ipse dederat ducatum de Duraz, et principatum de Tarente, et principatum maris, evulsiones oculis et abscessis testiculis, excæcari et ementulari fecit. Constancia vero imperatrix videns mala quæ imperator gesserat, cum gente sua fedus iniit contra imperatorem maritum suum; et Panormum pergens, cepit thesauros imperatoris, quos reges Sicilieæ a multo tempore thesaurizaverant; unde principes regni animosiores effecti injeicerunt manus in Alemannos imperatoris, et inter se fecerunt eos. Imperator vero fugiens inclusit se in munitione fortii, volens, si posset, repatriare; sed adversarii ejus ita vias ei praeculerant, quod nusquam securus illi patebat egressus.

1 Tarente] Tharente, I.
A.D. 1197.
Saphadin is defeated by the crusaders;

Interim Saphadin frater Saladini, post captionem Jopen, magno congregato exercitu paganorum, commisit praelium cum supradictis ducibus et comitibus, et exercitu imperatoris Romanorum, quem ipse in terram Jerosolimitanam miserat; et prevaluit exercitus Christianorum; et ceperunt in prælio illo Christiani duos filios Saladini, et plus quam sexaginta admirales; et Saphadinus frater Saladini lethaliter vulneratus vix evasit. Cæperunt etiam Christiani Sidonem civitatem, et Laliche, et magnum Gybel; et erat spe Christianorum quod filius Saladini tenens civitatem Jerosolimæ vellet Christianari; sic enim erat interlocutum per internuncios mediantes.

De captione de Barhud a Christianis.


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1 quod] Blank for name in A.
2 Barhut] Baruc, B.; Baruhe, G.; Barruc, D. I. There is a mark of erasure in A., which seems at first to have had Barhud.
3 supervenit] Blank for name in A.
4 Aimericus] Aumerius, I.
5 nos] om. I.
"tus Dei Filius, et sanctum sepulcrum Ejus." Ad hanc vocem pagani exterriti fugerunt ad montana, relicta castello et civitate, et victu et armis suis; et Christiiani recepti sunt in civitate et castello cum gaudio. Deinde praefatus Maguntinus archiepiscopus, consilio et voluntate principum Alemannicæ, tradidit Aimerico domino Cypri Accon et Tyrum et Barhud, et caeteras civitates quas ceperant; deinde dedit ei Milisent in uxorem, quæ fuerat uxor Henrici comitis de Campania, et coronavit eos in civitate de Barhud; et ipse Aimericus devenit homo Henrici Romanorum imperatoris de insula Cypri.

De exilio Johannis Dublensis episcopi.


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2 Barud] Barud, I. 2 Aimerico] Aumerico, I. The sentence is omitted in D.
3 Milisent] Milesent, I.; properly Isabella.
4 Barud] Barud, I.
5 Aimericus] Aumericus, I.
Miracle in iuxta omnem, tam Hybernenses quam cæteri, in maxima veneracione habebant. Cum autem haec imago Crucifixi esset humi prostrata et spinis circumsepta, feria sexta facta est in agone, et apparet facies ejus suffusa rubore vehementi, velut esset in camino ardentii; et sudor magnus exivit a facie ejus, et ab oculus ejus cadebant guttae, ac si fletur.; hora autem diei illius sexta, a dextro illius latere et a dextra illius mamilla exivit sanguis et aqua; que ministri ecclesie diligenter colligentes, miserunt legationem post Johannem Cumin archiepiscopum suum, mandantes ei hujus rei eventum sub sigillorum venerabilium virorum testimonio, domino papae insinuandum. Cæteri autem episcopi Hiberniae, licet sepius legissent, 

"En tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,"

tamen clausis oculus transierunt damna et injurias, que ministri prefati Johannis comitis Moretonii coepiscopo suo fecerant, et facti veluti arietes non habentes cornua, cedebant a facie subsequentis. Johannes vero Dublinensis episcopus exulans venit ad Ricardum regem Anglie, et ad Johannem comitem Moretonii fratrem ejus; sed nullam potuit habere justitiam, vel ablatorum restitutionem.

**Henricus Romanorum imperator obiit.**

Eodem anno Henricus Romanorum imperator, facta reconciliatione cum uxore sua et magnatibus Siciliae, incepit ægrotare, et misit Savaricum Batoniensem episcopum, consanguineum et cancellarium suum de Burgundia, ad Ricardum regem Anglie, et obtulit ei recompensationem pecunie quam de eo ceperat pro redemptione sua, sive in auro et argento, sive in terris.  

1 *facta . . . et* om. B. D. I.  
2 D. omits all that follows as far as pontifex, p. 33.
predictus Romanorum imperator obiit in Sicilia apud Messanam, in vigilia Sancti Michaelis, excommunicatus a Coelestino papa propter captionem et redemptionem Ricardi regis Angliae; et ideo prohibuit idem papa ne corpus illius sepeliretur, licet archiepiscopus Messanae pro eo multum orasset. Venit itaque prefatus archiepiscopus ad Coelestinum papam tribus de causis. Prima, ut corpus imperatoris sepeliretur; secunda, ut Marchowaldus, summus imperatoris justitiarius, liberaretur ab obsidione Romanorum, qui eum obsederant in Marciia Guarneri, non permitentes eum inde exire; tertia, ut Fredericus prefati imperatoris filius coronaretur de regno Siciliae. Ad primam vero petitionem respondit dominus Coelestius papa, quod non permitteret corpus imperatoris sepeliri, nisi de consensu regis Angliae, et nisi pecunia, quam ipse de rege Angliae ceperat, redde- retur. Ad secundam petitionem respondit dominus papa, quod predictus Marchowaldus per ipsum liberari non poterat, nisi de voluntate Romanorum. Ad tertiam petitionem respondit dominus papa, quod consentiret, si fratribus suis cardinalibus placet, ut Fredericus prefati imperatoris filius coronaretur de regno Siciliae. Et factum est ita, datis domino papae mille marcis argenti ad opus ipsius, et mille marcis argenti ad opus cardinalium. Juravit etiam imperatrix, tautis sacro- sanctis Evangelis, quod predictus Fredericus natus fuit de legitimo matrimonio predicti Henrici imperatoris et ipsius.

Eodem anno Rogerus, frater Roberti comitis Leices- triæ, electus episcopus Sancti Andreæ in Scotia, ordinem sacerdotis et pontificalem consecratioem suscepit a Matheo episcopo de Abberden.
A.D. 1197.

Eodem anno Margareta, quondam regina Angliae, et postea regina Hungariae, obiit apud Accen.

Defuncto itaque Henrico Romanorum imperatore, magna pars Thuscire, quam idem imperator et predecesseors sui abstulerant Romanis pontificibus, reddita est domino Celestino summo pontifici; videlicet Ege-Pendante \(^1\) et Sancta Christina,\(^2\) et Mons-Flaseun et Redecok, et Saint Clerc, cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum; redditeaque \(^3\) sunt ei Sicilia, Calabria, Apulia, et omnes terre qua fuerunt regis Sicilie, sicut proprium patrimonium Sancti Petri; de quibus ipse, ut supradictum est, constituit Fredericum, Henrici Romanorum imperatoris filium, regem.

Deinde dominus papa Celestinus ante Natale Domini paulatim cepit aegrotare, et convocatis coram se cardinibus universis, precepit ut tractarent de successore suo eligendo. Ipse enim nitebatur modis omnibus, ut dominus Johannes de Sancto Paulo, presbyter cardinalis tituli Sanctae Priscae virginis,\(^4\) ei succederet in papatu: de cujus sapientia, sanctitate, et justitia plurimum confidebat. Adeo enim ipsum praecesserat diligitbat, quod illum loco sui constituerat ad omne officium suum exsequendum, nisi in consecratione episcoporum, quod pertinebat ad officium episcopi Hostiensis cardinalis. Præterea prefatus papa obtulit, quod ipse \(^5\) seipsum deponeret a papatu, si cardinales consentirent in electione prefati Johannis de Sancto Paulo. Sed omnes cardinales una voce responderunt, quod illum conditionaliter non eligerent; dicentes, quod inauditum erat quod summus pontifex se deponeret; et sic erat schisma inter illos.\(^6\) Dominus enim Hostiensis \(^7\) episcopus cardinalis nitebatur,

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\(^1\) Ege-Pendante [Written originally in A. Egke pendante; the k is marked for erasure. Eke-pendante, B.]

\(^2\) Christina] Crispina, Savile.

\(^3\) que] om. I.

\(^4\) John of S. Paul, cardinal præfator of the title of S. Prisca, from 1193.

\(^5\) ipse] om. I.

\(^6\) illos] eos, I.

\(^7\) Hostiensis] Octavian.
ut ipsemet papa fieret, similiter dominus Portuensis episcopus cardinalis, similiter dominus Jordanus de Fossa Nova, similiter dominus Gratianus, et caeteri omnes nitebantur, unusquisque pro posse suo, ut ipse fieret summus pontifex.

Eodem anno Willelmus rex Scottorum de bono sumens exemplum, fecit homines regni sui jurare quod pacem pro posse suo servabunt, et quod nec latrones, nec robatores, nec utlagi, nec receptatores eorum erunt, nec in aliquo eis consentient, et quod cum hujusmodi malefactores scire poterunt, illos pro posse suo capient et destruent.

Hæc est assisa facta per dominum Ricardum regem Angliae per petitionem et consilium episcoporum et cunctorum baronum suorum, de mensuris per totum regnum Angliae, in feesto Sancti Edmundi apud Westmonasterium; anno vii. regni Ricardi regis Angliae.  

"Constitutum est quod omnes mensurae totius Angliae sint ejusdem quantitatis, tam de bladis, quam de leguminibus, et de rebus consimilibus, scilicet, una bona summa equi; et hæc mensura sit rasa tam in civitatibus et burgis quam extra. Mensura etiam vini et cervisiae, et cunctorum liquorum sit ejusdem quantitatis secundum diversitatem liquorum. Pondera etiam et librae et catærae pesiae sint ejusdem quantitatis in toto regno, secundum diversitatem mercaturarum. Mensurae etiam bladorum et liquorum, vini et cervisiae, inclaventur in eis claves, ne per dolum possint falsari. Constitutum est ut lanæ panni, ubicunque fiat, fiat..."
A.D. 1197. 
Nov. 20. 
Assize of measures.

"de eadem latitudine, scilicet, de duabus ulnis infra lisuras, 
et ejusdem bonitatis in medio et in lateribus. Eadem etiam 
ulna sit in toto regno, et ejusdem quantitatis, et ulna sit 
ferrea. Prohibitum est omnibus mercatoribus per totum 
regnum, ne quis mercator pretendat seldæ suæ rubros pan- 
nos vel nigros, vel scuta, vel aliqua alia, per quà visus 
emptorum sæpe decipiuntur ad bonum pannum eligendum. 
"Prohibitum est etiam, quod nulla tinctura vendenda, nisi 
solummodo nigra, fiat alicubi in regno, nisi in civitatis 
aut capitalibus burgis. Constitutum est etiam, ut in singu-
ulis civitatis aut burgi, quatuor aut septem legales homines 
de ipsa villa, secundum quantitatem villæ, similiter in vici-
comitatu, aut cum preposito civitatis aut burgi, si in 
manu viccomitis non fuerint, assignentur ad assisam cus-
todiendam, sub hac forma; ut ipsi videant, et certi sint, 
quod omnia vendantur et emantur per eandem mensuram, et 
omen mensurae sint ejusdem quantitatis secundum diversi-
tatem mercium. Et si alicuem invenerint, qui confessus 
vel convictus fuerit, quod per aliam quam per statutam 
mensuram vendiderit, corpus ipsius capitaret, et in prisonem 
mittatur, et omnia catalla sua in manu domini regis sal-
siantur, nec deliberentur, nisi per dominum regem aut 
capitalem ejus justitiâ. De ipsis custodibus statutum est, 
quod si ipsi hanc custodiam ita negligenter fecerint, quod 
per alios quam per eos attinentur coram justitiâ domi-
regis, alicuam transcriptam assisam transire, vel de men-
suris victualium vel aliarum mensurarum, vel latitudine pan-
norum, ipsi custodes de catallis suis in misericordia domini 
regis remaneant. Praeceptum est etiam, ut post festum Pur-
ficationis Sanctæ Mariae nullus in aliquo comitatu vendat 
alicuam nisi per scriptam mensuram, quà ejusdem sit quan-
titatis; nec post faíam Mediae Quadragesimsæ quæ erit apud 
Stanford, vendat alicuam pannum minoris latitudinis quam 
duarum ulnarum infra lisuras."
Nonus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliae.

Anno gratiae millesimo centesimo nonagesimo octavo, qui est annus nonus regni Ricardi regis Angliae, fuit idem rex Ricardus Angliae in Normannia apud Rothomagum die Natalis Domini, quae quinta feria evenit.


Deinde venit idem archiepiscopus ad Coventre, et per mandatum Coelestini summi pontificis introduxit monachos in ecclesiam ejusdem villae cathedralem, quo Hugo de Nunant, ejusdem loci episcopus, ab eadem ecclesia vi et armata manu expulerat, et loco illo rum in ea canonicos secularis instituerat, et eos de bonis ecclesiae, quae ad sustentationem monachorum ibidem Deo servientium collata fuerant, præbendaverat; sed canonicis inde expulsis, bona ecclesiae redierunt in usus monachorum.

Litteræ apostolice pro monachis in Coventrensem ecclesiam restituendis.²

"Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis, Papalitter. "archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, episco po Lincolnensi, et abbati "Sancti Eadmundi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem."

¹ Ludelawe J Lodelawe, B. G.; Lodelawe, C.; Luddelawe, D. I.
² The following letter, like that of Peter of Blois to Hugh of Nunant, vol. iii. pp. 148-150, is not found in MSS. A., C., and G. at all. In MS. B. it appears inserted in the margin in a hand nearly the same as that in which the body of the MS. is written; MSS. D. and I. have the

C 2
A.D. 1197.
Letter of pope Celestine III. directing the restoration of the monks of Coventry.

"Sicut ea quae a predecessoribus nostris pro visa fuerint deliberatione statuta, nullatenus irritari volumus vel infrin- gi; sic quod per subreptionem ab eis obtenta sunt, in honestatis ecclesiasticæ detrimentum, corrigi volumus, et in statum regidi meliorem. Cum enim, sicut acceptis, immo sicut bene novimus, [in] Coventrensi ecclesia, fere a prima fidei Christianæ fundatione in Anglia, ordo fuerit monasticus institutus, et in tantum in ea observantia servierunt regulari ut ab apostolica sede privilegiari, et ab inclyte recordationis regibus Angliæ dotari meruerunt¹ et ditari; dolemus plurimum, quod venerabilis frater no stern Cestrensis episcopus, occasione quarundam litterarum, quas a bone memoriae Papa Clemente, predecessore nostro, ad falsam suggestionem, sine conscientia nostra et fratrum nostrorum, sicut dicitur, et quod² vix credere possumus, impetravit, directos filios, priorem et conventum, de codem monasterio violenter ejectit, et canonicos in eo instituit secularares. Cum igitur id in monasticae religionis, et totius ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ redundet opprobrium; nec nostri intentionis sit, quod pre dictus predecessor noster tantæ irregullaritati, nisi circumventus, auctoritatem præstiterit aut favorem; fraternitati vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus, et in virtute obedientiæ districte praecipimus, quatenus predictis litteris, vel aliis privilegiis confirmationis vel indulgentia nequaquam obstantibus, amotis ad codem monasterio secularibus clericis, qui in eo fuerunt per supradictum episcopum instituti, sine aliquibus questionis impedimento monasticum ibidem ordinem reformetis, monachos ejusdem exinde redeuntes in illud, et tales in eo instituentes personas, qui³ Beati Benedicti regulam observare debeant et desiderent. Memoratum vero episcopum, et universos detentores bonorum ejusdem ecclesiae, ad eorum restitutionem per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, compellatis. Volumus etiam nihilominus, et mandamus, ut donationes ejusdem episcopi, infeudationes, locationes, et alienationes possessionum ejusdem ecclesiae ab eo tempore factas, nostra

letter incorporated in the text. It occurs in the Annals of Burton, which are, in this portion of them, entirely drawn from Hoveden, and must have been in the copy from which the rest of the extracts were made. The copy in the Monasticon is taken directly from the Annals of Burton. The same letter is found in the register of Innocent III as issued by him, with the date, 3 non. Junii 1198. (Epp. Inoc. III., ed. Baleuze, i, 129.)

¹ meruerunt] meruerint, Savile.
² quod] om. I.
³ quæ] quæ, Savile.
**Electione** 

*De allies commissariorum Liburnorum, et de axis consilii, et de obsequentibus imperatori, &c.*

**Albani**


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*Note:* The extract is a translation of a historical document. The text is in Latin, and it discusses the election of an emperor in the 12th century. The document mentions various nobles and bishops who participated in the election process. The text also refers to various historical figures and events, such as Ricardus rex Anglii (Richard I of England) and the election of emperors. The document is a part of a larger historical context that involves politics, religion, and the feudal system of the time. The text is a reimbursement for various expenses related to the election process. The document also includes a note about the death of Domini (1198), which might be a reference to a significant event or individual. The text is a part of a larger historical context that involves politics, religion, and the feudal system of the time. The document is a reimbursement for various expenses related to the election process. The document also includes a note about the death of Domini (1198), which might be a reference to a significant event or individual.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1198. Richard tries to obtain the election of the duke of Saxony; and, as he is absent, that of his brother Otho.

enim timebat plurimum illue ire, et iterum incidere in manus eorum, nisi securitas daretur ei de salvo conductu eundi et redeundi. Nec mirum; ipse enim, que promiserat magnatibus terrae se daturum pro delibratione sua, non solverat, et quia corpus imperatoris propter eum inhumatum erat. Ipse vero rex Angliae modis omnibus nitebatur efficere, quod Henricus dux Saxonie, nepos ejus, fieret imperator. Sed quia ipse nondum de peregrinatione sua redierat, et mora ad se periculum traherat, præfatus rex Angliae effect adversus archiepiscopos Coloniensem et Maguntinum, et adversus quosdam aliorum magnatum Alemanniae, quod ipsi elegerunt\(^1\) Othonem nepotem suum, fratrem prædicti Henrici ducis Saxonie, in imperatorem.

Est autem sciemendum, quod in electione Romanorum imperatoris taliter procedendum est;

\[\text{Qualiter procedendum est in electione Romanorum imperatoris.}\]

Mode of electing an emperor.


\(^1\) elegerunt\[\text{om. I.}\]

\(^2\) Coloniensi\[\text{Colonie, I.}\]
De coronatione Othonis regis Alemannorum.  


Eodem anno Aimericus, Dunelmensis archidiaconus, dissaisivit monachos Dunelmensis ecclesiae de villa quae dicitur Hersewelle, quam Henricus de Puteaco eis

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1 Baldegino] Baldwin IX., 1194-1206: afterwards emperor of Constantinople.
2 Henrico comite de Namur] The count of Namur who was brother to Baldwin IX. was Philip, not Henry; but the succession was just now in dispute, and it is uncertain whether the person referred to was Philip or his younger brother Henry, who was afterwards emperor of Constantinople. It will be seen further on that Hoveden’s memory was very treacherous with regard to this family; as he confounds Philip of Namur not only with Henry, but with Baldwin. The day of Otho’s coronation was July 4, 1198.
3 Suaviae] Swaviae, B. I.
The monks of Finchale ejected from Hersewell.

The aggressors excommunicated.

Richard asks the English to maintain a force of 300 knights in foreign service.

Opposition of Hugh of Lincoln.

Queen Eleanor.

dederat in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam, ad sustentationem monachorum in Finchale¹ Deo servientium. Servientes vero, qui missi fuerant ad praefatum dissaisinam faciendam, fregerunt ostia domorum monachorum, et monachos ibi inventos violenter ejecerunt. Cum autem idem Aimericus, interrogatus si violentia illa per illum facta fuisset, respondisset, "Non," monachi Dunelmenses, convocatis in ecclesia beati Cuthberti clero et populo civitatis, excommunicaverunt omnes hujus violentiae auctores, consiliarios, fautores, accensis candelis, et pulsatis majoribus ecclesiae campanis.

² Eodem anno Ricardus rex Anglie petiit, per Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, ut homines regni Anglie invenirent ei trecentos milites uno anno moraturos secum in servitio suo, vel tantam pecuniam ei darent, unde ipse posset per unum annum ³ trecentos milites in servitio suo retinere, videlicet unicuique militi tres solidos Anglie moneyae de liberatione in die; ad quod faciendum cum ceteri omnes proni essent, non audentes resistere voluntati regis; solus Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, verus Dei cultor, abstinens se ab omni opere pravo, respondit pro se, quod ipse in hoc voluntati regis nequaquam adquiesceret, tum quia processu temporis in ecclesiae suæ detrimentum redundaret, tum quia successores sui dicerent, "Patres nostri comederunt uvm acerbam, et dentes filiorum obstupescunt." Et conversus ad Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, admonet instanter

"... ut nil agat unde pudendum;
"Unde pudor frontem signet, mentemque reatus
"Torqueat, aut famæ titulos infamia ledat."

Eodem anno Alienor regina, mater Ricardi regis Anglie, venit Rothomagum, et misit pro Hugone filio Ernisii de Nefvilla⁴ et pro aliis custodibus, qui custo-

diebant in turre Rothomagensi Philippum Belvacensem episcopum, et precata est eos, ut pro amore ipsius permitterent præfatum episcopum venire ad hospitium suum, loqui cum ea; qui, licet hoc eis esset periculo-
sum, tamen petitioni reginæ resistere nolentes, permiserunt præfatum episcopum compeditum portas turris egredi, ut ipsi comitabantur eum. Dum autem irent, contigit eos transitum facere per atrium cujusdam ecclesiæ; ad cujus ostium, licet esset clausum, præfatus episcopus, ut potuit, cucurrit, et arrepto ecclesiæ annulo, alta voce exclamavit, dicens, "Peto pacem Dei " et ecclesiæ." Ad hanc igitur vocem custodes sui plurimum conturbati, injecerunt in eum manus, et traxerunt eum ab ostio ecclesiæ, et reduxerunt eum in turram unde exierat, et arctius custodierunt, imponentes reginæ, hoc factum fuisset per consilium ipsius. Quo audito, rex Anglæ misit præfatum episcopum ad Chinun, sub arctiori custodia custodiendum.


De obitu Cælestini papae.

Eodem anno Cælestinus papa, senio et gravi morbo laborans, obiit Romæ mense Januarii, viº. idus ejusdem mensis, feria sexta, septimo anno papatus sui, et Laterani sepultus est. In crastino autem obitus illius convenientes in unum cardinales elegerunt in summum pontificem Lotharium diaconum cardinalem,juvenem III. triginta annorum, vel paulo amplius; qui vocatus est papa Innocentius. Ipse vero statim post electionem

1 in eum] ei, Savile.
2 arctius] arenus, I.
3 papa] om. I.
suam in hac forma scripsit universis archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ et Scotiæ;

Epistola Innocentii papa ad archiepiscopos et episcopos Angliæ et Scotiae de electione sua.1

Jan. 9. Letter of Innocent III. announcing his elevation to the papacy.

"Innocentius, apostolicae sedis electus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus, universis archiepiscopis et episcopis per Angliam et Scotiam constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ineffabilis sapientia Dei sic omnia quæ alto consilio simul ab aeterno prævidit, per labentium temporum vices mirabilia quadam dispositione dispensat, ut nec error in ordine, nec in opere sit defectus, cum, Divina scriptura testante, cuncta fecerit in pondere, Wisd. xi. 21. numero et mensura. Licet ergo nihil in terra sine certa causa propriaque ratione disponat, imperfectum tarn enim conditionis humanæ non solum in operum deficit per scrutinandis, verum etiam in ipsis causarum operibus vix sufficit admirari. Quod utique considerans apostolus, exclamationem habebat, 'altitudo divitiarum sapientise et scientiae Dei! Rom. xi. 33. quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia Ejus, et investigabiles vise Ejus!' Quamvis enim, 'Universæ viæ Domini misericordia et veritas, et omnia opera Ejus judicia sunt,' Ps. xlv. 17. testante prophetâ, usque adeo tamen successus hominum, et humilationem et exaltationem eorum dextera Domini, licet justa, occulta tamen ratione procurat, ut causa nobis non modici stuporis existat, quod in regimine potestatis juniores quandoque senioribus antepositi, ut juxta prophetam, ' Filii nascantur pro patribus,' qui super omnem terram constituiti, Domini nominis recordentur; sicut de nobis ipsis, 'a Domino factum est, et est mirabile in oculis nostris,' Ps. cxviii. 23. Sane felicis memoriae Coelestino, patre ac precedecessore nostro, sexto idus Januarii viam universæ carnis ingresso, et in Lateranensi basilica, sicut moris est, honorificè tumulato; fratres nostri, videlicet episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi cardinales, et nos ipsis cum eis, simul in unum secessimus;3 ut tanto licentius et tullius de substitutione pontificis tractaretus, quanto tractatus ipse majorem delicerambi copiam...

This letter is given in the Epistola Cantuarienses, p. 385. It is the first of the letters of Innocent III. in the edition of Baluze, Paris, 1682.

1 omnia quæ] omnia cum, Savile.
2 secessimus] successimus, Savile.

et amplioris circumspectionis consilium requirebat. Cumque
missarum solemnibus in honore Sancti Spiritus celebratus,
requisitae fuisse omnium voluntates, ad insufficientiam
nostram oculos extenderunt, humano forsitatem existimantes
arbitrio, in sacculo Benjamin ciphum argenteum invirent;
llece plurès ex ipsis aetatis, ordinis, et meritis ratione potu-
issent ad apicem tanta dignitatis dignius evocari. Cujus
siquidem dignitatis omne cum insufficientia nostra penitus
reusaret, utpote nostris debilibus humерis importabile; sub
Illius tamen confidentia et exemplo, Qui infirmatem Beati
Petri tertia prius negatione probatam, post trinæ confessionis
vocem, in gubernationem Suarum ovium confirmavit; quod
persona nostra multiplex imperfectiio denegabat, in Ipsiis
contulimus voluntatem, fratrum nostrorum acquiescentes
stantiae, ne reluctatio diuturna discidii pateraret detrimentum,
*rantes quod Ipse, 'Qui dat omnibus affluenter, et non im-
properat,' Qui novissimum fratrum, virum itaque secundum
cor Suum, in regem de post faentantes assumpsit, de lapidi-
suscitabit filium Abrahae, vocans ea quae non sunt tan-
quam ea quae sunt; ut infima eligens queque fortiora
confundat. Nos igitur ecclesiasticæ provisionis sollicitudin-
em assumimus, et non modicum confidentes de vobis quos
Dominus nobis, ad tantæ difficultatis onus levis perferen-
dum, sollicitudinis nostra voluit esse participes; universi-
tatem vestram rogamus, monemus, et exhortamur in Domino,
quatenus insufficientiam nostram vestris orationibus apud
Dominum adjutetis, et circa commissam nobis et vobis Do-
minici gregis custodiam diligenter et utiliter vigilantes,
defectum nostrum supplere velitìs, et injunctam nobis eccle-
siasticis oneris gravitatem vigilanti studio comportare. Nos
enim vos, tanquam specialia membra ecclesiae, honorare
intendimus, et in necessitatis vestris, quantum Dominus
permiserit, adjuvare. Datum Laterani, quinto idus Ja-
nuarii.'

S. James i. 5. 1
1 Sam. xiii. 14.
Ps. lxxviii. 75.
S. Matt. iii. 9.
1 Cor. i. 27.

1 assumpsit accept, B. D.
2 Nos igitur] The conclusion of the letter is different in the copy
3 quos] altered to quod in A.

He desires
the prayers
of the
bishops.
De Innocentio Romanae ecclesiae electo.

Electo itaque in Romanum pontificem præfato Innocentio, ipse statim post electionem suam, utpote qui ab infantiæ omnes curiæ Romanae excessus noverat, statum curiæ in melius mutare cupiens, majorem partem janitorum et ostiariorum curiæ abjecit, ut conquerentes, tam clerici quam laici, liberiores ad eum venerendi haberent accessus.

March 11.
Death of the Countess of Champagne.

Eodem anno, quinto idus Martii, obiit Maria comitissa Campaniæ, mater comitis Henrici de Campania, qui fuit dominus Accaron. Hæc eadem comitissa fuit soror Philippi regis Franciæ ex parte patris, et soror Ricardi regis Angliæ ex parte matris.

Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus venit ad Ricardum regem in spe pacis facienda, sed non perfect.

Eodem anno Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus venit in Normanniæ per mandatum Ricardi regis Angliæ fratre suæ, in spe pacis facienda cum rege. Rex namque misit pro decano et canoniciis Eboraci, ut venirent ad eum in Normanniæ, volens pacem facere inter archiepiscopum et illos; sed archiepiscopus ille, antequam canonici venirent, fecit pacem cum rege fratre suo; ita quod rex concessit illi plenariam archiepiscopatus sui restitutionem, et precepit Roberto capellano suo transfretare in Angliam, una cum magistro Honorio clericio et officiali prædicti archiepiscopi Eboraci, ad interesse prædictæ restitutioni. Archiepiscopus autem illæ dedit magistro Honorio archidiaconatum de Richemund. Promiserat enim rex archiepiscopo, quod de cetero non impediret donationes suæ. Et quia decanus et canonici Eboraci ad terminum statutum non venerunt coram rege, nec sufficientem pro eis miserunt

1 MS. D. omits all from this point to "pacem illam," p. 45.
De consecratione Innocentii papæ.


Eodem anno, mense Martio, Hugo de Nunnant, Coventrensis episcopus, obiit in Normannia apud Bec Herleuin, die Parasceues Domini, sexto kalendas Aprilis, et ibidem in coenobio monachorum sepultus est: cui successit in episcopatu Coventrensi Gaufridus de Muschamp, archidiaconus de Cliveland, done Ricardi regis Anglie, et consecratus est Cantuariæ ab Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

1 Octoviano] Octaviano, I.  
2 Nunnant] Nunant, B. G. I.  
3 Bec Herleuin] Becherlewin, B.
Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ, et comes de Sancto Egidio, et Johanna uxor ejus, quondam regina Siciliae, fuerunt Cenomannis in solemnitate Paschali, quæ quarto kalendas Aprilis evenit.¹

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ cepit, de una-que carucata terre sive hyda totius Angliæ, quin-que solidos de auxilio; ad quos colligendos misit idem rex per singulos comitatus Angliæ ² unum clericum et unum ³ militem; qui, cum vicecomite comitatus ad quem mittebantur, et legalibus militibus ad hoc electis, præstito juramento quod fideliter exsequentur negoti- tium regis, fecerunt venire coram se senescallos baro-num illius comitatus, et de qualibet villa dominum vel ballivum villæ et prepositum cum quatuor legalibus hominibus villæ, sive liberis sive rusticis, et duo milites legales de hundredo, qui juraverunt quod fideliter et sine fraude dicerent, quot carucarum wannagia ⁴ fuerint in singulis villis; quot scilicet in domi-nico, quot in vilenagia, quot in eleemosynis viris religiosis collatis, quas ipsi donatores vel eorum here-des tenentur warentizzare vel adquietare, vel unde viri religiosi debent servitium facere; et super singula ca-rucarum wannagia ponebant ex precepto regis primo duos solidos et postea tres solidos: et haec omnia in scriptum redigebantur; et habebat inde clericus rotu-lum unum, et miles rotulum alterum, vicecomes rotulum tertium, senescallos baronum rotulum quartum de terra domini sui. Haec pecunia recipiebatur per manus duro-rum legalium militum de singulis hundredis et per manum ballivi de hundredo; et ipsi inde responderunt vicecomiti, et per predictos rotulos respondebat vice-comes inde ad scaccarium coram episcopis, abbatibus, et baronibus ad hoc assignatis. Ad poenam vero jura-

pars posterior.

47

torum, qui aliquid contra juramentum suum celaverint in hoc negotio, statutum erat, quod quicumque rusticus convictus fuisset de perjurio, daret domino meliorem bovem de caruca sua, et insuper respondeat de proprio, ad opus domini regis, tantum pecuniae quantum fuisset declaratum per per jurium fiisse felatum: si vero liber homo convictus fiisset, esset in misericordia regis, et insuper refunderet de proprio, ad opus domini regis, quantum fuerit per eum celatum, sicut et rusticus. Statutum etiam fuit, quod quilibet baro cum vicecomite faceret districtiones super homines suos; et si per defectum baronum districtiones factæ non fuissent, caperetur de dominico baronum, quod super homines suos restaret reddendum, et ipsi barones ad homines suos inde caperent: et libera feoda ecclesiarum parochialium de hoc tali agio excipiebantur; et omnes excæte baronum, que fuerunt in manu domini regis, communica verunt. Serganteriae vero domini regis, que non erant de feodis militum, excipiebantur; sed tamen imbre visabantur et numerus caruatarum terre, et valentiae terrarum, et nomina servientium; et omnes servientes illi summonebantur esse apud Loundonias in octavis clausi Pentecostes, audituri et facturi præceptum domini regis. Ipsi vero qui electi fuerant et constituti ad hoc negotium regis faciendum, statuerunt, per æstimationem legalium hominum, ad uniuscujusque caruce wanagium centum acras terre.

Eodem anno monachi Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ Romam profecti, conquesti sunt Innocentio pape, quod Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, contra ordinem et dignitatem suam, gerebat se justitiarium regni, et judicem sanguinis, et ita sæcularibus negotiis implicitum,

A.D. 1198. Punishment of all attempts to evade the tax.

Exemptions.

The collectors summoned to London for May 31.

The monks of Canterbury complain of the archbishop to the pope.

1 erat] est, I. wainagium in an early hand;
2 fiisse] fiisset, A. B. wainagium, B. I.
3 wanagium] corrected in A. to
A.D. 1198.

CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

quod minime sufficere possit ecclesiasticis causis regendis, cum a sapiente dictum sit:

"Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula sensus."

Accusabant etiam eum dicientes, quod ex praecepto illius violata fuit pax ecclesiae Sanctae Marie del Arche Londoniis, et Willelmus cum Barba inde violenter extractus, et caudis eorum alligatus, et ad patibulum tractus cum novem de suis, similiter ab ecclesia illa violenter extractis, morti addictus est, et in patibulo suspensus: unde dominus papa paterna exhortatione diligenter monuit dominum Ricardum regem Angliæ, ut pro salute animæ suæ non permetteret prefatum archiepiscopum diutius fungi administratione seculari, neque de cetero ipsum, vel alium episcopum sive sacerdotem, in administratione seculari admittaret; præcepit etiam in virtute obedientiae universis ecclesiis prelatiis, ne ipsi ausu temerario secularibus administrationes susciperent. Et sic Cantuariensi archiepiscopo a regimine regni deposito, Gaufridus filius Petri successit ei in regimine regni. Accusabant etiam eum dicientes, quod ipse in prejudicium matricis ecclesie Cantuariae capellam novam construxerat apud Lamhee, et in ea canonicos secularis, de bonis et redditiis monachorum Cantuariensium ditatos, constituerat, et in ea, contra consuetudinem et dignitatem Cantuariensis ecclesie episcopos consecraverat: et nisi celerius remedium adhiberetur, timererunt quod dignitas Cantuariensis ecclesie minueretur, et ad capellam illam apostatricem transferri videretur. Unde dominus papa plurimum commotus, in hac forma scripsit Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo;

1 deposito] The letter of Richard announcing Hubert’s resignation and the appointment of Geoffrey FitzPeter is printed in the *Foedera*, i. 71, from the Cotton. MS. Vesp. C. 14. It is dated "apud Bellum Castrum de Rupe, xi. die Julii."

2 matricis] matris, Savile.

3 Lamhee] Altered in a late hand to Lamhee, A.; Lamhee, B. D. I.
Epistola Innocentii papa ad Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, de prostratione capellæ de Lamee.¹

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto fratri tuum sinceræ caritate diligimus, tanto majori dolore turbamur quotiens ea de tuis personam audimus operibus quæ pontificali derogant honestati. Cum enim Cantuariensis ecclesia, cui praesse discebem, inter Anglicanas ecclesiæ celebres habeatur, et religione inter Angliam floruerit; nos et frater nostri grave grimmus, et molestum, quod, si dilecti filii nostri, prior et conventus, humili conquéstione monstraverunt, tu ad ipsius desolationem ecclesiæ satagis multipliciter, et laboras in constructionem capellæ de Lamee, contra prohibitiones fælicis memoriae Urbani et Clementis, Romanorum pontificum, bona memoriae Baldevino prædecessori tuo factas, post appellationes multiplices ad sedem apostolicam interpositas, in magnum ecclesiæ Cantuariensis praedictum, propria terneritate processeris, et de bonis ejusdem ecclesiæ canonicos² instituens eadem: a cuius siquidem constructione capellæ, si eam quam debeat Romane ecclesiæ reverentiam et obedientiam exhiberes, et commissæ tibi ecclesiæ pro- visionem et sollicitudinem quæreres et gereres, quam teneris; tibi et honorà tuo melius consulens, penitus destri- tisses, nec super eo procedere studuisses, quod prædecessori tuo sic districte cognosceres a sede Apostolica fuisses interdictum. Cum igitur diminutionem Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, sicut nec debemus, nec volumus aliquatenus sustiner, prædictorum prædecessorum nostrorum vestigis inhereentes, de fratrum nostrorum consilio, frateruitati tuae per aposto- lica scripta mandamus, et districte præcipimus, quatenus, omni mora et occasione postpositis, si etiam ab ecclesiæ tuae absens fueris, aliquatenus non obstante, quicquid post appellationes, tam tempore prædecessoris tui quam tuo, ad sedem apostolicam interpositas, vel inhibitiones anteces-

¹This letter occurs in Gervase, 1602: among the Epistole Cantuarienses, p. 391: and in Baluzes edition, lib. i. ep. 111. It was presented at Lambeth, June 7: and delivered to the archbishop on the 9th.

²[canonicos] canonichos, A.

³[eadem] ea, B.
He threatens suspension in case of disobedience.

A.D. 1188.
May 8.
He orders the destruction of the church, the dissolution of the new foundation, and the annulment of all acts in its favour.

"sorum nostrorum in opere actum capellæ nostræ memoratae, infra triginta dies post suspensionem præsentium, tuis expensis non differas demoliri, in irriatum prorsus revocans et deduces quicquid de instituendis canoniciis et aliis circa capellam prædictam factum est, vel enormiter innovatum. Clericos praeterea, qui in capella illa post inhibitions apostolicas Divina officia celebrarunt, tamdiu ab officio et beneficio teneas pro suspensis, donec super hoc satisfecerint competenter, universis operibus demolitis que apud eandem capellam facere præsumpserunt; et universa quæ post appellationes in corum sunt attentata gravamina, exeniorum,1 videlicet, et ecclesiaretum, et aliorum invasione, quæ ante appellationem habuerunt, in statum pristinum, appellatione remota, deducas; sententias excommunicationis vel interdicti, quas in quosdam ipsorum fratrum temere diceris promulgaes, publice nuncies non tenere; ac de caetero circa statum ipsius monasterii, contra prohibitionem nostram, hujus occasione negotii non præsumas aliquid innovare; illicitos invasores villarum, possessionem, redita prædictorum fratrum, usque ad satisfactionem idoneam vinculo anathematis astringas. Si vero, quod non credimus, mandatum nostrum infra statutum terminum neglexeris, vel distuleris adimplere, quia justum est ut e obediencia subtrabatur, qui sedi apostolicae negligerit obedire, venerabilibus fratribus nostris falsuras non superantur, ecce ut statu eosque nostrorum non esse nescias, te praebemus, quamvis tibi obediendum et reverendum non impediant. Quod si forte ab eis, vel2 alio corum, contra prohibitionem nostram tibi feeceris aliquam obedientiam et reverentiam exhiberi, scias te ex tunc ab episcopali dignitate suspensum, et tamdiu ipsi sententiæ subjacere, donec satisfacturus de contemptu, nostro te conspectui representes: non autem distinguimus utrum in loco a prædeces soribus nostris interdicto, vel alio, in prædictæ capellæ constructione, et canonico institutione processeris, in ecclesiæ Cantuariensis præjudicium et gravamen, eadem contradictionis causa durante; nisi quod ex hoc magis credimus eadem ecclesiæ derogari, quod in remotioni loco fabrica illa est translata. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, viii.3 idus Maii,3 pontificatus nostri anno primo."

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1 exeniorum] exteriorum, A.
2 vel] ab, ins. D. I.
De subversione capellæ de Lame.

Praetera idem papa Innocentius significavit per litteras suæ universis suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, quod ipse in mandatis dederat Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, quod infra triginta dies post litterarum suarum susceptionem suis propriis expensis non differret demoliri capellam de Lamee, et in irritum revocare quicumque de instituendis canonicis et alii circa predictam capellam factum est, et cætera, quæ in litteris suis continentur; praecipitque predictis suffraganeis, quod si archiepiscopus suus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ quicquam illorum, quæ in litteris suis continentur, facere differrent, illi ei de cætero nullam impendant obedientiam vel reverentiam. Sed praefatus archiepiscopus regio munimine septus, sperans se ab adversariis non posse superari, universos monachorum redditus, et oblationes tumæ beati martyris Tomæ, fecit saisiri in manu regis, et mandata summi pontificis parvi pendens, non permisit monachos Sanctæ Trinitatis septa templi exire. Tandem tamen, consilio suorum, demolitus est capellam de Lamee propriis sumptibus.

De controversia inter Gaufridum, archiepiscopum Eboraci, et canonicos suos.

Eodem anno Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo et Simone decano, una cum canonicis Eboraci in presentia domini Ricardi regis Anglie in Normannia apud Andeli constitutis, unusquisque proponebat injurias sibi hinc et inde illatas; et cum de voluntate regis processisset ut idem archiepiscopus et decanus et canonici Eborae-

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1 litteras] This letter is given in the Epp. Cantuar., p. 393.
2 Tandem] Not however before Jan. 27, 1199. Gervase, 1623. The documents referred to by Hoveden in the text will be all found among the Epistolæ Cantuarienses.
censes se subjicent de supradictis controversiis examini domini Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, et dominorum Wintoniensis et Wigornensis episcoporum; et cum prefasitus Eboracensis archiepiscopus in hoc voluntati regis consentiret; decanus et canonici Eboracenses responderunt, quod non ponerent se in judicio alicujus, nisi in judicio canoniconorum secularium, et effecerunt adversus regem quod pax illa dilationem cepit, maxime quia archiepiscopus confirmare noluit donationes quas rex eis fecerat in Eboracensi ecclesia. Unde rex iratus dedit Rogero de Sancto Edmundo, clerico suo, archidiaconatum de Richemund, quem Eboracensis archiepiscopus dederat magistro Honorio clerico suo; qui quamvis fidelitates clericorum predicti archidiaconatus recepiisset per mandatum archiepiscopi, et quamvis idem archiepiscopus litteris suis mandasset generaliter universo capitulo Eboraci, praecipiendo in vi obedientiae, ut praeferatum Honorium recepiissent et in stallum mittent, tamen refutatus est: Simone Apulo contradicente, ea ratione, quod archiepiscopus specialiter de eo mentionem non fecerat in litteris suis, sicut de decano ejusdem ecclesiae. Et factum est quod praeferatus decanus, turbator pacis, et immemor professionis, quam predicto archiepiscopo fecerat, Rogerum de Sancto Edmundo recepit, et in stallum misit, et de archidiaconatu de Richemund investivit, post appellationem a magistro Honorio ad summum pontificem factam. Clerici autem de archidiaconatu de Richemund per predicti Simonis Apuli violentam coercionem, et propter regis ferialia mandata, fidelitates fecerunt ipsi Rogero de Sancto Edmundo, contra canonican obedientiam quam prius fecerant magistro Honorio. Deinde convenientibus in capitulo Eboraci Simone decano et cateris canonibus

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1 Wintoniensis: Godfrey de Lucy.
2 Wigornensis: John of Coutances.
ejusdem ecclesie, praefatus decanus in impetu irae sua: non deferens appellationi ad summum pontificem factae, excommunicauit Hugonem Murdac, concononicum suum, eo quod ipse noluit consentire eis, nec aliquid de suo mittere in conspiracione facta contra archiepiscopum suum. Dicebat enim, "Vehementer emungit, qui san- guinem ejicit." Eodem die cum idem Hugo ad ves- peras audiendas intraret chorum, precepit ei decanus ut exiret, tanquam excommunicatus; sed quia exire noluit, decanus fecit candelas exstingui, et exivit a choro.\footnote{et... choro} om. I.

\textit{Pugna inter Anglos et Walenses apud castellum Matildis.}

Eodem anno Gaufridus Filius Petri, justitiarius Angleiae, magno congregato exercitu, profectus est in Gualliam\footnote{Gualliam} ad succurrendum hominibus Willelmi de Brause, quos Venhunwin\footnote{Venhunwin} frater Chadwalani obsederat in castello Matillis;\footnote{Matillis} quo cum venisset, commissit prælim campestre cum predicto Venhunwin et suis; et licet plurimi Walanorum armati essent, tamen non valentes resistere exercitui Anglorum, versi sunt in fugam, et proiectentes arma sua, ut levius citiusque fugerent, occisi sunt ex illis plusquam tria millia et septingenti, exceptis retentis, et illis qui lethaliter vulnerati evase- runt a campo. Ex parte autem Anglorum unus solus, ex inopinato iictu sagittæ a quodam socio suo incaute directæ vulneratus, interiit.

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{et... choro} om. I.
\item \footnote{Gualliam} Gualliam, A.; Wali- liam, B. D.
\item \footnote{Venhunwin} Venhunwin, B. D. Gwenwynwyn, son of Owain Cyfeiliog, prince of Powys.
\item \footnote{Matillis} Matildis, B. D. I. MS. C. gives here the names of the prisoners taken at Gameges (pp. 56 and 57), as if they had been taken at Maud's Castle.
\end{itemize}
A.D. 1198.
August.

De nativitate Alexandri filii Willelmi regis Scottorum.

Eodem anno, mense Augusti, Ermengard regina Scottorum peperit filium suum primogenitum, et vocatum est nomen ejus Alexander;\(^1\) quem Jocelinus venerabilis ecclesiae Glascuensis episcopus baptizavit.

Eodem anno, finitis treugis quas rex Franciae et rex Anglie statuerant inter se, donec segetes hinc et inde colligerentur; statim exarsit eorum nefanda rabies, et depopulando terras eorum praedas abduxerunt;\(^2\) homines ceperunt, villas combusserunt. Rex autem Franciae novum genus grassandi in populo reperiens, fecit quamplures de hominibus regis Anglie, quos captivos tenebat, excsecare; et sic provocabat regem Anglie, licet invitatum, ad consimile impietatis opus.

Eodem anno dux de Luvain,\(^3\) et comes de Brene,\(^4\) et Baldewinus comes Flandriae,\(^5\) et comes de Gynes,\(^6\) et comes Boloniae,\(^7\) et Gaufridus comes de Pertico,\(^8\) et comes de Sancto Egidio,\(^9\) et comes de Blais,\(^10\) et Arturus comes Britanniae, et multi alii, relicto rege Franciae, adhaeserunt Ricardo regi Anglie, jurantes ei, et ipse illis, quod nullam pacem cum rege Franciae facerent, nisi de communi eorum consilio. Comes vero\(^11\) Flandriae obsedit.

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\(^1\) Alexander\) Afterwards Alexander II., king of Scots, 1214–1249. MS. D. omits all from this point to page 61.
\(^2\) abduxerunt\] adduxerunt, A.
\(^3\) dux de Luvain\] Henry the Warrior, 1190–1235.
\(^4\) comes de Brene\] Erard II., count of Brienne. (Walter; Bouquet. xvii. 588.)
\(^5\) comes Flandriae\] Baldwin IX.
\(^6\) comes de Gynes\] Baldwin II., 1169–1206: or Arnold (Bouquet, xvii. 588).
\(^7\) comes Boloniae\] Reginald of Dammartin.
\(^8\) comes de Pertico\] Geoffrey III., 1191–1202.
\(^9\) comes de Sancto Egidio\] Raymond VI.
\(^10\) comes de Blais\] Lewis, 1191–1205.
\(^11\) vero\] om. B. I.
villam de Sancto Odmaro,\textsuperscript{1} et per vim cepit eam; similiter Ary,\textsuperscript{2} et alias quamplures villas regis Franciae.

Eodem anno Henricus dux Saxoniae, nepos Ricardi regis Angliae, venit in Normanniam apud Andeli ad praedictum regem Anglie avunculum suum, rediens de terra Suliae; quem rex honorifice suscepit, sicut decebat tantum virum, nepotem suum.

De prælio campestri habitò inter Ricardum regem Angliae et Philippum regem Franciae, in quo Ricardus rex Angliae victor extitit.

Eodem anno, mense Septembris, Philippus rex Franciae et Ricardus rex Angliae congressi sunt in prælio inter Gameges, castellum regis Angliae, et Vernun, castellum regis Franciae; in quo congressu rex Franciae cum suis, in fugam conversus, amiset viginti\textsuperscript{3} de militibus suis, et plus quam lx.\textsuperscript{4} servientes, equites, et pedites multos; et rex Angliae securus est regem Franciae in ore gladii, donec se inclusit in castello suo de Vernun.\textsuperscript{5}

Eodem anno Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus receptit, per mandatum regis Ricardi, manerium de Sadberhe,\textsuperscript{6} cum wapentacco, et feodis militum, et omnibus aliis ad illud pertinentibus, ita plenarie et integre sicut carta ejusdem regis testatur illud fuisset concessum Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo. Præterea dedit ei rex licentiam claudendi fossato et sepe boscum de Clif, et boscum de Craic, et utrumque quietum clamavit de reguardo forestae, et ab omni inquietatione forestariorum.

Eodem anno, mense Septembris, quinto kalendas Octobris, die Dominica, Ricardus rex Angliae cepit per insultum castellum regis Franciae quod dicitur Curceles, et aliud castellum ejusdem regis, quod dicitur Burriz:

\begin{align*}
\text{The count of Flanders takes S. Omer and Aire.} & \\
\text{Visit of Henry of Saxony to Richard.} & \\
\text{Eodem anno Henricus dux Saxoniae, nepos Ricardi regis Angliae, venit in Normanniam apud Andeli ad praedictum regem Anglie avunculum suum, rediens de terra Suliae; quem rex honorifice suscepit, sicut decebat tantum virum, nepotem suum.} & \\
\text{De prælio campestri habitò inter Ricardum regem Angliae et Philippum regem Franciae, in quo Ricardus rex Angliae victor extitit.} & \\
\text{Eodem anno, mense Septembris, Philippus rex Franciae et Ricardus rex Angliae congressi sunt in prælio inter Gameges, castellum regis Angliae, et Vernun, castellum regis Franciae; in quo congressu rex Franciae cum suis, in fugam conversus, amiset viginti de militibus suis, et plus quam lx. servientes, equites, et pedites multos; et rex Angliae securus est regem Franciae in ore gladii, donec se inclusit in castello suo de Vernun.} & \\
\text{Eodem anno Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus receptit, per mandatum regis Ricardi, manerium de Sadberhe, cum wapentacco, et feodis militum, et omnibus aliis ad illud pertinentibus, ita plenarie et integre sicut carta ejusdem regis testatur illud fuisset concessum Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo. Præterea dedit ei rex licentiam claudendi fossato et sepe boscum de Clif, et boscum de Craic, et utrumque quietum clamavit de reguardo forestae, et ab omni inquietatione forestariorum.} & \\
\text{Eodem anno, mense Septembris, quinto kalendas Octobris, die Dominica, Ricardus rex Angliae cepit per insultum castellum regis Franciae quod dicitur Curceles, et aliud castellum ejusdem regis, quod dicitur Burriz:} & \\
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Odmaro} Audomaro, B. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{4} \textit{lx.} quadraginta, Savile. \\
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Ary} Arie, B.; Arye, I. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{5} \textit{Vernun} Vernum, I. \\
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{viginti} 60, Savile. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{6} \textit{Sadberhe} Sadberge, G.
A.D. 1198. Sept. 25.
Philip tries to recover Courcelles, and is defeated.

et in crastino captionis castellorum illorum, videlicet, ivto. kalendas Octobris, feria iiæ., vigilia Sancti Michaelis, Philippus rex Franciae magno congregato exercitu militum et communarum suarum, exiens de Mantua pro-

dictus est versus Curceles. Quo audito, rex Anglie venit obviam ei, et commisit cum eo praelium campes-
tre, inter Curceles et Gysorcium; in quo praelio rex Franciae confectus fugit ad castellum de Gisors; et cum ascendisset pontem villæ de Gysorz, fractus est pons præ multitudine intrantium, et ipse rex Franciae ce-
cidit in rivera de Ethe, et bibit ex ea, et nisi celerius extraheretur, submersus in ea fuisset. In praelio autem illo Ricardus rex Anglie tres milites una lancea prostravit.

Nomina militum qui capti fuerunt in praelio illo de gente regis Franciae.

Et in praelio illo capti sunt ex militibus regis Franciae viri famosi quorum nomina haec sunt:—

Galis de Porta.
Matthaeus de Mummorenci,
Alanus de Roci.
Girardus de Chori.
Philippus de Nantuil.
Petrus Lieschans.
Robertus de Sancto Dionisio.
Theobaldus de Walangugardun.
Chedunald de Trie.
Rogerus de Molent.
Aimer Thiers.

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1 militum] litum, I.
2 Gisorcium] Gisorz, I.
3 Galis] Acalis, I.
4 Munmorenci] Munmoreti, I.
5 Alanus de Roci] Alanus de Boci, I.
6 Chedunald] Chedulad, B. I.
7 Molent ] Modlend, I.; and altered in A. to Modlent, which is the reading of B. and G.
A.D. 1198.  
Sept. 28.  
List of  
prisoners  
taken by  
Richard.

Reinaldus de Ascy.  
Baldewinus de Lenni.  
Tomas de Asgent.  
Ferri de Paris.  
Petrus de la Truie.  
Gwido de Levers.  
Furmentin.  
Terrius de Aucies.  
Amfridus de Baalan.  
Eborardus de Muntenni.  
Punchardus.  
Walterus Rufus.  
Ernulphus de Lenni.  
Odo de Muntiun.  
Willelmus de Sauceai.  
Jollenus de Bray.  
Petrus de Pucci.  
Dembertus.  
Puncardus de castello Empurcam.  
Willelmus de Merlou.  
Johannes de Grangia.  
Teo baldus de Breun.  
Robertus de Beauburc.  
Gaufridus de Borhai.  
Petrus de Maidnili.  
Fulco de Gilerval.  
Johannes de Serni de Loenais.  
Radulfus de Valuel.  
Ferri de Brunai.  
Toma del Castel.  
Willelmus de Rochemunt.  
Teo baldus de Misci.

1 Ponicij Punci, I.  
2 Dembertus] Debertus, I.  
3 Empurcam] Empurtam, I.  
4 Teo baldas] Theobaldus, B.  
5 Borhai] Borhai, I.  
6 Maidnili] Maidnil, I.; it is  
written on an erasure in A.  
7 Loenais] Leonais, I.  
8 del Castel] de Castel, B. I.  
9 Rochemunt] Rochemund, I.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1168.
Sept. 28.
Capture of prisoners.

"Et praeter supradictos milites,\(^1\) cepit rex Anglie cennum milites, et septies viginti equos coopertos ferro, et servientes equites, et pedites multos. Unde idem rex in hac forma scripsit Philippo Dunelmensi episcopo;"

**Epistola Ricardi regis Angliae ad Philippum Dunelmensis episcopum de supradicta victoria.**

Richardus Dei gratia rex Anglie, dux Normanniae et Aquitannie, et comites Andegaviae, dilecto et fidei suo Philippo,


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1 milites\(^1\) multos, ins. B. I.
2 Montemorenci\(^2\) Munmorenti, I; Munmerenci, B.; Mummeranci, Savile.
3 non\(^3\) nondum, I.
sed nos idem non fecimus, immo Deus et jus nostrum per nos; et in hoc facto posuimus in causa caput nostrum, et regnum etiam, supra consilium omnium nostrorum. Haec "vobis significamus ut super hoc nobiscum gaudeatis. Testibus "nobis ipsis apud Dangu, xxx. die Septembris."

Philippus rex Franciae intravit Normanniam cum exercitu multo, et rex Anglie non habuit secum sexaginta homines; disperserat enim exercitum suum per loca diversa; tamen ipsa securitum est Francos post tergum cum paucis suorum, donec ad mandatum suum convernut ad eum circiter cc. milites, et Marchadeus cum ruta sua. Franci ergo cum multo plures essent, videntes regem Angliæ et suos, cum incendissent circiter xviii. villas, bono passu abierunt, et rex Angliæ a tergo fugavit illos, et Marchadeus cum ruta sua prevenit illos, et capti sunt ex Franci circiter xxx. equites et servientes, et centum equites, et præter equites, et præter servientes, et præter ualum, et præter plures equites, et præter præter servientes, et præter præter servientes

Quod factum est versus Vernun; non enim per viam qua venerant abierunt, id est per vadum de Dangu; sed timore conversi sunt versus Vernum: ita quod probrum adhuc est inter Francos, quod rex illorum, relictis illis, præfugerit super Morellum senem, quem, inquit, decem annos habuit; nec aliquid tulerunt de Normannia nisi forte tres vel quatuor milites, et unum servientem.

Postea rex Angliæ, collecto exercitu, transivit in Galliam per vadum de Dangu, et cepit, ut supra dictum est, Burriz et Curceles, et aliiud castellum; hominesque sui duobus diebus continuis rapinis et incendiis Vogesin Gallicum devastaverunt: et cum rex Angliæ subverte-ret turrim de Curceles, rex Franciae adunatis suis supervenit; et congressi sunt duo reges, et rex Franciae effusis habenis versus est in fugam in medio terræ sua, et persecutus est eum rex Angliæ cum exercitu suo, et comprehendit de militibus regis Franciae ad minus octoginta tres, præter servientes alabastarios, et præter

A.D. 1198, Sept. 28.

Ravages of the French in Normandy.

Summary of Richard's success in this war.

Disgraceful flight of Philip on his old horse.

A.D. 1198. September.
Recapitulation of the campaign.
suffocatos in fluvio de¹ Etie: præ nymia enim fuga Francorum pons Etie ante Gysortium fractus est sub illis, ita quod rex Franciæ cecidit in aquam, et vix per pedem extractus pene suffocatus est; alii autem suffocati sunt plurimi, inter quos Milo² de Puteaco, comes de Bar, et Johannes frater Willelmi des Barres, miles probus, suffocati sunt in fluvio Etie. Willelms autem castellanus et dominus de Curceles, statim post captio-

dem suam mortuus est.

Postea rex Franciæ congragato exercitu intravit Normanniam, et combussit Ebroicas et septem alias villas. Comes autem Johannes, frater Ricardi regis, combussit Novum Burgum; quod rex Franciæ sperans a suis fieri, milites misit ad prohibendum suis ne procederent; ex quibus capti sunt xviii. milites et servientes multii. Postea Marchadeus cum ruta sua intravit Flandriam, et invasit nudinas prope Abbeville, et spoliavit mercatores Franciæ, et cum præda magna rediens³ in Normanniam replevit terram spoliis Francorum, et multos eorum interfecit, et multos captivos secum duxit redi-
mendos.

Postea Robertus comes Leicestriæ venit cum xl. militibus et pauciis servientibus ante castellum de Pasci, quod suum fuerat; et milites castelli exierunt, cum multis servientibus et communa villæ, ut eum et suos comprehenderent; sed ipse non valens eis resistere, vix evasit, et amitis de militibus suis quatuor. In crastino autem iterum idem comes, associatis sibi pluribus de familia regis Angliæ militibus, venit ante castel-

lum de Pasci, dispositis prius militibus, et servientibus multitís per diversa loca ad insidias parandas hominibus castelli.⁴ Cum autem milites castelli, qui pridie eum a campo fugaverant, vidissent illum, exierunt cum impetu, et ipse fugit ante illos, donec inciderunt in insidiantes, et capti sunt ex eis xviii. milites et plebs multa.

Interim Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus trans-fretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, et statim per mandatum regis Franciae, et per licentiam domini sui regis Angliae, perrexit in Galliam ad tractandum de pace facienda inter illos duos reges; et cum rex Franciae offerret se redditurum regi Angliae, pro bono pacis, omnes terras et castella sua quae occupaverat, excepto castello de Gysorcio, de quo ille poneret se in judicio sex baronum Normanniae, quos ipse eligeret, et sex baronum Galliae, quos rex Angliae sibi eligeret, quis eorum majus jus haberet in castello illo habendo; noluit rex Angliae, nisi comes Flandriae, et ceteri omnes, qui relictum rege Francie ei adhaererunt, fuissent infra pacem.


Item de placitis corona regis.

"I. De placitis coronae novis et veteribus, quae non sunt finita coram justitiis domini regis.
"II. De omnibus assisibus.
"III. De morte antecessorum.
"IV. De nova dissaisina.
"V. De magnis assisibus usque ad x. libratas terram, et infra.
"VI. Et de advocationibus ecclesiarum: et capiencur coram eis electiones magnae assisse per mandatum domini regis, vel ejus capitalis justitiae.
"VII. De ecclesiis vacantibus, vel non vacantibus, quae fuerunt de donatione domini regis, quis eas donaverit, vel quis eas habeat, et per quem, et quantum valent.

1 Bardulfi] Bardulphi, B.; Bardolfi, I. 2 Arundel] Harundel, B. I. 3 Lincolnshire, Notinchamsire] Lincolnseyre, Notinchamsyre, I. 4 Everwische] Verwiesyre, I.; Warwicsyre, B. D. The initial E is erased in G. but C. has Everwìkischyre. 5 Lancastre] Lancaster, I. 6 coronae regis] quorum capitula have sunt, ins. B. I. The words have been written in A., and marked for erasure.
VIII. De exactis domini regis, et eorum valentiis, et quis
cos habeat, et per quem.

IX. De dominabus, et de valectis, et puellis, quae sunt vel
esse debent in donatione domini regis, et de valentiis terrar-
um suarum; et si quis eorum vel eorum sit maritatus; et
inquiratur, cui, per quem, et a quo tempore.

X. Inquirendum est etiam qua viduae non finierunt pro se
maritandis, et finis capiatur ad opus domini regis.

XI. De sergentariis domini regis, quis eam habeat, et per
quam, et quantum valent, et qui finem non fecerint ad
auxilium domini regis, et qui fecerunt, et finis capiatur.

XII. De usuris Christianorum, et eorum catallis qui sunt
mortui.

XIII. De illis qui sunt in misericordia regis, et non ad-
mercianti.

XIV. De purpistraribus domini regis.

XV. De viis domini regis estreciatis.

XVI. De thesauri inventis.

XVII. De malefactoribus, et eorum receptoribus.

XVIII. De fugitivos retatibus reversis post ultimam assisam.

XIX. De omnibus ponderibus et mensuris et ulnis renova-
ris, et si iv. homines, qui sunt atornati ad hac custo-
dienda in unaqua villa, fecerint quod inde statutum
est, et si attachaverunt transgressores illius assisae; et
si non attachaverunt, prout debenter, puniantur sicut ipsi
transgressores. Totum vinum illius qui vendidit contra
assistam, capietur ad opus domini regis, et pratera dominus
vini, et venditores sint in misericordia.

XX. Inquirendum est per omnes comitatus de hided et
carucatis, et si justitiarii, qui ad hace turnatati fuerunt,
se bene habuerunt, et si de omnibus recepturerunt, et si aliqua
conclaverunt. De custodibus portuum maris, si quid rece-
perunt quod non reddiderunt, et si mercedem aliquam re-
ceperunt pro jure regis retinendo, et si quis aliquid rece-
perit, qui non fuerit ad hoc attornatus. Inquirendum est,
si omnes venerint ad summationes justitiarum domini
regis, sicut venire debent, et si quis sit qui non venerit,
quis ille fuerit, et qualiter nominatus fuerit.”

His igitur et aliis vexationibus, sive juste sive in-
juste, tota Anglia a mari usque ad mare redacta est ad
inopiam. Sed his nondum finitis supervenit alius genus

\[1\] sergentariis, B.; \[2\] misericordia, ins. I.

\[3\] et si . . . assista, om. I.

\[4\] misericordia, regis, add. B. G.
PARS POSTERIOR.

A.D. 1183.

tormenti ad confusionem hominum regni, per justitiarios forestarum, videlicet per Hugonem Nevilla, summum justitiarium omnium forestarum regis in Anglia, qui cognominatus est Cuelu,\(^1\) et per Hugonem Wac, et per Ernisionum de Neville. Predictis igitur justitiariis forestarum itinerantibus praeceptum est ex parte regis, ut per singulos comitatus, per quos ipsi ituri essent, convenirent coram eis ad placita forestae archiepiscopi, episcopi, comites et barones, et omnes libere tenentes, et de unaquaque villa praepositus et iv. homines, ad audienda præcepta regis.

Hec est assisa domini regis, et hæc sunt præcepta de forestis suis in Anglia, facta per assensum et consilium archiepiscoporum et episcoporum et abbatum, comitum, et baronum et militum totius regni sui.

" (I.) Dominus rex primum defendit, quod\(^2\) aliquid ei foris faciat de venatione sua vel de forestis suis in aliqua re, et non vult quod confidant in hoc, quod habuit misericordiam de illis per corum catalla\(^3\) hucusque, qui ei foris fecerint de venatione sua, et de forestis suis. Nam si qui a modo ei foris fecerint inde, et inde convicti fuerint, plenariam vult de illis justitiam fieri, qualis facta fuit\(^4\) tempore Henrici avi patris domini regis, videlicet, ut amittant oculos et testiculos.

" (II.) Item dominus rex defendit, quod nullus habeat arcus vel sagittas, neque canes neque leporarios in forestis suis nisi habeat ipsum regem ad warantum\(^5\) vel aliquem alium qui cum possit inde\(^6\) warentizare.

" (III.) Item rex defendit, quod nullus donet vel vendat aliquid ad destructionem bosci sui, vel ad vastam, qui sit infra forestam regis; sed concedit bene quod capiant de boscis suis quod necessas eius fuerit sine vasto, et hoc per visum forestarii sui et viridariorum suorum.

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\(^1\) Cuelu\] Euellu, Savile. MS. omits the clause.

\(^2\) quod ] si, ins. B. Compare the Assize of Woodstock of 1184, of which this is a new issue with additions. Ben. Pet. ii. Pref. clxi.; Hoveden, ii. 245.

\(^3\) catalla\] catella, I.

\(^4\) facta fuerit\] fuerit, I.

\(^5\) warantum\] suum, add. Savile.

\(^6\) inde\] om. I.
A.D. 1198. " (IV.) Item praecipit, quod omnes illi qui boscos habent infra metas forestdomini regis, quod ponant idoneos forestarios in boscis suis, de quibus forestarisi ipsi, quorum bosci fuerint, sint plogii, vel tales inveniant plogios idoneos, qui possint emendare, si forestarii in alioforis fecerint quod domino regi pertineat.

" (V.) Item praecipit, quod sui forestarii curam capiant super forestarios militum et aliorum, qui boscos habent infra metas forestdomini regis, quod bosci non destruatur.

Nam si super hoc bosci eorum destructi fuerint, sciant bene illi, quorum bosci fuerint, quod de ipsismet vel de eorum terris capiatur emendatio, et non de ailo.

" (VI.) Item praecipit rex, quod sui forestarii jurent, quod secundum omne posse suum tenebunt ejus asaisam, qualem eam fecit, de forestis suis, et quod non vexabunt milites neque probos homines de hoc quod dominus rex eis concessit de boscis eorum.

" (VII.) Item praecipit, quod in quolibet comitatu, in quo venationem habet, ponantur xii. milites ad custodiendam venationem suam et viride in forestis suis, et quod iv. milites ponantur ad adgistandos boscos suos, et ad recipiendum panagium suum, et custodiendum, et defendendum.

" (VIII.) Item praecipit quod nullus adgiset boscos suos infra metas forestae suae, antequam bosci eorum adgissentur; et est sciemund quod incipit adgistamentum domini regis xv. dies ante festum Sancti Michaelis, et durat xv. diebus post festum Sancti Michaelis.

" (IX.) Item praecipit rex, quod si forestarius ejus habet in custodia sua dominicos boscos regis, et bosci illi destructi fuerint, et non possit nec sciat justam causam monstrare quare bosci destruuntur, nihil alius capiatur de forestario illo, nisi proprium corpus suum.

" (X.) Item praecipit, quod nullus clericus ei foris faciat de venatione sua, neque de forestis suis: et praecipit bene forestarisi suis, quod si invenerint eos foris facientes, non dubitent in eos manus imponere, ad eos resistendo et capiendos; ipse enim illos inde warentizabit.

" (XI.) Item rex praecipit, quod omnia essara videantur in quotlibet tertio anno, tam nova quam vetera, infra reguardum, et omnes purprestura similiter, et omnia vasta boscorum, et quod quodlibet illorum per se imbrevedatur.

" (XII.) Item rex praecipit, quod archiepiscopi, episcopi,
comites, barones, et milites, et liberi tenentes, et omnes homines de terra sua veniant ad summationem magistri forestariorum ad placitum placita de forestis suis.

"(XIII.) Prohibendum est etiam ad placita forestae, ne aliquae careta exeat chiminum in foresta regis, neque porci sint in foresta regis tempore de foinesun, scilicet xv. diebus ante Nativityatem Sancti Johannis Baptiste, et xv. diebus post idem festum.

"(XIV.) Est antem siendum,2 qui forisfecerit in foresta regis de venatione sua, et inde attaintus fuerit, erit in misericordia regis ad oculos et testicullos perdendos. Qui antem forisfecerit in foresta regis de viridi, sive per colpaturam,3 sive per esbrancaturam, sive per fodiotionem turburam, sive per esscoriationem morae, sive per colpationem4 de subnemore, sive per essartum, sive per novam purpresuream per seepam vel fossatum, vel per remotionem molendini, vel cursus aquae, vel bercariae, vel aliarum domorum, vel per fenum fallandum extra sepes vel extra fossata, erit in misericordia regis de pecunia sua, nisi habeat viridarios vel forestarios regis ad varunum. Similer qui arcus vel sagittas postterit, vel canes duxerit sine copula, per forestam regis, et inde attaintus fuerit, erit in misericordia regis.

"(XV.) Statutum etiam est, quod semper in tertio anno fiat visus forestæ, id est reguardum forestae.

"(XVI.) In reguardo autem forestae habeatur supra dicta videnda5 sunt. Et videnda sunt in reguardo nova essarta, et vetera inbladata post ultimum reguardium, et quo blado vel legumine inbladata sint.6 Nova autem sarta erunt in manu regis; si vetera sarta inbladata sunt de frumento vel silagine, unaque acra dabit regi xii. denarios de illa vestitura; et si inbladata fuerint de avena vel hordeo, vel fabis vel pisis, vel alicui legumino, unaque acra dabit regi vi. denarios de illa vestitura.

"(XVII.) Et est siendum, quod tempore Henrici regis, filii Matildis imperatrice, permissum erat intra metas forestae fossata fieri loco sepium. Et idem rex Henricus statuit apud Wudestoke,7 quod quicunque forisfecerit ei de foresta sua semel de venatione sua, de seipso salvi plegii capiantur; et si iterum forisfecerit similer capiantur de ipso salvi plegii;7

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1 et milites] om. B. I.  
2 siendum] quod, ins. D. Savile.  
3 colpaturam] culpaturam, B.  
4 colpationem] culpationem, Savile.  
5 sint] sit, I.  
6 Wudestoke] Wodestoke, B. I.  
7 et si . . . plegii] om. B. I.  

VOL. IV.
A.D. 1193. "si autem tertio idem forisfecerit, pro tertio forisfacto nulli " plegii capiantur, sed proprium corpus forisfactoris."

The king exacts the payment of the carucage by the regular clergy.

Eodem anno, quia viri religiosi noluerunt dare regi v. solidos de wanagio caruce, sicut ceteri homines regni faciebant, exiit edictum a rege, ut quicunque in regno suo forissecisset clerico, aut alii viri religiosi, non cogetur satisfacere illi; sed si clericus aut alius vir religiosus forissecisset alicui laico, statim compelleretur ad satisfaciendum illi: unde factum est, quod viri religiosi ad redemptionem coacti sunt.

Preterea precepet idem rex ut omnes, tam clerici quam laici, qui cartas sive confirmationes habeant de sigillo suo veteri, deferrent eas ad sigillum suum novum renovandas, et nisi fecerint, nihil quod actum fuerat per sigillum suum vetus ratum habereetur.

Eodem anno Innocentius papa misit litteras suas deprecatorias ad Ricardum regem Anglie pro Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, postulans, et paterna admonitione exhortans, ut ipse præfatum archiepiscopum, prece sua et servitio, in amorem et fraternam familiaritatem susciperet, et cum pace ad sua redire permittet, ne oporteret eum in illum et in regnum suum per ecclesiasticam censuram animadvertere. Unde factum est, quod Ricardus rex Anglie misit ad præfatum archiepiscopum Philippum Dunelmensem, et Eustachium Eliensem, et Godefridum Vintoniensem, et Johannem Wigornensem, et Savaricum Batoniensem episcopos, in spiritu humilitatis postulantes ex parte regis, ut ipse ratas haberet donationes regis, quas fecerat in Eboracensi ecclesia, et dominus rex redderet ei archiepiscopatum suum cum omni integritate. Quibus archiepiscopus respondit: "Confratres mei estis, et consilium vestrum " faciam, si feceritis mihi scriptum, cum sigillorum " vestrorum testimonio, quod consilium istud coram " domino papa warentizabitis." Cui præfati episcopi responderunt, "Scriptum non dabimus, sed in voluntate

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1 caruce] carrucæ, l.
pars posterior. 67

vestra sit: ætatem habetis, pro vobis ipsis loquamini:"

et his dictis, qui missi fuerant redierunt ad regem cum
responso archiepiscopi. Et archiepiscopus Romam pro-
fectus est; et rex Angliae contra eum nuncius suos
Romam misit, qui in hac forma scripsissent ei; "Do-
minus papa scribit vobis cum multa supplicatione,
"ut restituaties archiepiscopo Eboracensi archiepisco-
"patum suum in integrum, cum fructibus de archi-
episcopatu perita. Ita tamen, quod de pecunia,
in qua cum vobis tenere propositum, vobis plene
et integre satisfaciet: scribit etiam domino cardinali,
et aliis quibusdam, ut ad faciendum vos moneant et
inducant: vel si omnino nolueritis, primo per inter-
dictum Eboracensis provinciae, deinde per totius regni
interdictum, appellatone remota, compellant. Clerici
vero vestri per cardinalem, commontione præmissa,
ad resignandos redditus, quos interim perpeperunt,
cum distinctione cogenitur, nisi aut auctoritate Ro-
manæ ecclesiæ, aut decursione sex mensium, juxta
Lateranense concilium excepto tempore suspendonis,
poterint se tueri. Canonici Eboracensis ecclesiæ debent
moneri ad concordiam, et si aliquid novum emerserit,
itum utraque pars domini pape se presentabit
obtutibus, privilegio canonicorum vigorem solitum
obtinteste."

Eodem anno in æstate contigit intra fines Italice,
in quada civitate non longe a Januis, res digna
memoria. In hac civitate primo quidam civis, exi-
genitibus pecatus suis, effectus est energumenus, id
est, daemoniacus; et infra paucos dies adeo crevit
eorum numerus, ut quilibet sibi timeret ne simile
incurreret periculum. Communi igitur civium consilio
ad eandem urbem vocati convenerunt viri religiosi,

Eodem anno Aimericus³ de Lezinant,⁴ rex de Barhud,⁵ et Accaron, princeps insulae Cypri, et cæteri Christiani de terra Sulie, et pagani qui in eadem terra sunt, ceperunt inter se treugas a festo Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ in sex annos sequentes duraturas, nisi aliquis rex Christianorum potens in partes illas veniret.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Anglie et Philippus rex Franciae, mense Novembris, ceperunt inter se treugas, usque ad festum Sancti Hilarii proximo sequens.⁶

Eodem anno Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus, ad petitionem Roberti de Turnham, concessit ei coram rege recognitionem xii. legalium hominum de visneto

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¹ Luceio] possibly Luceda.
² exponant] om. I.
³ Aimericus] Haimericus, G.
⁴ Lezinant] Lizinant, B. I.
⁵ Barhud] Barud, B.; Barrud, I.
⁶ MS. D. omits the last two paragraphs.

Eodem anno, defuncto magistro Ricardo de Coldingham, Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus, et Bertrannus Dunelmensis ecclesiæ prior, dissenserunt in donatione ecclesiarii predicti Ricardi. Dicebat enim episcopus donationem ad eum pertinere, tanquam ad episcopum et abbatem Dunelmensis ecclesia. Hæc contra prior respondit, quod ad eum pertinebat donatio, quia praedecessores sui et ipse sine alicujus contradictione eas dederant, siue priores et domini fundi, et illi qui omnem potestatem abbatis in choro, et in dispositione domus et reddituum suorum habent, ex concessione regum, et institutione episcoporum Dunelmensium, et Romanorum pontificum confirmatione. Sed non sic quievit controversia illa, immo in tantum excrevit, quod ex precepto episcopi Aimericus Dunelmensis archidiaconus obedit ecclesiam Sancti Oswaldi in Elvet, in qua monachi se receperant, et non permisit victualia ad eos deferri. Quadam autem die, post appellationem a monachis ad summum pontificem factam, idem Aimericus fecit ignem apponi ostio ecclesiae, ut sic per fumum et vaporem igniis monachos ejiceret. Semistu igitur ostio,
funesti satellites intraverunt ecclesiam, et vi et armata
manu ejecerunt monachos. Sed Deus mutavit senten-
tiam episcopi in melius, qui, propter reverentiam bea-
tissimi Cuthberti, eandem ecclesiam in proprios usus
monachorum contulit, et carta sua confirmavit: 1 con-
cessit etiam illis liberam ecclesiarum suarum disposi-
tionem, cum illius tamen 2 moderato assensu.

Eodem 3 anno papa Innocentius, videns afflictionem
Christianorum qui erant in terra Jerosolimitana, in hac
forma scripsit:

Eodem anno papa Innocentius, videns afflictionem Christianorum qui erant in terra Jerosolimitana, in hac forma scripsit;

August 13.
Letter of the pope to the clergy and people in the province of York, urging an effort in behalf of Palestine.

" Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus
fratribus, Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et suffraganeis ejus,
" et dilectis filiis abbatibus, prioribus, et aliis ecclesiarum
" prelatis, comitibus et baronibus, et universo populo in Ebo-
racensi provincia constitutis, salutem et apostolicam bene-
dictionem. Post miserabile Jerosolimitana regionis exsidium,
" post lacrymabilem stragem, populi Christiani; post deploran-
" dam invasionem illius terrae in qua pedes Christi steterunt,
" et ubi Deus rex noster salutem in medio terrae dignatus est
" operari; post ignominiosam nobis vivificæ crucis transla-
tionem, in qua Salus mundi pependit, et delevit chirogra-
phum mortis antique; apostolica sedes super tantæ calamit-
tatis infortunio turbata laboravit, clamans et plorans, ita
" quod praecessante clamore ruace factæ sunt fauces ejus,
" et ex vehementi ploratu pene ipsius oculi defeecerunt.
" Verum si, secundum prophetam, ‘Jerusalem oblitæ fuerimus,
" obliviscatur nos dextra nostra: adhaerat lingua nostra
" faucibus nostris, si non meminerimus ejus.’ Clamat adhuc
" apostolica sedes, et quasi tuba vocem exaltat, excitare cupiens

1 confirmavit] et, ins. I.
2 tamen] om. I.
3 Eodem . . . scripti] omitted in MSS. B. D. I. with the following letter.
4 This is a circular letter issued by Innocent III. to several arch-
bishops and at several dates. The copy printed in Baluze’s edition of
the pope’s letters is addressed to the archbishop of Narbonne, and
dated at Reate, “xvii. kal Sep-
tembris,” vol. i. pp. 192-194; and
is less perfect than the copy in the
text.
5 pene] om. Savile.
pars posterior.

"populos Christianos ad praelium Christi bellandum, et vindi-
candum in juriam Crucifixi, usa Ipsius verbo dicentis: 'O vos
' omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte, si est
' dolor similis, sicut dolor meus.' Ecce enim, hereditas
' nostra versa est ad alienos, domus nostra ad extranos
devenerant, vide Syon lugent, quod non sunt qui veniant
ad solemnitatem; facti sunt inimici ejus in capite. Sepulcrum
Domini, quod propheta gloriosum fore praeedit, profanatum
ab impis inglorium est effectum. Gloria nostra, de qua dicit
' apostolus: 'Mihi autem abit gloriari nisi euce Domini
' nostri Jesu Christi,' sub manu tenetur hostili; et Ipsa
Domimus noster Jesus Christus, qui captivitatem nostram pro
nobis moriens captivavit, quasi captivus ab impis ab here-
ditate sua cogitur exulare. Existentc quondam in castris
area Domini Sabaoth, Urias domum sanctam ingredi recu-
savit, a licito uxoris se compescens amplexu. Nune vero
principes nostri, gloria Israel de loco suo in juriam nostri
translata, vacat adulterinis amplexibus, deliciis et divitiis
abutentes: et dum se invicem inexorabili odio persecutur,
dum unus in alium suas nuditur injurias vindicare, non est
quem moveat injuria Crucifixi; non attendentibus
quod jam insolvent ab alienis inimici nostri, dicentes: 'ubi est
'Deus vester, Qui nec Se potest, nec vos, de manibus nos-
'tris liberare? Ecce, jam profanavimus sancta vestra; ecce,
jam ad desiderabilia vestra manum extendimus, et ea loca
impetu primo violabiliter invasimus, et ca vobis temenus
invitis, in quibus superstitionem vestrum principium fin-
gitis suscepisse. Jam infirmavimus et confrigimus hastas
' ' Gallorum, Anglorum conatus clisimus, 3 Teutonicorum
' vires compressimus, nunc secundo Hispanos domimimus
' animosos, et cum omnes virtutes vestras in nos duxeritis
' concitandes, vix adhuc in aliquo profecisti. Ubi est ergo
'Deus vester? exsurget nunc et adjuvet vos, et fiat vobis
' et Sibi protector. Theutonici siquidem, qui se presume-
bant inauditum de nobis reportare triumphum, ad nos ve-
' hentium spiritu transfretaverunt; et cum solum castrum
' Barhuth, nullo defendente, cepissent, nisi eos sicut et alios
' principes vestros fugae beneficium liberasset, in se poten-
tiam nostram graviter fuissent experti, et eorum stragem
' ipsorum soboles perpetuo ploraret. Reges enim et prin-
cipes vestri, quos dudum fugavimus de terra Orientis, ut
'terrem suam audendo dissimulat, ad suas latebras, ne
'dicamus regna, reversi, malunt se invicem expugnare,

1 clisimus] eclusimus, Savile.

A.D. 1118.
Aug. 13.
Lamentatio over the state of the Holy Land.
A.D. 1198.
Aug. 13.
The German Crusaders have taken Beirut, but gone home again.

CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

"...quam denuo vires nostras et potentiam experiri. Quid igitur superest, nisi ut his, quos fugiistis in excussationem venstram ad terras custodiam dimisistis, gladio utore peremptis, in terram venstram impetum faciamus, nomen vestrum et memoriam perdituri? Qualiter ergo, fratri fratrius respondere? cum eos pro parte verum prosequi videamus? sicut nuper ad audientiam nostram certa significacione pervenit. Recepimus enim litteras de partibus ultramarinis, quod, cum Teuthonici Accon navigio pervenissent, castrum de Baruth obtinuerunt, nemine defendente. Saracenorum vero in Jopen facientes impetum ex adverso, eam per violentiam occupaverunt, et caesis multis Christianorum millibus eam funditus destruxerunt. Verum Teuthonici rumoribus de morte imperatoris acceptis, non spectato passagii tempore, naves reducere ascenderunt. Unde Saracenorum, qui ad resistendum eis exercitum paraverant copiosum, in terram Christianorum adeo debauchantur, ut Christianis nec sine periculo civitates egredi liceat, nec in ipsis sine formidine remanere: immo gladius eis foris imminet, metus intus. Assumite igitur, filii, spiritum fortituidinis, scutum fidei et Eph. vi. 16. galeam salutis accipite, non in numero aut viribus, sed Dei potius, cui non est difficile in multis vel in paucis salvare, 1 Sam. xiv. 6. potentia confidenstis, eis Ei, per Quem estis, vivitis, et habitis, secundum facultates propriae subvenite. Ipsa quidem pro vobis Semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, Phil. ii. 7. in similitudinem hominum factus; et habitu inventus est ut homo, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis; et vos Eo paupere abundatis, Ipso fugeato, quesitatis, et nec inopi nec exuli subvenitis? Quisquis igitur in tanta necessitatis articulo suum negaverit obsequium Jesu Christo, cum ante tribunal Ejus astiterit judicandus, quid ad suam excussationem Ei poterit respondere? Si Deus subijit mortem pro homine, dubitabit homo mortem subire pro Deo? Cum non sint condignae passiones hujus temporis Rom. viii. 18. ad futuram gloriam, quam revelabitur in nobis.' Negabit ergo servus Domino divitiis temporales, cum Dominus servo divitiis largiatur aeternas, 'Quas nec oculis vidit, nec auris: 1 Cor. ii. 9. andivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit?' 'Thesaurizet' igitur homo 'thesauros in coelis, ubi fures non effodiunt nec furantur; ubi nec aergo nec tinea demolitur.' Omnes et S. Matt. vi. singuli aceingantur, ita quod in proximo sequenti Martio, 20. qaelibet urbes per se, similiter et comites et barones juxta facultates proprias, ad defensionem terrae nativitatis Dominicae, certis in expensis dirigant numerum bellatorum, illic

Exhortation to a new Crusade.
PARS POSTERIOR.

2 Cor. xi. 28. "saltem per biennium moraturum. Licet autem instantia nostra sit quotidiana sollicitudo ecclesiarum omnia, modo tamen hanc quasi precipuam inter alias sollicitudines repulsum, per quam terrae Orientali totis desideramus affectibus subvenire, ne, si forte fuerit dilata subventio,1 residuum locustae comedat brachus, et tantum novissima deterioura prioribus.

Joel i. 4. Verum ne nos aliis onera et importabilia videamur imponere, digito autem nostro ea movere nolumus, dicentes tantum, et aut nihil aut minimum facientes, cum qui fecerit et docuerit magnus vocetur in regno coelorum; Ejus exemplo, Qui cepit facere et docere, ut et nos, qui, licet im- meriti, vicem Ejus exerceremus in terris, bonum aliis praebemus exemplum, in personis pariter et in rebus Terrae Sanctae decrevimus subvenire; dilectis filiis nostris, Stephano tituli Sanctae Praxedis presbytero, et Petro tituli Sanctae Martini in Via Lata diacono, cardinalibus, apostolice sedis legatis, viris utique timoratis, scientia et honestate praecarios, potentibus in opere et sermone, quos inter alios fratres nostros speciali caritate diligimus, manu propria crucis signaculum imponentes, qui exercitum Domini humiliter et devote praecedat, et non mendicatis suffragiis, sed nostris et fratrum nostrorum sumptibus sustententur: per quos etiam alii competens subsidium eidem terrae disposuerimus destinare.


1 subventio] correction for sub- vectio, A.
2 frater archiepiscopi] fratribus archiepiscopis, Savile.

The pope sends two cardinals to be maintained at his cost;
Cardinal Peter to Persia;
Cardinal Richard and Philip to make peace; and Stephen to Venice to prepare succours for Palestine.
A.D. 1198.
Aug. 13.

Pardons promised to those who will take part in or help forward the crusade.

necessarie presumperit obviare, sicut sacrorum canonum
trangressorem decrevimus punciendum, et usque ad satis-
factionem congruam ab officio censumus manere suspensum.
De Dei ergo misericordia, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri
et Pauli auctoritate consi, et illa quam Deus nobis, licet
indignis, ligandi et solvendi contulit potestate, omnibus qui
laborem hujus itineris in personis propriis subierint et ex-
pensis, plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus oris et cordis
egerint ponitentiam, veniam indulgenus, et in retributione
justorum salutis eternae pollicemur augmentum. Eis autem,
qui non in propriis personis illae accesserint, sed in suis
tantum expensis, justa facultatem et qualitatem suam, viros
idoneos destinaverint, illic saltem per biennium morataus;
et illis similiter qui, licet in alienis expensis, in propriis
tamen personis assumptae peregrinationis laborem impleve-
rint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum. Hujus
ergo remissionis volumus esse participes justa quantitatem
subsidii, ac precipe secundum devotionis affectum, qui ad
subvectionem illius terræ de bonis suis congrue ministra-
bunt. Ut autem expeditius et securius ad subvectionem
terræ nativitatis Dominiciæ quilibet accegantur, bona ipso-
rum, ex quo crucem susceperint, sub Beati Petri et nostra
protectione suscipimus; nec non sub archiepiscoporum et
episcoporum et aliorum praesidium ecclesiae Dei defensione
consistat; statuentes ut, donec de isporum obitu vel reditu
certissime cognoscatur, integra maneceat, et quieta consist-
tant. Quod si quisquam contra præsumpserit, per censuram
ecclesiasticam compescatur. Ab hoc igitur opere nullus
omnino se subtrahat, cum id non a nobis, sed ab ipsis
fuerit apostolis institutum, qui collectas faciebant in genti-
bus, ut fratribus in Jerusalem laborantibus subvenirent.
Nolumus autem vos de Divina misericordia desperare, quan-
tumcumque sit Dominus peccatis nostris iratus, quin in manu
vestra perficiat, si, prout debetis, in humilitate cordis et
corporis iter fueritis peregrinationis aggressi, quod majoribus
non concessit. Consensissent enim maiores forsitant, et dix-
issent: 'Manus nostra excelsa, et non Dominus fecit hæc
Deut. xxxii.
omnia;' et sibi, non Domino, gloriam victoriam ascripsissent.
Speramus enim quod non in ira misericordias continebit,
Qui, cum iratus est, non obliviscitur misereri, nos admonens
et exhortans: 'Convertimini ad Me, et Ego converter ad Tech. i. 8.
vos.' Credimus etiam quod, si ambulatoritis in lege

1 subvectionem ] altered to subvectionem, A.
"Domini, non eorum sequentes vestigia, qui vani facti sunt post vanitatem cuntes, qui comissionibus et ebricitibus voluptuose vacabant, et ea exercebant in partibus transmarius, quse in terra nativitas proprius sine multa infamin et detractione plurima non aequient; sed si spem vestrum in Eo solummodo poscueritis, Qui non deserit sperantes in Se, non tantum ab illicitis, sed quibudam etiam licitis abstinentes, Is Qui currunt et exercitum Pharaonis projecit in mare, arcum fortium infirmabit, et inimicos crucis Christi, ut lutm plateau, a facie vestra delebit; non ante mors, aut vobis, sed Nomini Suo dans gloria, Qui est gloriouis in sanctis, mirabilis in majestate, faciens providigia, et, post lacrymationem et fletum, gaudium et exultationem inducens. Si qui praterea profisciscendum illuc ad praestandas usuras juramento tentent astrici, creditorum eorum per vos, frater archiepiscopus 1 et episcopi, in diocesiibus vestris ecclesiastica distinctione, sublato appellationis obstaculo, compelli mandamus, ut eos a sacramento penitus absolventas, ab usuvarum ulterius exactione desint. Si quis vero creditorum eos ad solutionem coegerit usurarum, ad restitutionem earum, sublato appellationis obstaculo, per vos similis distictione cogat. Judeos 2 vero ad remittendas illis usuras per vos, filii principes, et per secularem compelli praecipimus potestatem: et donec eae remiserint, ab universis Christi fidelibus, tam in mercimoniis quam alis, per excommunicationem sententiam, communione eis jubeamus omnimodam denegari. Ad haec autem expeditius et melius exsequenda in provincia vestra, vos filii prior de Thurgarton, et magister Vacaru, 3 duximus deputandos, qui verbum Domini ceteris proponat, et ad implendum mandatum apostolicum venerabiles fraternos nostros archiepiscopum vestrum, et eis suffragantes, et alios invitantes, taliter exsequamini causam Domini, quod et vos hujus sitis resisionis participes, et in hoc devotio vestra plenius elucescat. Ad quod etiam laudabilius exsequendum, vobis unus de fratribus militiae Templi, alterum vero de fratribus Jerosolimitanae Hospitalis, viros honestos et providos, assumatis. Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, idus Augusti, pontificatus nostri anno primo."

1 frater archiepiscopus [fratres archiepiscopi, Savile.
2 Judeos] Judei, A.
3 The name of the prior of Thurgarton is not known. Master Vacaru is probably identical with the person called Master Vacem, in Hardy's edition of Le Neve's Fasti, iii. 446. He was a prebendary of Southwell in 1200. MS. G. has Vacarius.
Eodem anno\(^1\) erat in Gallia quidam sacerdos nomine Fulco,\(^2\) quem magnificavit Dominus in conspectu regum: deditique ei potestatem caecos illuminare, claudos, mutos, et alios diversis languoribus oppressos curare, daemones effugare: hic autem meretrices, relicto impudicitiae freno, ad Dominum convertit; usurarios etiam ad coelestem thesaurum invitant, quem nee aerugo nee tinea demonit, nee fures furantur, fecit omnem substantiam, quam usura et foenus devoraverant, in usus pauperum distribuere. Ipse quidem preedixit regibus Franciae et Angliae, quod unus illorum mala morte in proximo interiret, nisi celerius ab hostilitate cessasset. Et quia in illo tempore messis quidem erat multa, et pauci rarii, conjunxit ei Dominus viros sapientes qui verbum illius predicarent populo,\(^4\) videlicet,\(^5\) magistrum Petrum de et dominum Robertum de, et dominum Eustachium abbatem de Flai, et ceteros quosdam, qui missi per orbem terrarum prædicaverunt ubique, Domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis. Prædictus autem Fulco quadam die visitavit Ricardum regem Angliae, et ait illi: "Dico to Richard: he bids him provide for his three daughters."

His helpers in the work.

O, digito compese labella, Accusator erit, qui verum dixerit.\(^7\)

Cui fertur regem respondisse: "Hypocrita, mentitus" es in caput tuum, quia filiam non habeo ullam." Ad quod Fulco respondens ait, "Certe non mentior; quia, "ut dixi, tres habes filias pessimas, quaram una est\(^8\)

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\(^1\) *Eodem anno* Here MSS. B. D. I. resume.

\(^2\) *Fulco* Faulk of Neuilly.

\(^3\) *Dominus* Deus, I.

\(^4\) *qui . . . populo* verba salutis aeternæ predicantes, Savile.

\(^5\) *videlicet* om. Savile.

\(^6\) *tibi* O rex, ins. Savile.

\(^7\) *dixerit* Here MS. A. has, in a new hand and in the margin, "Nemo sine vitis nascitur; beatus qui minimis urgetur; et alibi, Nemo sine crimen vivit." This was taken into the text by the transcribers of MSS. B. and I.; and is so printed by Savile. The story is abridged in G.

\(^8\) *est* om. I.

O nimis indignum miseris inferre cachinnum.1

Itaque predictus Fulco, relict0 rege, abiit prædictans
verbum Dei, de civitate in civitatem. Cunquese, prædi-
cando verbum Dei, civitatem Lexoviensem esset ingressus, clerici civitatis illius, quorum vitam immundam vir ille plenus Spiritu Sancto et operibus bonis reprehende-rat, injecerunt manus in eum,2 et vinculis constrictum
in carcerem miserunt. Sed neque vincula neque carceres
eum tenere potuerunt: et sic permissus abire, venit
Cadamum, prædictans præceptum Domini; et in con-
spectu plebis multa signa faciebat. Custodes autem
castelli existimantes quod placeret regi, injecerunt ma-

nus in eum, et victum miserunt in carcerem; et ruptis
carcere et vinculis, exivit ille, et ibat gaudens, quo-
niam dignus habitus est contumeliam pati pro nomine
Christi; et exiens a castello, excussit pulverem pedum
suorum in testimonium supra illos.

Eodem anno, vó, idus Octobris, die Dominica, prece
officialium Gaufridi Eboracensis archei episcopi, Philippus
Dunelmensis episcopus apud Hoveden benedixit Adam
in abbatem de Sallaie, et Hamonem in abbatem de
Beiland, facta professione et canonica obedientia eccle-
siae Eboracensi, et ejus vicariis, salvo ordine suo.

1 The story is told by Giraldus
Cambrensis also; Itiner. Cambria
(ed. Dimock), p. 44. Walter of
Hemingburgh, ii. 229, gives it in
another shape, making Walter of
Coutances the reprover, and placing
the scene at the king's death bed.

2 eum illum, Savile.

3 Cadamum ] An attempt has
been made by erasure to alter this
word to Cadomum, A.

4 Eodem anno . . . suo] om. B.

D. I.
Eodem mense Willelmus, cognomento Cocus, serviens Ricardi regis Angliæ in custodiendo castellum de Leuns,1 cepit de familia regis Franciæ quater viginti servientes equites, et xl. servientes pedites, quos rex Franciæ miserat ad muniendum castellum de Novo Mercato.

Eodem anno abierunt Ricardus Lundoniensis episcopus, Johannes Wigornensis episcopus, et Willelmus de Ver Herefordensis episcopus, et 2 episcopus Menevensis, et Amfridus3 del Turun, primus maritus predictæ Milisent,4 uxoris Gwidonis quondam regis de Jerusalem.

Eodem anno obiit in Sicilia apud Pannormum Constantia quondam Romanorum imperatrix, uxor Henrici imperatoris; cujus filium Innocentius papa recepti in custodia cum regno Siciliiæ, et ducatu Apuliiæ, et principatu Capuae.

Ransom of the bishop of Beauvais.

Ransom of the bishop of Beauvais.

Richard and Philip fortify two castles.

Death of the empress Constance.

Mauger bishop of Worcester.

Ransomed bishop.

Death of bishops.

Death of bishops.

Death of bishops.

Capture of a French detachment.

Deaths of bishops.

Deaths of bishops.

Deaths of bishops.

Deaths of bishops.

Death of Henfrid of Toron.

Death of Henfrid of Toron.

Death of Henfrid of Toron.

Defuncto autem papa Celestino, Innocentius papa tertius substitutus, iterum suspendit Aldefonsum regem de Sancto Jacobo, et totam terram suam a celebratione Divini officii, propter uxorem suam, filiam regis Cas-

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1 Leuns] Liuns, B.; Lyuns, I.
2 et] Petrus, ins. B. I.; blank in A.
3 Amfridus] Aimfridus, I.
4 Milisent] Milesent, I., the common mistake for Isabella. 4
5 Guletut] Guletuit, G.; Bulecut, Savile.
6 There is a change of hand here, which accounts for the unusual form “Wigorniensem.” It continues to the end of the year, and is the cursive hand frequently appearing both in text and margin, more frequently still as we approach the end of the work. Most of these short entries are omitted in D. Mauger was bishop of Worcester from 1200, when he was consecrated at Rome, to 1212.
Decimus annus et ultimus regni Ricardi regis Angliae.

Anno gratiae millesimo centesimo nonogesimo nono, qui est annus decimus et ultimus regni Ricardi regis Angliae, fuit idem Ricardus in Normannia apud Danfrunt, die Natalis Domini, quae sexta feria event; et Philippus rex Franciae fuit eodem die in Normannia apud Vernun; et Otho rex Alemannorum, nepos Ricardi regis Anglie, fuit eodem die apud Westle in Alemania, quae distat a Colonia per novem dietas; quas ipse Otho potenti virtute adquisierat super Philippum ducem de Suave, filium Fredericum quondam Romanorum imperatoris. Et statim post Natale Domini predictus Otho divisit exercitum suum in duas partes, et duas civitates praefati Philippi obsedit. Reges vero Franciae et Angliae convenuerunt ad colloquium inter Andeli et Vernun in festo Sancti Hylarii, ita quod rex Angliae navigio illue venit ascendendo per Secanam fluvium, et nolens in terram ascendere, de nave locutus est cum rege Franciae; qui in ripa fluminis in equo residiens, loquebatur cum rege

1 Otho] Otto, I.  
2 Westle] Altered to Westfale in A.; Westfale, G. D. I. MS. B. has War between Otho and Philip of Swabia.  
3 de] om. B.; Swave, B. D.  
4 praefati] predicti, Savile.
A.D. 1199.  
January.  
A truce for five years between Richard and Philip.

Angliæ ore ad os: et alium statuerunt sibi diem colloquii, ut in majori suorum audientia, mediante domino Petro de Capua, Sanctæ Mariæ in Via Lata diacono cardinali, et apostolicæ sedis legato, nec non et aliorum utriusque partis magnatum consilio, statuerunt inter se treugas ab illo festo Sancti Hilarii per quinquennium, bona fide et sine malo ingenio duraturas, rebus et tenementis sic se habentibus ex utraque parte, ut tunc erat; et his factis, sacramentoque confirmatis, unusquisque revocatus in regionem suam, et permiserunt exercitus suos cum gratiarum actione in patrias suas redire.

Cum autem Marchadeus cum ruta sua versus patriam suam rediret, quatuor comites de regno Franciae, per quorum terras Marchadeus transiturus erat, occurrerunt ei in manu hostili, et confecerunt eum, et multos de suis interfecerunt. Sed rex Franciae factum illud devovit, jurans quod per illum factum non fuit. Deinde dum rex Angliæ, spe pacis et supradictae conventionis intuitu, versus Pictaviam iret, rex Franciae firmavit fides a new, o.-n., q. castle during Quoddam castellum novum inter Butavant et Guailun, et forestam regis Angliæ circa locum illum exstirpavit. Quod cum rex Angliæ audisset, reversus est in Normanniam, et mandavit regi Franciae per Eustachium Eliensem episcopum, cancellarium suum, treugas dissolutas, nisi ipse castellum illum novum demoliri faceret. Legatus autem consuluit regi Franciae, ut castellum illud demoliretur, ne propter hoc treuge tam solemniter confirmaretur: ad cujus instantiam rex Franciae promisit se in proximo castellum illud demoliturn. Sed Ricardus rex Angliæ minime his contentus, volebat ut ad plenum inter eos componearetur, vel nulla pax inter eos esset. Unde facta est inter eos talis forma pacis, quod rex Franciae red-

1 Peter of Capua was made cardinal priest of S. Mary in Via Lata by Celestine III. in 1193.  
2 Butavant] Buteavant, B.  
3 Guailun] Guailun, B. I.; Gwallian, G.; Gwallun, D.  
4 treugas] illas esse, ins. Savile.
deret Ricardo regi Angliæ totam terram quam ipse super eum occupaverat, sive per guerram sive alio quocunque modo, excepto solo castello de Gysorcio; in cujus recompensatione rex Franciae concessit ipsi Ricardo regi Angliæ donationem archiepiscopatus Turonis: et quod Lodowicus filius regis Franciae duceret in uxorem, filiam regis Castellæ, neptem Ricardi regis Angliæ: et præterea rex Franciae juraret, quod pro posse suo juvaret Othonem, nepotem regis Angliæ, ad imperium Romanum perquirendum.

Hoc contra, Ricardus rex Angliæ daret Lodowico, filio regis Franciae, castellum de Gysorcio cum predicta nepte sua in maritagium; et in suum super Richard's return.

Proposed Peace delayed until Richard's return.

Philippus vero rex Franciae, seminator discordiae, mandavit regi Angliæ, quod Johannes comes Moretonii, frater ejus, dederat se illi; et inde ostenderit illi cartam ipsius Johannis. Mira res! Rex Angliæ credidit regi Franciae, et Johannem fratrem suum odio habuit, adeo quod fecit illum dissaisiri de terris suis cismarinis et transmarinis. Cum autem predictus Johannes quaereret causam hujus indignationis et odii, dictum est ei quod rex Franciae superdicta mandaverat de illo regi fratri suo. Unde factum est, quod idem comes Moretonii misit duos milites loco sui ad curiam regis Franciae, qui eum hujus criminis imminem esse obtulerunt modis omnibus probare vel defendere, sicut curia regis Franciae judicaret. Sed in curia illa non est inventus, neque rex, neque alius, qui vellet recipere inde probationem vel defendensionem. Et factum est, quod rex Angliæ ex illo tempore fratrem suum Johannem habuit familiariorem, et minus credidit mandatis regis Franciae.

Interea Ricardus rex Angliæ, consilio Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, abstulit Savarico Bathoniensi

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1 concessit] om. D. I.  
2 ceperunt] donec, ins. D. I.
episcopo abbatiam de Glastinbiri,\footnote{Glastinbiri} et dedit eam magistro Willelmo la Pie, et ipse factus est inde Abbas.

Interim Widomarus vicecomes de Limoges, invento magni thesauro auri et argenti in fundo suo, misit inde Richardo regi Angliae, domino suo, partem non modicam; sed rex\footnote{rex} eam refutavit, dicens se debere totum illum thesaurum habere de jure dominationis\footnote{dominationis} sui; quod prædictus vicecomes nullo modo concedere voluit. Venit ergo rex Angliae cum exercitu magnno in partes illas ad prædictam vicecomitem debellandum: obseditque castellum suum, quod dicitur Chaluz,\footnote{Chaluz} in quo sperabat thesaurum illum esse absconditum: et cum milites et servientes qui erant in castello, exuntes obtulissent ei castellum illud, salvis vita et membris et armis illorum, noluit rex recipere, sed juravit quod eos vi caperet et suspenderet. Reversi sunt igitur milites et servientes in castellum, dolentes et confusi, et paraverunt se ad defendendum.

\textit{Ricardus rex Angliae vulneratur plaga insanabili apud Chaluz.}\footnote{Chaluz} Eodem die, cum rex Angliae et Marchadeus circuarent castellum hinc et inde, explorantes in quo loco esset commodius insultum facere, quidam arcubalistas nomine Bertrannus de Gurdun traxit sagittam de castello, et percutiens regem in brachio vulneravit eum plaga insanabili: et sic rex vulneratus ascendit equum suum, et ad hospitium suum equitavit, et precepit Marchadeo, et exercitui suo universo, ut insultum facerent indesinenter in castellum donec caperetur; et factum est ita.
Quo capto, praecipit rex omnes suspendi, excepto illo solo qui eum vulneraverat, quem, ut fas est credere, turpissima morte damnaret, si convaluisset.


Et sic laxatis vinculis permissus est abire, et praecipit rex ei dari centum solidos Anglice monetæ. Sed

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Marchadeus, rege nesciente, injecit manus in eum, et tenuit, et, post obitum regis, excoriatum suspendit.

Deinde prceepit rex, ut cerebrum et sanguis ejus et viscera sua sepelirentur apud Charrou, et cor suum apud Rothomagum, et corpus suum apud Frontem Ebraudi, ad pedes patris sui.

**Ricardus rex Anglie obit.**

Decessit autem viiio. idus Aprilis, feria tertia ante Dominicam in Ramis Palmarum, xiio. die postquam percussus fuerat; et sui sepelierunt eum in supradictis locis, sicut præceperat. De morte autem illius quidam sic ait,

> "In hujus morte perimit formica Leonem.
> "Proh dolor, in tanto funere mundus obit!"

Et alius sic;

> "Virus, avaritia, scelus, enormisque libido,
> "Feoda fames, atrox elatio, caeca cupidio
> "Annis regnarunt bis quinis: arcubalistia
> "Arte, manu, telo, prostravit viribus ista."

Et alius sic;

> "Si genus et probitas metas transcendere mortis
> "Possent, intrassem non ego mortis iter.
> "Stare putas hominem, cui mors ab origine
> "finem
> "Nunciat, et meus est, ingeminit, meus est?
> "Longa manus morti; mors fortior Hectore forti;
> "Expugnant homines oppida, mors homines."

Et alius sic;

> "Hujus debellare nequivit virtutem magnorum
> turba laborum:
> "Cujus iter, gressus, obstacula nulla retardant,

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"Non strepitus, non ira maris, non vallis abyssus,
"Non juga, non celsi præceps audacia montis,
"Asperitasque vicè saxis callosa, nec ipsæ
"Limitis ambages, desertaque nescia gressus,
"Non rabies venti, non imbribus ebría nubes,
"Non tonitrus horrenda lues, non nubilus aer:"

Quin expeliretur, quid Siculi, quid Cyprus, quid Saladinus, quidque gens pagana possent in armis:

"Nec pede lento
"Affectum sequitur effectus, sed simul instant;
"Nascitur effectus cum nascitur ipsa voluntas."

Defuncto itaque Ricardo rege, Savaricus Bathoniensis episcopus statim suscitavit litem adversus magistrum Willelmum la Pie, abbatem Glastonieæ, protestans jus suum coram domino papa Innocentio in presentia universorum cardinalium, dicendo quod Ricardus rex Angliæ dederat ei abbatiam illum Glastoniam in vita sua habendam, et postea, pravò usus consilio, eam abstulerat ab eo injustè ; asserebat etiam constanter, paratus modis omnibus probare, quod antiquitus fuit apud Glastoniam sedes episcopalis, quæ nunc est apud Baa : et petebat sibi inde fieri restitutionem, et ut liceret ei transferre illuc sedem episcopalem, quæ est apud Baa.

Defuncto autem Ricardo rege, Philippus rex Franciæ statim bello invasit civitatem Ebroicarem, et cepit; et totum comitatum sibi subjugavit.

Eodem anno, die Sancti Patricii, videlicet xvi. kalendas Aprilis, feria ivta, Joscelinus venerabilis Glascuensis ecclesie antistes obiit apud Melros, ubi ipse exstiterat venerandus abbas; et ibidem in choro monachorum, ex boreali parte ecclesie, sepultus est.

Defuncto papa Coelestino, et Innocentio papa loco illius substituto, Cnut rex Dacorum misit nuncios suos Romam ad Innocentium papam, et conquestus est ei

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1 Eodem anno ... sepultus est] om. B. D. I.
A.D. 1199.

de Philippo rege Franciae, qui Botildam sponsam suam, sororem illius, injuste reliquerat, et aliam loco ejus in uxorem duxerat: conquestus est etiam domino papae de Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo, et de aliis episcopis, et comitibus et baronibus Franciae, per quos divorium factum fuit inter ipsum regem Franciae et Botildam reginam, post appellationem ab ipsa ad dominum papam factam. Ad instantiam igitur Cnut regis Dacorum, dominus papae Innocentius dedit in mandatis Petro de Capua, cardinali et apostolice sedis legato, ut ipse 1 modis omnibus induceret Philippum regem Franciae 2 ad dimittendam adulteram suam, et ad resumendam Botildam uxorem suam; et nisi fecerit, daret sententiam interdicti in regnum Franciae.

Primus annus regni Johannis regis Angliae, annus scilicet gratiae, m.c. nonogesimus nonus.

Defuncto Ricardo rege Angliae, Johannes comes Moretonii, frater ejus, moram faciens in Normannia, statim misit in Angliam Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, et Willelnum Marescallum comitem de Striguil, ad pacem Angliae servandam, uma cum Gaufrido Filio Petri justitiario Angliae, et aliis baronibus regni. Et ipse Johannes perrexit ad Chinonem, ubi thesaurus fratris sui erat, quem Robertus de Turneham 3 habens in custodia tradidit ei, cum castello de Chinun, et castello de Saumur, et aliis castellis regis, que ipse custodiebat. Thomas vero de Furnes, nepos predicti Roberti de Turneham, tradidit Arturo duci Britanniae civitatem et castellum Andegavis. Convenerunt enim 4 in unum principes Andegavie et Cenomannie, et Turo.niae, et adhæserunt Arturo duci Britanniae, sicut ligio domino suo; dicentes, judicium et consuetudinem ter-

1 ipse] om. B. D. I. 
2 Franciae] om. B. D. I. 
3 Turnham] Thorneham, B.; 
4 enim] om. B. D. I.
rurum illarum esse, quod filius fratris senioris debet ei succeedere in patrimonio sibi debito, videlicet in hereditate quam Gaufridus comes Britanniae, pater ipsius Arturi, esset habiturus, si supervixisset Ricardum regem Anglie fratem suum; et ideo tradiderunt Arturo Andegaviam et Turoniam et Cenomanniam. Constantia\(^1\) vero mater Arturi, comitissa Britanniae, venit Turonim, et tradidit Philippo regi Franciae Arturum filium suum; quem rex Franciae statim misit Parisium custodiendum, ad Lodowicum filium suum; et saisivit in manu sua civitates, castella et munitiones quae Arturi erant, et custodibus suis tradidit custodienda.

Johannes vero comes Moretonii venit Cenomannum, et civitatem et castellum cepit; et muros civitatis, et castellum, et domos civitatis lapideas subvertit, et cives misit in captivitatem; eo quod ipsi, contra fideltatem quam ei fecerant, receperunt Arturum in domum. Johannes autem comes Moretonii fuit in Andegavia apud Baufort die Paschae, quae xiv. kalendas Maii evenit.

Deinde idem comes venit Rothomagum; et die Dominica in octavis Paschae, videlicet vi\(^{ii}\) kalendas Maii, festo Sancti Marci evangelistae, accinctus est gladio ducatus Normanniae in matrici ecclesia per manum Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi. Et praedictus\(^2\) archiepiscopus\(^3\) posuit in capite ducis circulum aureum habentem in summite per circuitum rosas aureas: et ipse dux coram clero et populo juravit super reliquias sanctorum, et super sacrasancta evangelia, quod ipse sanctam ecclesiam, et dignitates illius, bona fide et sine malo ingenio servabit illas, et

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\(^{1}\) Constantia\] inserted in a later hand in A. \\
\(^{2}\) praedictus\] praefatus, B. D. I. \\
\(^{3}\) In margin of A. in cursive hand: \\
"Eodem die Johannes dux Normanne fecit [Henricum] fratrem " [Philippi] comitis Flandriae militem." The names are inserted in another hand, and are wrong. Whether the person knighted was Henry or Philip must remain uncertain. See above, p. 39, note.

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A.D. 1192. 
April. 
The barons of Anjou support the claims of Arthur.
Queen Eleanor ravages Anjou.

The archbishop and William Marshall obtain the rectam justitiam exercebit, et leges iniquas destruct, et bonas instituet.

Interim regina Alienor, mater praedicti ducis, et Marchadexum eum ruta sua, intraverunt in Andegaviam, et devastaverunt eam, eo quod Arturum receperunt.

Hubertus vero Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Willelmus Marescallus, qui missi fuerant ad pacem Angliæ custodiendam, fecerunt homines regni, tam de civitatibus quam de burgis, et comites et barones, et libere tenentes, jurare fidelitatem et pacem Johanni Normannorum duci, filio Henrici regis, filii Matildis imperatricis, contra omnes homines. Tamen universi, tam episcopi quam comites et barones, qui castella habebant, munierunt illa hominibus et victu et armis. Deinde Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Willelmus Marescallus, et Gaufridus Filius Petri justitiarius Angliæ, convenerunt apud Norhamton, et convocatis mise on his behalf that he will do justice to the earls; who thereupon swear fealty.

They promise on his behalf that he will do justice to the earls; who thereupon swear fealty.

The king of Scots demands Northumberland and Cumberland.

The king of Scots demands Northumberland and Cumberland.

callus, et Gaufridus Filius Petri non permiserunt nuncios regis Scotiae trans fretare ad ducem; sed mandaverunt ei per comitem David, fratrem suum, quod ipse patienter sustineret, donec dux venisset\(^1\) in Angliam. Similiter Johannes dux Normanniae mandavit Wilhelmo regi Scottorum per Eustachium de Vesci, generum suum, quod in reditu suo in Angliai satisfaceret ei de omnibus petitionibus suis, si ei interim pacem servaverit.

Interim magister Honorius, qui regia potestatem, et decani et capituli Eboraci malignitate fuerat dejectus ab archidiaconatu de Richemund,\(^2\) quem Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus ei dererat, receptus est in archidiaconatu illo a personis ejusdem archidiaconatus; qui ei fidelitatem et canonicam obedientiam juraverunt, expulsis inde\(^3\) officialibus Rogeri de Sancto Edmundo, qui per regiam potestatem, et decani et capituli Eboraci auctoritatem, intrusus erat: et decanus Eboraci et capitulum excommunica verunt predictum Honorium, et ejus receptores, propter istam presumptionem; et dux Normanniae precepit, ut omnia jura Eboracensis ecclesiae essent in eo statu, quo fuerunt die qua Ricardus frater ejus, rex Anglie, fuit vivus et mortuus.

Deinde idem dux Johannes trans fretavit de Normannia in Angliam, et applicuit apud Scorham\(^4\) octavo kalendas Junii, feria tertia, et in crastino, videlicet, vigilia Ascensionis Domini, venit Londonias, in crastino coronandus.

Congregatis igitur apud Londonias, in adventu predicti ducis, Huberto Cantuariensi, Johanne Dublinensi, et — de\(^5\) Raguse archiepiscopis, Willemo Lundoniensi,

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\(^1\) *venisset* veniret, D.  
\(^2\) *Richemund* Richemunt, I. This paragraph is omitted in D.  
\(^3\) *inde* om. I.  
\(^4\) *Scorham* Sorham, B. I.  
\(^5\) *et . . . de* Blank in A. and I.

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This is Bernard archbishop of Ragusa, to whom a year or two later the administration and revenues of the vacant see of Carlisle were given.
A.D. 1199. May 27.

Bishops and barons present at John's coronation.


**Prima coronatio Johannis regis Angliae.**

Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus coronavit et consecravit in regem Angliæ præfatum Johannem du-cem Normannise, in ecclesia Sancti Petri apud West- muster, sexto kalendas Junii, feria v°, die Ascensionis Domini; Philippo Dunelmensi episcopo appellante, ne coronatio illa fieret in absentia Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ primatis.

Eodem die coronationis suæ, Johannes rex accinxit Willelmum Marescallum gladio comitatus de Strigui, et Gaufridum Filium Petri gladio comitatus de Exsex:² qui,³ licet antea vocati essent comites, et administra-tionem suorum comitatum habuissent, tamen non erant accincti gladio comitatus: et ipsi illa die servierunt ad mensam regis accincti gladiis.⁴

Eodem die coronationis suæ idem rex dedit Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo cancellariam suam; qui dum glorioaretur in potestate illa, et multa jactaret de fami-liaritate regis, Hugo Bardulfi respondit ei; “Domine, a salva pace vestra loquar, certe si bene consideraretis a nominis vestri potentiam, et honoris dignitatem, non

¹ *Landaf* Landa, I.
² *de Exsex* Essex, B. I.
³ *qui* om. I.
⁴ MS. A. has in the margin a note in a contemporaneous hand, which has been nearly erased; all that can be read is this, “Eodem die coronasionis suæ Johannis rex Anglie dedit Willelmo de Braiusa . . . ”
"deberetis jugum servitutis vobis imponere: quia nun-
quam audivimus vel vidimus de archiepiscopo fieri
cancellarium, sed de cancellario vidimus fieri archi-
episcopum."

Interim Willelmus prior de May, et Walterus prior
de Insula Sancti Columbæ, et Willelmus de Haia, missi
ex parte Willelmii regis Scotiæ, ad Johannem regem
Angliæ venerunt: per quos rex Scottorum petiit a rege
Angliæ Northumbriam et Cumbriam, cum pertinentiis
eorum, de jure patrimonii sui: et promisit quod, si rex
ea reddidisset illi, fideliter serviret ei viribus totis; sin
autem, totum jus suum, si posset, adquireret. Quibus
Johannes rex respondit: "Cum dominus vester rex
Scottorum, carissimus consanguineus meus, ad me ve-
nerit, quod justum fuerit faciam ei, de ista et de aliis
petitionibus suis."

Deinde Johannes rex Angliæ misit Philippum Dun-
elmensem episcopum obviam regi Scottorum, sperans
quod ipse ad mandatum illius veniret; et ipse interim
venit ad Notthingham, et fuit ibi die Pentecostes, et in
partibus illis moram fecit, exspectans adventum regis
Scotiæ. Rex autem Scotiæ venire noluit; sed remisit
ad regem Angliæ Rogerum episcopum Sancti Andree,
et Hugonem Malebise, quos rex Angliæ pro illo misc-
rat, et petiit ut rex Angliæ sibi redderet Northim-
briam et Cumbriam: sin autem, pro certo sicret quod
secundum posse suum illa adquireret: et ad habendum
inde responsum regis Angliæ posuit inducias quadra-
ginta dierum, et ipse interim magnum congregavit
exercitum. Episcopus vero Sancti Andree et Ricardus
Malebisse secuti sunt regem Angliæ ad mare prope-
rantem.

Interim Johannes rex Angliæ tradidit Willelmo de
Stuteville Northumbriam et Cumbriam, cum castellis
et comitatibus in custodia, que Hugo Bardulfi custo-
dierat, et reddidit Rogero de Lasci, constabulario Ces-

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1 sin autem] sin minus, Savile. | 2 sin autem] sin minus, Savile.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1199. June.

The king retains the manors until the archbishop's return.

Pomfret restored to Roger de Lacy.

Stephen Turnham is bidden to surrender the lands of the see of York to the officers of the archbishop.

June 20. John goes to Normandy.

trieae, castellum suum del Punfrat, accepto prius ab eo filio et hærede in obsidem. Deinde præcepit rex Stephano de Turneham, qui jam fere per duos annos custodierat archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, quod tradideret custodiam ejusdem archiepiscopatus magistro Radulfo de Kima, et Wilhelmo Ward, et Rogero de Bauven, ad opus archiepiscopi. Unde idem Stephanus scripsit in hac forma ministris suis.


Et ita factum est. Sed rex, pravo usus consilio, firmam maneriorum de termino Pentecostes sibi retinuit, promittens quod in reeditu archiepiscopi omnia ei solvent. Archiepiscopus vero Eboracensis, cum per octo dierum itinera versus domum, peractis negotiis suis, ut supradictum est, a Roma redisset; undita morte Ricardi regis, reversus est Roman ad negotia sua secundum casus eventum reformanda.

Johannes vero rex Angliae, peractis negotiis suis in Anglia, transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, et applicuit apud Depe, paulo ante festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, die Dominica, et in Nativi-

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1 del Punfrat] de Punfrat, Savile, B.
2 ab eo] om. B. I.
3 Turneham] Turnham, I.
4 Bauvent] Bauvent, Savile.
5 Turneham] Turnham, B. I.
6 Wilhelmo] de, ins. B. D. I.
7 Bauvent] Bauvent, D. I.; Bauvent, G.
8 cum] ipsi, ins. Savile from D.
9 usus] est, ins. B. I.
10 Anglia] Angliam, B. D. I.
11 Baptistæ, die Dominica] These words are run through with a pen in A.; the Sunday before S. John's day was the 20th of June, and on that day John was at Shoreham.
tate Sancti Johannis fuit ipse apud Rothomagum, et
confluebat ad eum multitudo equestris et pedestris
exercitus: et statim statuta sunt treugae inter ipsum
et regem Franciae usque in crastinum Assumptionis
Sanctae Marie. In ipso autem die colloquii, Gaufridus
Eboracensis archiepiscopus, peractis negotiis suis ad-
versus dominum papam juxta animi sui desiderium,
rediit in Normaniam, et a Johanne fratre suo hono-
rifice et amicabiliter\(^1\) susceperat.

Interim Philippus\(^2\) comes Flandrie devenit homo
Johannis regis Anglie apud Rothomagum, feria sexta
ante Assumptionem Sanctae Marie; et\(^3\) — frater ejus-
dem comitis Flandrie resignavit sponte sua in manu
Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi præbendam de Huws-
thwait, quam habuit in ecclesia Eboraci ex dono Ricardi
regis Anglie. Similiter fecerunt alií quam plurímes, sci-
entes donationes illas factas fueri contra Deum, et in
sanctâ ecclesiae detrimentum; et archiepiscopus ille
statim dedit prædicto fratri comiti Flandrie præ-
bendam quae fuit Petri de Dinan in ecclesia Sancti
Petri Eboraci. Prædictus namque Petrus jam electus
erat ad episcopatum de Rennes\(^4\) in Britannia. Et archi-
episcopus praecipit saisiri in manu sua archidiaconatum
de Westrihing, quem ipse habuit in ecclesia Sancti Petri
Eboraci; sed Adam de Tornhouvere,\(^5\) qui tunc temporis
archoediaconatum illum possidebat, cedere noluit, fultus
regis patrocinio, et capítuli Eboraci auctoritate.

Hardy, Preface to Patent Rolls. R. de Diceto gives June 20 as the
day of the voyage, c. 706.
\(^1\) amicabiliter ] amabiliter, Sa-
vile.
\(^2\) Philippus ] Baldwin IX., see
above, p. 39, note.
\(^3\) et\] Blank for the name. The
person meant is perhaps Peter of
Corbeil, who held a prebend in the
cathedral and had claims on the
archdeaconry of York; he became
archbishop of Sens the year after,
having been elected to Cambrai.
\(^4\) Rennes ] Rennes, B. I. Peter
of Dinan, chancellor to duke
Arthur; bishop of Rennes, 1199–
1210.
\(^5\) Tornhouvere] Torhouere, A. B. I.;
Torhout, D.
A.D. 1199. Philip captures some Flemish nobles, and the elect of Cambray.

Interim Henricus\(^1\) comes de Naumur, frater Philippi comitis Flandriæ, et Petrus\(^2\) de Duay, miles optimus, et familiaris comitis Flandriæ, et electus de Cambray,\(^3\) frater prædicti Petri, capti sunt a familia regis Franciæ, et traditi sunt illi. Petrus autem de Capua, cardinalis et apostolicae sedis legatus in Francia, in adventu suo interdixit Franciam propter captam prædicti electi de Cambray; et Normanniam propter retentionem Philippi Belvacensis episcopi: et antequam sententia illa relaxaretur, Philippus rex Franciæ dimisit præfatum electum abire liberum, et Johannes rex Angliæ dimisit Philippum Belvacensem episcopum abire, datis duabus millibus marcis argenti pro expensis in ipso et per ipsum factis tempore Ricardi regis Angliæ, et post mortem Ricardi regis usque ad diem liberationis sue. Preterea idem episcopus Belvacensis juravit coram prædicto cardinali et aliis viris ecclesiasticis, quod de cetero in vita sua nunquam arma gestabit contra Christianos.


In erastino autem Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariae, et die sequenti, fuit colloquium inter regem Angliæ et regem Franciæ per internuncios suos, inter Butavan,\(^4\) et Guletun,\(^5\) et tertia die sequenti locuti sunt reges ipsi ore ad os. Sed rex Angliæ nullam gratiam invenit apud regem

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1 *Henricus*] See above, p. 39. It was Philip, count of Namur, according to Rigord, p. 200.
2 *Petrus*] called a clerk by Rigord, p. 200.
3 *Cambray*] Cambrai, B. D. I. John of Bethune was elected in the place of Peter of Corbeil in 1199. He was son of Robert V. of Bethune, advocate of Arras, and was bishop of Cambray from 1200 to 1219. There seems to be some doubt whether the person in question were Peter of Corbeil, John of Bethune, or Hugo, a predecessor of both.
4 *Butavan*] Butteavant, I.; Butteavant, B.; Butteavant, G.; Butteavant, D.
5 *Guletun*] Guletun, B., Savile; Guletun, D.; Guletruit, G.
Franciae. Requisitus ergo rex Franciae, quare sic oderat Johannem regem Anglie, qui nunquam illi malum fecerat, respondit, quod ipse sine licentia illius occupaverat Normanniam et alias terras. Debuerat enim in primitis ad eum venisse, et eum requisisse de jure suo, et inde homagium ei fecisse. In colloquio autem illo petiti rex Franciae ad opus suum totum Wogesin, scilicet totum quod est inter forestam de Liuns, et Secanam, et riveram de Andeli, et riveram de Etbe. Asserbat enim quod Gaufridus comes Andegavie, pater regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatrixis, dederat illud Lodo-
Otho itaque electus imperator, mandavit Johanni regi Angliae, avunculo suo, ut ipse modicum temporis sustineret, et differret pacem facere cum Philippo rege Franciae; quia ipse, Deo volente, faceret illi in proximo succursum bonum, qualem imperialis celsitudo facere posset meliorem.

Interim Philippus rex Franciae cepit Concas, castellum Rogeri de Toni, mense Septembris.

Eodem mense Septembris Johanna, uxor Raimundi comitis de Sancto Egidio, quondam regina Siciliae, soror quoque Johannis regis Angliae, obiit in Normannia apud Rothomagum; et delata ad abbatiam Frontis Ebraudi, ibidem sepulta est inter velatas.

Mense vero Octobris, rex Franciae cepit castellum de Balun, quod Gafridus de Burelun custodiebat, et subvertit illud. Quod cum Willelmus de Rupibus, princeps exercitus Arturi, vidisset, grave tulit, et plurimum crepavit regem Franciae; dicens quod ita non convenaret inter illum et dominum suum Arturum. Cui rex Franciae respondit, quod propter Arturum dominum suum non dimitteret facere voluntatem suam de absconditis suis. Deinde rex Franciae obsedit Lavardin; sed rex Angliae supervenit cum exercitu suo; et rex Franciae reliquens obsidionem, recepit se in civitate Cenomannensi; sed rege Angliae sequente illum cum exercitu suo, rex Franciae reliquit Cenomannum, et abiit.

Interim Willemus de Rupibus calliditate magna eripuit Arturum de custodia regis Franciae, et pacificavit eum cum Johanne rege Angliae, et tradidit ei civitatem Cenomanni, quam rex Franciae et Arturus tradiderant ei in custodia.

Eodem die dictum erat Arturo, quod rex Angliae caperet eum, et in carcerem mitteret.

Eodem die vicecomes de Tuaz, qui custodiebat cas-

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1 delata] om. I.
2 Burelun] Burelin, D.; Burlun, G.
3 suum] om. I.
tellum de Chinun, venit ad regem Angliæ per man-
datum ipsius apud Cenomannum, et coactus, tradidit
regi castellum de Chinun, et senescalciam Andegavie;
et rex et statim tradidit castellum de Chinun Rogero
constabulario Cestrice in custodia, donec rex sibi pro-
vidisset alium custodem. Nocte vero sequenti Arturus,
et mater sua, et predictus vicecomes de Tuaz, et multi
alii, relictō rege Angliae, abierunt, et receperunt se in
civitate Andegavis. Mater vero Arturi, relictō Ran-
nulfo comite Cestrice marito suo, nupsit Gwidoni de
Tuaz, fratri predicti vicecomitis de Tuaz.  

Eodem anno obiit Hugo Glascuensis ecclesiae electus,
sexto idus Julii, et sepultus est apud Gedeworde.  

Eodem anno, mense Octobris, Willemus Mauvaisin elec-
tus est in episcopum Glascuensis ecclesiae.  

Interim Petrus de Capua, cardinalis et apostolicæ
sedis legatus, qui missus erat ab Innocentio summo
pontifice ad dirimendam litem inter Ricardum regem
Angliæ et Philippum regem Franciae, ad ejus instan-
tiam præfati reges promiserant se treugas inter se per
quinquennium servaturos; sed quia treuge ille iam
defecerat, morte Ricardi regis interveniente, modis
omnibus conabatur, ut treuge ille servarentur inter
prædictum regem Franciae et Johanne regem Angliæ,
hæredem præfati Ricardi. Unde factum est, quod
statuta sunt treugas inter illos usque ad festum Sancti
Hilarii.  

Eodem anno Philippus filius Ricardi regis Angliæ
notus, cui predictus rex pater suus dederat castellum
et honorem de Cuinac, interfecit memoratum vicecomi-
tem de Limoges in vindictam patris sui.  

Eodem anno extitit in Anglia, et in finibus ejus,tanta aquarum inundatio, quod pontes et molendini et

A.D. 1199.  
October.  
The viscount
of Thomars
surrenders
Chinun to
John.  

Arthur and
his mother
fly from
John.  

Hugh elect of
Glasgow
dies; and
William
Malvoisin
is elected.

Peter of
Capua pre-
vails on
John and
Philip to
keep a truce
until Jan. 13.

Philip, son
of Richard,
kills the
viscount of
Limoges.

Floods in
England.

1 rex] Franciac, ins. Savile.  
2 Tuarz] Tuaz, B. D. G. I.  
3 Gedeworde ] Godewrde, I.; Gedeworde, G.  
4 Mauvaisin] Mauveisin, G.  
5 est] om. I. MS. D. omits these
two sentences.  
6 Cuinac] Cuinack, G.  

VOL. IV.
A.D. 1199.

Dispute about the rebuilding of the bridge at Berwick, between the bishop of Durham and the Scots.

Domus asportabantur. Ponte autem de Berwic asportato, cum ex præcepto Willelmis regis Scottorum comes Patricius custos de Berwic, et tunc temporis summus justitiarius totius regni Scottorum, pontem illud de Berwic reædificare vellet, prohibitum est eí ex parte Philippi Dunelmensis episcopi, ne pontem illum in terra sua firmaret. Pons quidem ille fieri non potuit, nisi firmaretur in terra Dunelmensis episcopi, sicut prius erat. Tandem vero prædictus episcopus Dunelmensis, consilio Willelmi de Stutevilla, permisit pontem illum fieri, et in terra sua firmari, salva conventione quæ facta fuerat inter ipsum regem Scotiae et Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, predeecessorem suum.


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1 Berwic] Berewic, G. I.
2 et] om. I.
3 Columbae] Master Columba is probably the same person as the Master Columbus who was sent with archdeacon Honorius to Rome by John, in 1206. Rot. Pat., ed. Hardy, i. 57. He was subdeacon to the pope, and appears later in a letter of Innocent III. under the year 1201, below.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ statuit, quod nullum tonellum vini Pictavensis vendatur carius quam pro viginti solidis, et nullum tonellum vini Andegavensis carius quam pro viginti quatuor solidis, et nullum tunellum vini Francigenæ carius quam pro viginti quinque solidis, nisi vinum illud adeo bonum sit quod ali- quis velit pro eo dare circa duas marcas ad altius. Præterea statuit, quod nullum sextercium vini Pictavis vendatur carius quam pro quatuor denariis, et nullum sextercium vini albi vendatur carius quam sex denariis. Statuit etiam, quod omnia tunella, quæ de cætero veniēnt in Angliam, postquam venerint de Rech post tempus presentis musti, sint de mutatione; et hoc statuit teneri ab octavis Sancti Andreas: et preceptit ad hoc servandum, in singulis civitatis et burgis in quibus vina vendantur, duodecim constitui custodes, et jurent quod hanc assisam facient teneri et observari. Si vero vinatorem, qui vinum vendat ad brocam, contra hanc assisam inveniēnt, corpus ejus capiat vicecomes, et salvo custodiri faciat in prisōna domini regis, donec inde habeat aliud præceptum; et omnia tenementa sua capiantur ad opus domini regis per visum prædictorum duodecim hominum. Si quis etiam inventus fuerit, qui

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1 sextercium] sexternum, I. 
2 quam] pro, ins. B. Savile. 
3 Rech] Reth, G. I. 
4 Sancti Andreae] Decembri, et, ins. B. D.; mised by A., which has deinceps for deinceps.
A.D. 1199.  

The king of Scots is warned by a vision not to invade England.

The king's assize of wines.

{\textit{tunellum vel tunella contra predictam assisam vendiderit vel emerit, capiatur uterque, et salvo in pristina custodia, donec inde aliiud preceptiatur: et quod nullum vinum ematur ad \textit{agratariam}\textsuperscript{1} de vinis quae applicuerint in Anglia. Sed hoc primum regis statutum vix inchoatum, statim est adhibitum; quia mercatores hanc assisam sustinere non poterant. Et data est \textit{eis}\textsuperscript{2} licentia vendendi sextercium de vino albo pro octo sextercium de vino rubio pro sex denariis; et sic repleta est terra potu et potatoribus.}

\textit{De controversia Turonensis et Dolensis ecclesiarum, decisa per papam Innocentium.}

{\textit{Eodem anno, cum Willelmus rex Scotorum esset in Angliam cum exercitu, accessit ad feretrum Sanctae Margaretae, quondam Scottorum reginæ, quod est apud Dunfermulin, et pernoctavit ibi, et Divino oraculo in somnis monitus, ne Angliam cum exercitu invaderet, permisit exercitum suum domum redire.}}

\textit{De controversia Turonensis et Dolensis ecclesiarum, decisa per papam Innocentium.}

}{\textit{Eodem anno decisa est illa vetustissima controversia, que fuerat inter Turonensem\textsuperscript{3} et Dolensem ecclesiam, super jure metropolitico quod ecclesia Dolensis sibi vendicabat contra Turonensem ecclesiam, in hunc modum. Disposuerat dominus Celestinus papa bone memoriæ, ut tempore suo vetustissimæ querelæ atque tritissimæ, quæ inter Turonensem et Dolensem ecclesiam hactenus agitata est, finis imponeretur, Domino ministrante. Hac itaque de causa parti utrique diem peremptoriam assignavit, qua sufficienter instructæ rationibus universis, quibus se scirent indigere ad causam, omni appellazione, dilatione\textsuperscript{4} et excusatione cessantibus, apostolico deberent se conspectui presentare. Sed quia datum non erat desuper ut per ipsum}}

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{agratariam}\textsuperscript{1} regratariam, B.D.I.  

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{eis} om. D. I. 

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Turonensem} Turonem, I. 

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{dilatione}\textsuperscript{4} om. D. I.
terminaretur quæstio supradicta, sublatus est enim de medio antequam dictus terminus advenisset, dominus Innocentius papa, quondam Lotarius diaconus cardinalis Sanctorum Sergii et Bachi, succedens eodem domino Celestino, affectans, quod a præecessore suo de quœstione præfata per citationem partium exstiterat, per discussionem negotii omnino, juvante Domino, terminare: causam ipsam terminandam ab ipso, Divina forte provisio conservarat; pro eadem causa partes Romanam ecclesiam coegit adire. Quia tamen archiepiscopus Turonensis debilitatem totius corporis patiebatur per maximam, ad praesentiam summi pontificis in persona propria non accessit. Discretos siquidem viros et providos, cancellarium ecclesiae suæ videat, et tres concanonicos suos, cum quibusdam alius loco sui mittere prœcuravit. Existentibus autem in praesentia summi pontificis, et fratrum suorum cardinalium, Dolensi electo, et dictis præfati archiepiscopi nuncius, et ex diversis multa hinc inde super juris sui defensione proponentibus; supradictus dominus Innocentius coepit eos, sicut benignissimus pater cum fratribus suis, ad pacem inducere; et ut spatiu m delib eradì haberent, utrique parti audientiam per intervalla differret. Et licet ad hoc inducti essent Turonensis nuncii, ut Dolensi ecclesiae archiepiscopalem sedem concederent cum duobus suffraganeis tantum, ita ut domino Turonensi tanquam primati subesset, et de manu ejus, vel ecclesiae Turonensis, pallium a domino papa eodem ecclesiae Turonensi missum, idem Dolensis recipert, et consecrationem; quia tantum duo episcopatus contigui a Turonensibus nuncius non concedebantur eodem Dolensi electo, pacem hane nullatenus acceptavit; quæ utique refutatio in ejus redundavit incommodum, ut in sequentibus audietur. Videns itaque dominus papa,

A.D. 1120. The pope hears both sides. He gives sentence against Dol.

quod per concordiam non posset prædicta quæstio terminari, citationes et allegationes hinc inde in pleno consistorio licentius ac plenius intellexit. Quibus auditis et plenius intellectis, ad diffinitivam tandem sententiam voluit cum fratribus properare. Sed iterum viam pacis quaerens, eos ad concordiam invitavit. Verum cum ad ultimum nil posset in hac parte proficere, pro tribunali sedens dominus Innocentius, fratribus ei assistentibus, sententiam contra Dolonensem ecclesiam pro Turonensi ecclesia, secundo papatus sui anno, publice promulgavit, videlicet, ut Dolensis ecclesia tanquam suffraganea Turonensis ecclesiae, velut metropolitanae, omni exemptione seu exceptione seposita, de cetero subjaceret; et episcopus Dolensis ecclesiae obedientiam et reverentiam Turonensi archiepiscopo in omnibus exhiberet; cum electus esset, confirmationem, et cum tempus exigeret, ab ipso recipere consecrationem: super hoc generale privilegium, multiplicibus argumentis et rationibus annotatum, ecclesiae Turonensi concedens, et archiepiscopo Rothomagensi, et quibusdam aliis, super eodem apostolica scripta transmittens. Quae omnia plenius ex subsequentibus apparetur.

cæterum cum Dolens electus contra se datam sententiam avidisset, turbatus, nec immerito, ac tristis plurimum ad præsentiam domini papaæ accessit, et se volens dimittere, ipsi domino papaæ Dolensem ecclesiam resignavit. Cui dominus papa, cum hoc vidisset, absque mora respondit: 

"Tu sponsus est, et te sponsa tua exigit. Istit facere absque nostra licentia, quod nolumus, tu non potes; tibi in virtute obedientiæ precipimus, ut post vocacionem factam ab archiepiscopo Turonensi, infra quadraginta dies ad ipsum, omni excusatione posthabita, 

"tanquam ad metropolitanum tuum, recepturus ab ipso munus consecrationis, accedas."

Eodem anno magister Gilardus,\(^1\) Menevensis electus, suscitavit controversiam super jure metropolitico ecclesiae Menevensis, jus ejusdem ecclesiae, et pristinam metropolitani dignitatem coram domino Innocentio papa tertio, et cardinalibus, videlicet Octoviano Hostiensi, et\(^2\) Portuensi, et Johanne Albanensi, episcopis cardinalibus, et Jordano de Fossa Nova, et Sefredo, et Johanne de Sancto Paulo, et Johanne de Salerno, et Gratiano, et Hughelno, et Hugucione, cardinalibus, publice protestando. Est autem sciemendum, quod postquam beatus Dubricius, Urbis Legionum archiepiscopus, eremum elicens, beato David sue dignitatis cessit librum; beatus David ex tunc sedem archiepiscopalem usque Meneviam transtulit, et ibidem archiepiscopus factus est; et post illum viginti quatuor ibidem pallio usi sunt, et plena metropolitica dignitate; quorum ultimus fuit Sanctus Samson,\(^3\) qui propter ictericiam passionem, qua pestis catarvatum homines in Wallia tunc temporis occubuerunt, navigio in Armoricam\(^4\) Britanniam\(^5\) transiens, in ecclesia Dolensi, tunc forte vacante, prefectus est; et pallio Sancti David, quod secum asportaverat, ibidem usus est; qua occasione illa Dolensis ecclesia contine Turonensi ecclesiae, pallium affectando, rebellis exstiterat, usque ad tempora predicti Innocentii papae tertii, cujus anno secundo causa est decisa, et illa adventitia dignitas Dolensi ecclesiae est abjudicata.

Menevensis autem ecclesia eadem occasione, vel propter ignaviam vel paupertatem, pallio semper hactenus caruerunt.\(^6\) Omnes tamen episcopi Menevensis ecclesiae, scilicet novemdecim episcopi, a discessu Sancti Sam-

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\(^1\) *Gilardus*] Girardas, G.; Giral
dus, I. *The famous Giraldus Cam-
brensis.*

\(^2\) cf] Blank in A. for the name.

\(^3\) *Samson*] Sampson, B.; Sanson, I.

\(^4\) *Armoricam*] Armonicam, A. B.

\(^5\) *Britanniam*] Britannicam, I.

\(^6\) *caruerunt*] caruit, G.
104 CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1100. 

but were archbishops. 

sonis\(^1\) usque ad tempus Henrici regis Anglie primi, omni dignitate archiepiscopali usi sunt, excepto pallio; et habuerunt suffraganeos septem, scilicet Landavensem,\(^2\) et de Sancto Paterno\(^3\) in Kerdikan, quae sedes, quia parochiani pastorem suum interfecerunt, olim obsoletit, et Menevensi dioecesi est adunata; et Pangorense et de Sancto Asaf: in Wallia vero ab Anglis dudum occupata trans Sabrinam, Cestrensem et Herefordensem. Predictus vero rex Henricus Walliam regno suo subjugavit, et ideo predictam Menevensem ecclesiam, et alias Walliae ecclesias, suffraganeas Menevensis ecclesiae, ecclesiae regni sui, scilicet Cantuariam, subjicere cupiens, Bernardum\(^4\) clericum de camera sua, quem in Menevensi ecclesia Vilfrido episcopo subrogari procuravit, et apud Cantuariam per regiam violentiam consecrari fecit: et hie fuit primus Menevensis ecclesiae episcopus a Cantuariensi archiepiscopo consecratus; et post eum David\(^5\) et Petrus,\(^6\) a regibus Anglie compulsi, similiter a Cantuariensi archiepiscopo sunt consecrati, praestitis sacramentis contra canones extortis de non suscitanda lite super jure metropolitico contra Cantuariensem ecclesiam in perpetuum. Bernardus tamen, defuncto Henrico rege primo, movit, questionem super jure ecclesiae suae metropolitico contra Theobaldum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum. Unde papa Eugenius in hac forma scripsit Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo; 

\(^1\) Samsonis Sampsonis, B.; Sansonis, I. 
\(^2\) Landavensem Landeunsem, I. 
\(^3\) Sancto Paterno] See Gir. Camb. Itiner. Cambrie, ed. Dimock, p.121; Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, ed. Haddan and Stubbs, i. 146. 
\(^4\) Bernardum] Bishop of S. David’s, 1115-1147:—on this phase of the quarrel see Councils and Documents, i. 344, seqq. 
\(^5\) David] Fitz Gerald, bishop 1148-1176. 
Epistola Eugenii papae ad Theobaldum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, pro Bernardo episcopo Sancti David, de dignitate ejusdem ecclesiae metropoliticae. ¹

"Eugenius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratrem Theobaldo, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Venerabilis frater noster Bernardus, episcopus Sancti David, ad nostram presentiam veniens, ecclesiam Sancti David olim metropolitam fuisse viva voce asservit, et eandem dignitatem sibi a nobis restitui postulavit. Cum autem circa petitionem istam invigilans, diu in curia nostra commoratus esset; tu, frater archiepiscopo, tandem, eo prae-sente, ex adverso consurgens, in presentia nostra adversus eum queralam deposuisti, quod debitam, tanquam primo metropolitano, obedientiam subtraxisset, tibiique inobediens et rebellis existeret, cum a praedecessore tuo, tanquam a primo metropolitano, consecratus esset, et, viva voce et scripto, Cantuariensi ecclesiae professionem fecisset, et in multis postea, tanquam aliis suffraganei, tibi obedisset et astisset. Ile vero consecrationem negare non potuit; sed professionem se fecisse, et obedientiam exhibuisse, omnino negavit: quod tu audiens, duos testes in medium produxisti, testimonium perhibentes, quod ipse, illis videntibus et audientibus, post consecrationem suam,² et viva voce et scripto, Cantuariensi ecclesiae professionem fecisset. Nos igitur auditis utriusque partis rationibus, et diligentius inquisitis, et testibus tuis studiose examinatis, communicato fratrum nostrorum consilio, juramenta eorum receptimus, et ut ipsi episcopus tibi, tanquam primo metropolitano, obedientiam et reverentiam exhibeit, justitia dictante, præcepiimus.¹ Unde, quomiam singulis ecclesiis et ecclesiasticis personis suam dignitatem et justitiem voluptus conservare, Beati Lucae festivitatem proximi sequentis anni, tibi, et ipsi diem praefixerimus, ut tunc praesentibus partibus, de dignitate ecclesiae Sancti David, et libertate sua, rei veritatem cognoscamus, et quod justum fuerit, auctore Domino, exinde statuamus. "Datum Meldis, iii° kalendas Iulii."

¹ This letter occurs also in Girdlud Cambrensis, De Inven. ii. 2, and De Jure et Statu Muni. Eccl., Dist. ii.: Opp. III. 51, 52; 180, 181.
² cum autem, ins. B. D. I.
³ suam] om. D. I.
⁴ præcepiimus] præcipimus, D. I.
⁵ tunc] temporis, ins. B. D. I.
Epistolam autem istam prædictus magister Gilardus\(^1\) invenit in registro Eugenii papæ. Cujus rei occasione, et ad prædicti Gilardi instantiam, jus ecclesiae sue publice in curia Romana protestantis, Innocentius papa Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum super statu Menevensis ecclesiae et dignitate metropolitica litteris suis citavit, quas etiam litteras prædictus Giraldus,\(^2\) ad perpetuam rei gestæ memoriam, in ejusdem papæ regis scribavit. Præcepit etiam idem papa prædicto archiepiscopo, quatenus sæpædicto Giraldo Menevensi electo ita consecrationem impenderet, quod sacramentum illitum, quale extorqueretur decessores\(^3\) sui ab episcopis Sancti David, scilicet de non prosequendo jure metropolitico contra Cantuariensem ecclesiam, non exigeret, sed tantum canonical obedi-entiam juxta communem formam faceret. Præcepit etiam idem papa Lincolnensi, Dunelmensi, et Eliensi episcopis, quod si archiepiscopus Cantuariensis sæpe dictum Gilardum\(^4\) consecare díferret, ipsi apostolica auctoritate freti illum consecare non díferrent.

\begin{center}
\textit{Anno Gratiae M.C.C.}
\end{center}

Eodem anno\(^5\) Johannes rex fuit in Normannia apud Burum die Natalis Domini, quæ Sabbato evenit, et erat illud Natale Domini primum post primam\(^6\) coronationem Johannis regis Angliæ.

Post Natale Domini, idem Johannes rex Angliæ et Philippus rex Franciæ convenierunt ad colloquium inter Andeli et Gwallun: in quo colloquio convenit inter eos, quod Lodovicus filius regis Franciæ duceret

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1. \textit{Gillardus} Giralus, D. I.  
2. \textit{Giralus} Here the name occurs first in its proper form in A.; B. has \textit{Gillardus}.  
3. \textit{decessores} predecessores, Savile, from B. D.  
4. \textit{Gillardum} Girardum, G.; Giralus, I.  
5. \textit{Eodem anno} Anno gratiae M.C.C., qui erat annus secundus regni Johannis, Savile, from B.  
6. \textit{primam} om. I.

John sends his niece to marry Philip's son.

Post colloquium illum 1 Johannes rex Anglæ misit Alienor matrem suam ad Aldefonsum regem Castellæ, pro filia sua maritanda Lodowico filio Philippī regis Franciæ.

Interim Johannes rex Anglæ transfretavit de Normannia in Angliam, et cepit de unaquaque caruca. 2 totius Anglæ iii. solidos de auxilio. 3 Et in Quadragesima venit rex Johannes Eboracum, sperans quod Willemus rex Scottorum ad eum veniret, sicut mandaverat; sed rex Scottorum non venit, et rex Anglæ rediit in Normanniam.

Eodem anno Innocentius papa, audita tribulatione Christianorum qui sunt in terra Jerosolimitana, quam induxit Dominus super eos, peccatis nostris exigentibus, in hæc forma scripsit omnibus sanctæ matris ecclesiæ prælatis; 4

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1 *illum* om. Savile.
2 *caruca* carrucata, B. I.
3 John's visit to England lasted from Feb. 27 to April 28. He was at York from the 25th to the 28th of March. Hardy's *Itinerary of John.*
4 *Eodem anno . . . prælatis* om. in B. D. I. with the following letter. The copy of this letter given in the collection of Innocent's letters by Baluze, No. 270, is addressed to the archbishop of Magdeburg; and dated "ii. kalendas Januarii," vol. i., pp. 515-518.
A.D. 1199.
Dec. 27.

Epistola Innocentii papa de subvectione facienda terræ Jerosolimitanae.

Papal letter. "Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis sanctæ matris ecclesie prælatis, ad quos presentes litteræ pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Graves orientalis terræ miseries et necessitates urgentes jam potius, peccatis exigentibus, deftere cogimur quam referre: cum ad eum statum, si status tamen dicendus est casus, quod dolentes dicimus, ipsius fuerit necessitati succurrum, et occursum comitibus paganorum; pauci Christiani, qui se defensioni hæreditatis Domini, et Crucifixi obsequii devoverunt, hostiles sagittas sui sanguinis effusione inebriaturi credatur, et paganorum gladios suis jugulis passuri; reliquis desolationis illius terræ sine spe humani subsidii perdendis totaliter, et ab hostibus occupandis, cum de partibus illis pene omnes jam redierint peregrini. Id autem hactenus Dominus Jesus Christus, ut probaret adhuc fortius fidem nostram, et intelligeret qui sunt Eijus, misericorditer impeditivit, manus eorum in ipso convertens, et eos in se multiformiter discordantes permittens ad invicem desævire, ut Christianis interim ad ipsius terræ subsidium excitatis, facilitor dareetur facultas recuperandi perdita, et de hostibus triumphandi. Recepimus enim litteras venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Antiochiensis et Jerosolimitani patriarcharum, et archiepiscoporum et episcoporum utriusque provincie, similiter et carissimorum in Christo filiorum nostrorum, Aimerici Jerosolimitorum et Leonis Armeniorum regum illustrium, et dilectorum filiorum magistrorum Jerosolimitanae Hospitallis, et militiae Templi, aliorumque multorum, ipsius terræ miserias et necessitates plenius exponentes, et postulantes subsidium divitiæ expectatum; cum plus iber speretur, donante Domino, paucos hoc tempore propter Sarraconorum discordiam profuturos, quam hactenus copiosos exercitus profuisse. Adjectum est etiam, quod cum inter Sarraconos de pace tractetur, si, priusquam subveniatur Jerosolimitane provincie, inter eos fuerit concordia reformata, nisi Deus solus resistat, cum sit viris et viribus pene penitus destituta, non erit qui possit eorum violentiam cohibere. Nos ergo cum fratribus nostris, acceitis etiam episcopis et aliis viris religiosis apud sedem apostolicam existentibus, de ipsius terræ subventione tractantes, ne videremur onera graviæ humeris imponere subditorum, quæ digito etiam movere nollemus, dicentes tantum, et, ut ait, nihil aut modicum facientes; ut a nobis ad vos, et a vobis ad laicos bene faci-
He proposes to send cardinals Stephen and Peter to Palestine.

He directs the clergy to contribute a fourth part of their revenue to the crusade.

The bishops are to meet in Council, not to intend to make this a perpetual tax.
A.D. 1199. Dec. 27.

and to hold diocesan councils to levy this tax.

Exemption of the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Carthusians, and Grandmontines from this.

Provision for the safe keeping of the money.

Church chests to be provided.

"vestrae, sine dilatatione convenire curetis, et inter vos juxta formam mandati apostolici de ipsius terrarum subvectione tractare; et post reversionem suam quilbet vestrum in sua diocesi, concilium convocet sine mora, auctoritate nostra praecipimus abbatibus et prioribus, tam exemptis quam aliis, archidiaconibus et decanis, et universis omni clericis in ejus diocesi constitutis, justa estimatione proventus et redditus suos taxent; et infra tres menses post factam eis denunciationem, quadragesimam partem valoris eorum, sub ipsius episcopi testimonio, et aliquot religiosorum virorum, adhibitis nihilominus ad cautelam aliquibus fidelistibus laicos et discretis, in locum idoneum ejusdem diocesis non differatur consignare. Quod et nos nobis, fratres archiepiscopi et episcopi, sub eadem districte mandamus. Ab hac autem generalitate monachos Cistercienses, Premonstratenses canonicos, hereitas Grandi Montis, et Cartusienses e exceptionis, quibus super hoc mandatum iniungimus speciale. Nolamus autem ut hi, qui redditis et proventus suos diligenter estimare curaverint, præmissa districtionis transgressionem incurrant, sed qui non ex certa scientia, sed ignoranter potius quadragesimac forte subtraxerint, dum tamen, postquam recognoverint defectum suum, quod minus solverint, plenarie recom pense. Si quis autem, quod absit, quadragesimae taliter solvenda aliquid ex scientia certa subtraxerit, cum digne satisfecerit, ab hujus transgressionis debito penitus sit immunis. Nec miretur quisquam, aut etiam moveatur, quod hoc sub tanta districtione praecipimus, cum summa necessitas id exposcat. Nam eti voluptarium esse debeat Divinae servitutis obsequium: legimus tamen in egenelio de invitatibus ad nuptias, Dominum præcepisse ut compellerentur intrare. Mandamus præterea ut vos, fratres archiepiscopi et episcopi, quadragesimam ipsam per vestras dioceses ex actam et collectam, fideliter faciatis juxta predictam formam in tuto loco deponi; summam omnium per vestras litteras et specialis municius nobis, quam citoius fieri poterit, expressuri. Ad hac in singulis ecclesiis truncum concavum poni praecipimus, tribus clavibus consignatum, prima penes epis copum, secunda penes ecclesiae sacerdotem, tertia penes aliquem religiosum laicum, conservandis; et in eo fideles qui libet, juxta quod eorum mentibus Dominus inspiraverit, suas eleemosynas deponere in remissionem suorum peccaminum moven tur; et in omnibus ecclesiis semel in hebdomada pro remissione peccatorum, et presertim offerentium, missa pub-
linc decantetur. Concedimus autem vobis, fratres archiepiscopi et episcopi, ut circa eos qui de bonis suis Terrae Sanctae voluerint subvenire, de discretorum virorum consilio, qualitate personarum et rerum factaule pensatis, et considerato nihilominus devotionis affectu, opus inustructe possit, tantum commutare possit in opus eleemosynae face nde. Volumus insuper ut, adhibitis vobis duobus fratribus, ubi poterunt inveniri, uno Jerusalimitani Hospitalis, et alio militiae Templi, et aliis quoque religiosis laicis, et discretis militibus, vel aliis bellatoribus, qui signum Dominicae crucis assumperint, si in suis non poterunt sumptibus transfretare, congrega de cadae summa stipendia ministratis, sufficienti ab eis cautio recepita, quod in defensione terrae Orientalis per annum vel amplius juxta quantitatem subsidii commotioni rentur; et si, quod absit, in via decesserint, susceptum subsidium non in alios usus convertant, sed reddant potius in stipendia bellatorum; qui etiam, cum redierint, non prius absolvantur a praetita ciontione, quam litteras regis vel patriarcae, vel Jerusalimitani Hospitalis, vel militiae Templi magistri, aut etiam legati nostri, vobis exhibuerint, de mora ipsorum testimonium perhibentis. Quia vero summa necessitas exigat, et communis requirit utilitas, ut populus Christianus non solum in rebus, sed etiam in personis contra paganorum Incursum Terrae Sanctae sine dilatatione succurrat, fraternitati vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus ad exhortandos et inducendos fideles, per vos ipsos et alios viros idoneos, prudenter et diligentem instetis, ut qui sufficientes fuerint ad bellum Domini praeliandum, in nomine Domini Sabaoth signum crucis assumant; aliis vero, juxta suarum sufficientian faculatam, pias eleemosynas largiantur. Nos enim de Dei misericordia, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, ex illa quam Deus nobis, licet indignis, ligandi et solvendi contulit potestate, omnibus qui laborerum huys itineris in personis propriis subierint, et expensis, plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus oris et cordis egerint pomentiam, veniam indulgentiam, et in retributione justorum salutis aeternae pollicemur augmentum. Eis autem qui non in personis propriis illic accesserint, sed in suis tantum expensis juxta facultatem et qualitatem suam viros idoneos destinaverint, illic per annum moraturus ad minus; et illis similiter qui in alia expensis, in propriis tamen personis, assumptae peregrinationis laborem impe lverint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum. Hujus quoque remissionis volumus esse participes, juxta quantitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum, omnes qui ad subvectionem ipsius terrae de bonis suis congrue ministrabunt; A.D. 1199, Dec. 27. Dispensations from penance may be sold for the good of the fund. Soldiers to be hired, and poor crusaders to be furnished with money. Indulgence promised to pilgrims.
A.D. 1199. Dec. 27.

The goods of pilgrims to be under the protection of the church.

Renewal of the regulations about debt.


Philip refuses to receive his wife, and France is put under interdict.

Eodem mense Januarii, statim post Natale Domini, cum induratum esset cor Philippus regis Franciae, nec blandis nec asperis posset emolliri, ut adulteram suam dimitteret, et legitimam sponsam suam resumeret, predictus Petrus de Capua, cardinalis et apostolice sedis legatus, dedit sententiam interdicti in regnum Francie, et abit, praecipiens clero in virtute obedientiae, ut nulla Divina permitterent celebrari præter baptismata et pœnitentias: sed papa Innocentius, hanc con-

1 compescatur] compensatur, A.; compellatis, G.; compellatur, Savile. Compescatur is the reading of Baluze.

2 tenentur] tenent, A.


4 sententiam] The sentence was determined on at a council held at Dijon, on the 6th of December 1199; but not published until twenty days after Christmas, Jan. 12, 1200. Rigord, p. 201; R. de Diceo, 706.
pars posterior.

firmans sententiam, exceptit omnes qui susceperunt vel susciperent crucem Peregrinationis Jerusolimitanæ; statuens quod ipsi Missam audirent, et sepulturam Christianorum habebant, cæteri autem omnes Missa et sepultura Christiana carerent. Cum autem rex Franciæ in proposito maligno immobilis persisteret, proposuit dominus papa sententiam illum interdicti relaxare, et ipsum regem Franciæ excommunicare, dicens: "Melius est ut unus puniatur, quam tota gens pereat." Quo audito, rex Franciæ frequentem misit nuncios suos ad summum pontificem, petens ut sententia interdicti relaxaretur: et quamvis primo et secundo repulsam paterettur, tamen tandem a domino papa definitum¹ est, mediantibus nunciis regis Franciæ et jurantibus² coram domino papa et cardinalibus, quod ipse rex Franciæ adulteram suam dimitteret, et sponsam suam Botildam resumeret, et honorifice sicut regimen et sponsam suam tractaret; si autem infra annum voluerit rex Franciæ divortium fieri inter illos, hoc significabilit regi Docorum, et cæteris amicis predictæ reginæ, ubi et quando rex Franciæ voluerit divortium illud fieri, si de jure fieri debeat, ut amici reginæ interesse possint; et idem significabitur domino papaet curiae Romaniæ, ut ex parte eorum intersint viri discreti, ut tam solenne divortium juste fiat.

Eodem anno Sanctius rex Navarreæ, audiens damna et inopportunitates quas Aldefonsus rex Castellææ, et rex Arragoniæ, sibi et terræ sue faciebant, qui illum fere totam occupaverant, recessit ab Africa, et venit in terram suam, et cepit treugas cum predictis regibus adversariis suis per tres annos duraturas.

Eodem anno, videlicet ab Incarnacione Domini mil-

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¹ definitum] diffinitum, D. I. ¹¹¹⁹⁶–¹²¹³. As to Sancho's journey to Africa, see above, vol. iii. pp. 91, 92. This clause is omitted in D., and written in A. over an erasure.

² et jurantibus] om. Savile.

³ et] A blank in A. for the name of the king of Arragon; Peter II., and written in A. over an erasure.

The pope threatens to relax the interdict and excommunicate Philip.

The king of Navarre returns from Africa and makes peace with his neighbours.
lesimo ducentesimo, Johannes rex Angliæ fuit in Anglia apud Vigorniam die Paschæ, quæ quinto idus Aprilis event; et paulo post transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam. Interim Alienor regina, mater Johannis regis Angliæ, quam ipse miserat ad Aldefonsum regem Castellæ pro filia ejusdem regis Castellæ maritanda Lodowico filio Philippi regis Francie, redit, recepta prefata regis Castellæ filia. Quæ cum venisset ad civitatem Burdegalensem, et propter solemnem diem Paschæ ibidem moram faceret, venit ad eam Marchadeus princeps Braibancenorum, et feria secunda in hebdomada Paschæ idem Marchadeus a quodam serviente Brandini 2 in eadem civitate Burdegalensi interfecit est. Regina vero Alienor, senio et longi itineris labore fatigata, transtulit se ad 3 abbatiæ Fontis Eubraudi, 4 et ibi remansit: filia autem regis Castellæ, et Elias 5 archiepiscopus Burdegalensis, et cæteri qui eam comitabantur, processerunt usque in Normanniam, et tradiderunt eam Johanni regi Angliæ avunculo suo.

May 22.

De colloquio inter Filippum regem Franciæ et Johannem regem Angliæ.

In octavis autem Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, 6 Philippus rex Franciæ et Johannes rex Angliæ convenerunt ad colloquium inter Butavant, castellum

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1 pro] Blank in A. for the name, Blanche, the mother of S. Lewis.
2 Brandinus was seneschall of Gascony; Rot. Chart. 58.
3 ad] om. I.
4 Eubraudi] Ebraudi, B. I.
5 Elias] Helias, B. G.; Helyas, D. I. The name is inserted in another hand in A.
6 In octavis . . . Baptistæ] This note does not agree with the date given subsequently, May 22nd, nor with that of the treaty which is given by Rigord with the date, "mense Maio, in Ascensione Domini," p. 201. He mentions the marriage as taking place the Monday after. The treaty is given below, p. 148. It is probable that Hoveden had named Midsummer day for Ascension day by mistake. The latter was on the 18th of May, and the Monday within the Octave would be May 22. MS. D. omits Nativitatis.
De matrimonio contracto inter Lodowicium filium Filippi regis Franciae et filium Aldefonsi regis Castellae.

Et in crastino, scilicet x. kalendas Junii, feria tertia, predicta filia regis Castellae desponsata est Lodowico filio Philippi regis Franciae, apud Purmor in Normannia, a predicto Burdegalensi archiepiscopo, presentibus multis episcopis et aliis viris religiosis, et comitibus et baronibus multis de regno Franciae. Regnum enim Franciae erat tunc temporis sub interdicto, propter Botildam reginam, quam rex Franciae dimiserat. Et statim post illum desponsationem, praefatus Lodowicus duxit secum in Franciam sponsam suam filiam regis Castellae. Et dum hae cierent, codem die Philipps rex Franciae et Johannes rex Angliae fuerunt simul ad colloquium apud Vernun, tunc temporis villam regis Franciae; et Arturus dux Britanniae devenit ibi homo Johannis regis Angliae patrui sui, de Britannia et aliis terris suis, consensu et voluntate regis Franciae; sed Arturus, traditione regis Angliae, remansit in custodia regis Franciae.
A.D. 1200. 
Abbacies filled up.

Robert of Dreux dies.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ dedit Zachariæ priori de Sancto Albano 1 abbatiam de Burgo, et 2 priori de Burgo dedit abbatiam de Ramessai. 3

Eodem anno Robertus comes de Druis, frater Philippi Belvacensis episcopi, obiit.

Combusta est civitas Rothomagi cum ecclesia cathedrālī.

Eodem anno, in ipsa die Paschae, quæ quinto idus Aprilis evenit, combusta est fere tota civitas Rothomagi, cum ecclesia sedis archiepiscopalis et aliis ecclesiis multis. 4

Item de Othonede reges Alemannorum.

Eodem anno Otho rex Alemannorum, electus Romanorum 5 imperator, misit Henricum ducem Saxoniæ et Willelmum Wintoniensem, fratres suos, ad Johannem 6 regem Angliæ avunculum suum, petens ab eo comitatum Eboracii, et comitatum Pictavis, quos Ricardus rex Angliæ ei dederat, et duas partes totius thesauri Ricardi regis Angliæ, et omnia eam suam, quæ idem rex Angliæ ei divisit. Sed Johannes rex Angliæ nihil horum quae petebat facere volebat, propter jure urandum quod juraverat regi Franciae, videlicet, quod nullum auxilium faceret ipsi Othoni contra ducem Swaviae.

Eodem anno, paulo ante festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula, habitum est campestre bellum inter prædictum Othonem 7 regem Alemannorum et Philippum ducem Swaviae, apud Brunescus; 8 in quo praebit Otho exststit

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1 Albano ] Albino, I. He is called by the Peterborough writers Akarius, and ruled from 1200 to 1210.
2 et ] Blank for the name, A. Endo or Yvo. He was abbot from 1200 to 1202.
3 Ramessai ] Ramesei, I.; Rame-

seie, B.; Ramesea, G.; Ramisei, D.
4 Combusta-multis] om. C. G. D.
5 electus Romanorum] om. B. D. I.
6 Johannem] om. B. D. I.
7 Othonem] om. B. D. I.
8 Bruneswich ] Brunesnie, I.
pars posterior.

victor, et cepit plusquam ducentos milites de familia ducis Swaviae.


Eodem anno Willemus de Stutevilla dedit Johanni regi Angliae tria millia marcarum argenti pro judicio habendo de baronia Willemi de Mubrai, quam idem Willemus de Stutevilla aliquem est in curia regis adversus prefatum Willemum de Mubrai. Est autem scindum quod Robertus Grundeboef, proavus hujus Willemi de Stutevilla, habuit baroniam illam de acquisitione Angliae, sed ille Robertus Grundeboef, relictus Henrico rege Angliae, filio Willemi Bastardi regis, qui Angliam bello sibi subjugavit, adhaesit Roberto Curte- hose, duci Normannorum, calumniati regnum Angliae de jure paterno contra predictum Henricum regem Angliae, fratrem suum juniorem; et in praelio quod fuit inter illos duos fratres, videlicet Henricum regem

A.D. 1200.
July. Victory of Otho.
John grants fairs at Hoveden, Northallerton, Butter- eram, and Cottingham.

1 Hoveden] Hovedene, I. The grants are enrolled in the Charter Rolls, both dated at Freemante, Mar. 2, 1200 (ed. Hardy, p. 37).
2 Buttereram] Butteram, D.; Butteram, G. I. The grants are enrolled in the Charter Rolls, both dated at Alton, April 23, 1200. Ibid., p. 54.
3 Cogingham] Choggingam, D.
Angliæ et Robertum Curtehose fratrem suum, ducem Normannie, apud Tenerchefrai, ¹ Henricus rex Angliæ exstitit victor, et cepit Robertum Curtehose fratrem suum, et tenuit in carcere usque ad consummationem vitae suæ: similiter Robertum Grundeboef; ² et baroniam suam dedit Henricus rex Nigello de Aubenni, ³ proavo istius Willelmi de Mubrai. ⁴ Preterea sciendum est, quod Robertus de Stuteville, pater prædicti Willelmi de Stuteville, tempore regis Henrici secundi, calumniatus erat praefatam baroniam adversus Rogerum de Mubrai, ⁵ patrem præfati Willelmi de Mubrai; et convenit inter eos sic, quod Rogerus de Mubrai dedit Roberto de Stuteville Kyrkebi in Moresliefd, cum pertinentiis suis pro feodo decem militum, pro homagio suo, et pro quieta clamantia calumniae suæ. Sed quia hæc in curia regis et ejus munimine non fuerant confirmata, prædictus Willelmos de Stutevilla iterum suscitavit litem in curia regis Angliae. Cumque super hoc diu certatum esset, tandem consilio regni, et voluntate regis, pax et finalis concordia facta est inter prædictos Willelmum de Stutevilla et Willelmm de Mubrai in hunc modum: quod Willelmmus de Stutevilla renunciavit calumnii suæ quam habuit adversus Willelmmum de Mubrai super baronia suæ, et Willelmmus de Mubrai dedit Willelmo de Stutevilla pro homagio suo, et pro renunciatione juris sui, in augmentum, feoda novem militum, et duodecim libratus ⁶ reddituum. Et sic remissis omnibus querelis hinc et inde, facti sunt amici coram Johanne rege Angliae, secundo anno regni sui, apud Lue ⁷ in Lindissia, villam Lincolniensis episcopi, prima Dominica Septuagesime.

Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciæ dedit Judæis

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licentiam habitandi Parisius, et in aliis civitatibus suis, quos ipse primo anno regni sui ab eis expulerat.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Anglie, statim post concordiam inter ipsum et regem Franciae factam, profectus est in Aquitaniam cum exercitu magno; sed non est inventus qui ei resisteret.

De divorcio facto inter Johannem regem Anglie et Hawis uxorem suam, filiam Willelmi comitis Gloucestriae.

Eodem anno factum est divorcio inter Johannem regem Anglie et Hawis₁ uxorem suam, filiam Willelmi comitis Gloucestriae, per Eliam Burdegalensem archiepiscopum, et per Willelum² Pictavensem, et per Henricum Sanctonensem episcopos: crant enim affines in tertio gradu consanguinitatis. Facto itaque divorcio inter Johannem regem Anglie et Hawis uxorem suam,³ ipse rex Anglie, consilio domini sui Philippi regis Franciae, duxit sibi in uxorem Ysabel filiam Ailmari comitis de Engolismo, quam predictus comes, consilio et voluntate Ricardi regis Anglie, prius dederat Hugoni le Brun, comiti de La Marche; quam idem comes in suam per verba de presenta receperat, et ipsa illum in suum receperat per verba de presenta; sed quia ipsa nondum annos nubiles attigerat, noluit eam predictus Hugo sibi in facie ecclesiae copulare. Videns ergo pater puellae quod Johannes rex Anglie eam affectaret, eripuit eam de custodia Hugonis le Brun, et dedit eam Johanni regi Anglie in uxorem; et statim desponsata est

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₁ Hawis] Hawisiam, B.
₂ Willelum] This word, as well as Eliam and Henricum, is inserted in A.; in the same hand however as the rest of the text. Elias de Malemort was archbishop of Bordeaux from 1188 to 1206: William de Tempier, bishop of Poictiers, died in 1197; see above, p. 24; and the present bishop was Maurice de Blason; Henry was bishop of Saintes from 1189 to 1213.
₃ suam] sua, 1.
120

CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A D. 1200. Johanni regi Angliae, apud Engolismum, per Eliam Burdegalensem archiepiscopum.¹

De dissensione quae fuit inter scholares et cives Parisius.

Eodem anno orta est gravis dissensio inter scholares et cives Parisius; cujus origo talis fuit. Erat itaque Parisiis quidam nobilis scholaris Teutonicus,² qui erat unus electorum in episcopum de Legis.³ Hujus serviens, cum in taberna vinum emeret, verberatus est, et vas suum vinarium fractum est. Quo audito, factus est concursus clericorum Teutonichorum; et intrantes tabernam vulneraverunt hospitem domus, et plagis impositis abierunt, reliquentes cum semivivum. Factus est ergo clamor populi, et commota est civitas, ita quod Thoma praepositus Parisius, cum plebe civitatis armata, fecit insultum in hospitium clericorum Teutonichorum; in quorum conflictu nobilis ille scholaris, qui erat unus de electis in episcopum de Legis, interfactus est cum quibusdam suorum. Magistri igitur scholarum Parisius abeuntes ad Philippum regem Franciae, conquendi sunt ei de Thoma praeposito, et de illius complicibus, qui interfecerunt predictos scholares: ad quorum instantiam captus est praefatus Thoma praepositus, captique sunt complices sui quidam, et incarcerati; quidam autem illorum fugerunt, relictis domibus et facultatibus suis: rex quidem Franciae iratus, fecit domus illorum demoliri, et vineas et arbores illorum

¹ John's marriage took place in the month of August. His settlement on Isabella is dated Aug. 30. Rot. Chart. p. 75.
² Teutonicus] Teutonicus, B.I.
³ Leges] Leges, B. I. We learn from Alberic of Trois Fontaines that, on the occasion of the vacancy of the see of Liege, in the year 1200, one portion of the chapter chose Conrad, who was afterwards abbot of Clairvaux; another, Hugh de Vbeanio, who became bishop and sat for 29 years; and a third, Henry de Jaces, the archdeacon. It would seem certain from this that the person meant in the text was the last. See Bouquet, xvi. 605. MS. C. omits the whole story.
fructiferas exstirpari. De praeposito autem illo defini
tum est, quod ipse in carcere regis non exiturus ser
vetur, donee judicio aquae vel ferri se mundaverit; et si perierit, suspendatur; et si mundus fuerit, abjuret
regnum in misericordia regis. Attamen scholare, mis-
erti illius, supplicaverunt regi Franciae, ut praepositus
ille et complices sui more scholarium in scholis flagellati,
essent quieti, et facultatibus suis restituti. Sed rex
Franciae hoc concedere noluit, dicens quod multum de-
rogaret honori suo, et alius quam ipse vindictam sumeret
de malefactoribus suis. Praeterea idem rex Franciae,
timens quod magistri scholari et scholares a civitate
su^ a recederent, satisfecit eis, statuens quod de csetero
regulations of the scholars and citizens.
De Margarito pirata.

Eodem anno Margaritus dux piratarum, quem Hen-
riceus Romanorum imperator excceari fecerat, venit
Parisius ad Philippum regem Franciae, et obtulit ei
quod, si ipse consilio suo adquiesceret, faceret eum im-
peratorem Romanorum, vel imperatorem Constantin-
politanorum, utrum si eligeret. Cui rex Franciae facilem

1 definitum] definitum, B. I.
2 sa^ om. Savile.
3 idem] om. Savile. Philip's or-
dinance on this subject may be

found in the Ordonnances des Rois
de France, vol. I. pp. 23-25; dated
at Béthisy, in A.D. 1200.
A.D. 1200.

Having collected a fleet for that purpose he is killed at Rome.

Death of the archbishop of Mentz.

Death of the archbishop of Mentz.

Dispute between Philip of Swabia and the clergy and people of Mentz about his successor.

They revolt to Otho.

Otho crowned by the new archbishop at Mentz, Dec. 25.

Otho captures Philip’s treasures.

praebens assensum, preparavit itineri suo necessaria, in equis et armis et curribus et supellectilibus. Et Margaritus a rege Francie recedens, ut prepararet promissa, mandavit per universos portus suæ dominationis, quod omnes galeæ suæ convenirent apud Brandusium in occurrum ejus: sed cum ipse Romam veniret, a quodam serviente suo, quem ipse male tractaverat, interfectus est. Et tali casu interveniente rex Francie a desiderio suo fraudatus est.


1 recedens] præcedens, Savile.
3 clericum] Siegfried of Eppenstein, archbishop 1200–1230. The rival candidate was Leopold of Schönfeld, bishop of Worms.
4 Philippo] Filippo, I.
5 ex] cum, Savile.
De prædicatione Eustacii abbatis de Flay.

Eodem anno 1 unus ex consortibus supradicti Fulconis, dictus dominus Eustacius abbas de Flay, venit in Angliam a partibus Normanniae, prædicare verbum Domini; fecitque mirabilia in vita sua. Inter quæ unum opus fecit quod est mirabile in oculis nostris. Venit itaque prædictus Eustacius non longe a Cantuaria ad villam quæ dicitur Wy; et benedixit ibi fontem quedam, cui Dominus tantam infudit gratiam, quod ceci visum, claudi gressum, muti loquelam, surdi auditis, et quisque debilis, qui ex fonte benedicto biberit, sanitatem se recepisse gavisus est. Venit igitur quedam mulier ad abbatem illum a daemonibus arrepta, et ultra quam credi fas est grossa, quasi morbo hydropico inflata; et petiit ab eo sibi restitui sanitatem. Cui respondit ille abbatis: "Confide filia, et vade ad natatoria fontis de Wy, cui benedixit Dominus, et bibe ex eo, "et recipies inde sanitatem." Et abiit, et bibit, et vomuit, et exierunt ab ea duo buffones magni et nigri, qui statim conversi sunt in immensos canes et nigrimos, et paulo post conversi sunt in asinos. Mulier autem stabat attonita, et aliquando cucurrit post illos furibunda, volens eos apprehendere, si posset: sed quidam vir, qui deputatus erat ad fontem illum custodiendum, aspersit aquam, de fonte illo sumptam, inter mulierem et monstra illa; quæ statim ascenderunt in altum, relinquuntia post se fœda vestigia. Mulier quidem ab illa hora sana facta est, magnificans Deum. Qui talen potestatem dedit hominibus. Praeterea prædictus abbatis veniens ad Rumenel, ubi erat aqua defectus, et ad preces populi in ecclesia ejusdem villæ baculo suo petram percussit; et fluxerunt aquæ, quorum

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1 Eodem anno] This account of abbot Eustace, down to the word venerat, p. 124, is omitted in MS. G.  
2 fias est] potest, I.  
3 qui] qui, B. I.
haustus languoribus diversis medetur. Ipsa etiam prædicatione sua corda multorum convertit ad usurarum relaxationem, et ad crucem Jerosolimitanæ profectionis capiendam. Londoniis autem, et in alii locis multis per Angliam prædicatione sua effecit, quod de cætero in diebus Dominici forum rerum venalium nequaquam exercere presumpt. Statuit etiam Londoniis, et in quibusdam alii locis, quod in singulis ecclesiis, ubi facultas expetit, erit semper ¹ lampas ardens, vel alium lumen indeficiens ante Corpus Domini. Et impetravit prædicatione sua, quod multi ex civibus, et ex aliiis viris sapientibus, habent quotidie in mensa sua discum eleemosynarium, in quo condunt aliquam partem cibarium suorum ad opus indigentium, qui non preparaverunt sibi. His igitur et alii operibus misericordiae inimicus humani generis invidens, excitavit contra virum Dei ministros iniquitatis, qui dixerunt ei: "Non licet tibi " mittere falcem in alienam messem." Quibus ille respondit, "Messis quidem multa est, operarii vero pauci." Itaque prædictus abbàs a ministris Satanae increpatus, noluit diutius prælatos Angliæ suæ prædicatione molestare, sed reversus est in Normanniam ad locum suum, unde venerat.

Eodem anno ² Raimundus comes de Sancto Egidio devenit homo Johannis regis Angliæ, de terris et castellis quæ Ricardus rex Angliæ dederat ei in maritâgium cum Johanna sorore sua; ita quod cum Raimundus filius ejus, quem genuit de Johanna uxore sua, pervenerit ad annos discretionis, omnia supradicta habeat, et faciat inde homagium Johanni regi Angliae avunculo suo; et si ipse sine prole decesserit, revertatur ad comitem de Sancto Egidio; et ipse et hærcedes sui post illum teneant ea omnia jure hereditario de comite Pictaviæ, per servitium veniendi cum quingentis

militibus in servitium comitís Pictavíæ, quotiescumque comes Pictavíæ in Gascóniam cum exercitu ierit, per mensem in propriis sumptibus; et si diutius faceret moram, comes Pictavíæ provident eis necessaria.¹

Deinde Johannes rex Angliæ venit Andegavim,² et cepit ab ea centum quinquaginta obsides de fide sibi servanda, et misit eos in custodia.

Eodem anno Johannes de Oxenforde, Nortwicensis episcopus, obiit; cui successit in episcopatu illo Johannes de Gray,³ dono Johannis regis; et Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus consecravit illum in episcopum.⁴

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ dedit Egidio filio Willelmi de Braiusa,⁵ episcopatum Herefordensem; et Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus consecravit illum in episcopum.⁶

**Johannes rex Angliæ confirmavit Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo excambium, quod fecit ei rex Ricardus pro Andelud.**

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ cepit de Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo dc. libras Andegavensis monetae, et confirmavit ei carta⁷ sua omnia illa quæ Ricardus rex Angliæ dederat ei in excambium pro Andely, scilicet villam de Depa⁸ cum pertinentiis suis, et Lovers⁹ cum pertinentiis suis, et forestam de Alersmnt, et molendina de Robech.

¹ *ita quod... necessaria*] written over an erasure and on the margin in A., but in the same hand.
² *Andegavia*] Andegavis, D. John was at Angers on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of June 1200. Hardy’s *Itinerary.* MS. G. omits this clause.
³ *Gray*] Grai, L. John Gray was bishop of Norwich from 1200 to 1214.
⁴ *episcopum*] apud Londonias, add. G.
⁵ *Braiusa*] He was bishop of Hereford from 1200 to 1215.
⁶ *episcopum*] MS. G. omits all from this point to *domini papa,* p. 128.
⁷ *carta*] The charter is entered on the *Charter Roll,* and dated June 7 at Argentan; ed. Hardy, p. 69.
⁸ *Depa*] Depe, B. I.
⁹ *Lovers*] Lavers, B. I.
A.D. 1200. De concordia facta inter archiepiscopum Eboracensem et Symonem decanum et alios, sed non diu servata.

Eodem anno Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et adversarii ejus, videlicet Simon decanus, et eandem personam Sancti Petri Eboraci, convenerunt apud Westmonasterium in presentia Herberti Saresbiriensis episcopi, et Alani abbatis de Theokesbiri, judicum ad domino papa delegatorum; et post allegationes utrinque plenius diductas, prefati judices eos ad concordiam modis omnibus inducere conati sunt; et effecerunt, Domino cooperante, quod idem archiepiscopus receptit in osculum pacis primo Willelum Testard archidiaconum de Notingham, deinde Reginaldum Arundel praesentorem Eboracensis ecclesiae, et postremo Simonem decanum Eboracensis ecclesiae, ea conditione, quod ad invicem sibi satisfacere de controversiis suis in capitulo Eboraci.

November. De concordia facta inter Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos Sanctae Trinitatis.

Eodem anno facta est pax et finalis concordia inter Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos ecclesiae Sanctae Trinitatis Cantuariæ, per Hugonem Lincolniensem, et Eustachium Eliensem episcopos, et per Samsonem abbatem de Sancto Eadmundo, judices in causa illa a domino papa Innocentio constitutos. Sed quia dominus Lincolniensis episcopus diffinitioni cause interesse non potuit, vices suas commisit domino Rogerio de Rollestun, decano Lincolniensis ecclesiae. Convienit ergo inter illos in hunc modum; quod prædictus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, si voluerit, reedificabit capellam de Lamee in loco illo, sed non super illud

fundamentum quo prius fuerat, nec canonicos secu-
lares ibi instituet,\(^1\) sed, si voluerit, poterit ibi insti-
tuere canonicos regulares de ordine Prémonstrensi,
videlicet tredecim ad minus, vel viginti ad plus; et ad
sustentationem illorum dabit archiepiscopus, si voluerit,
de ecclesiis suæ donationis centum libras redditus ad
plus; et in ecclesia illa neque chrisma conficiet, neque
episcopos consecrabit. De quatuor autem ecclesiis, quas
bome memoriae Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus
in proprios usus predictorum monachorum converterat,
sic erit: videlicet, quod Symon\(^2\) archidiaconus de Welle
reddet predictis monachis Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ
decem aureos in vita sua nomine pensionis de ecclesia
de Munketun in Thanet; et post decessum predicti
Symonis, medietas decimæ bladi et leguminis de eadem
ecclesia convertetur ad augmentum eleemosynæ predicto-
rum monachorum Cantuariæ; et reliqua medietas
ejusdem ecclesiae, et obventiones altaris, erunt in dona-
tione archiepiscopi. Similiter erit de ecclesia de Estreia,\(^3\)
præter quod magister Radulfus\(^4\) possessor illius in vita
sua, solvet predictis monachis pensionem sex aureorum
per annum. Ecclesiam autem de Aynesford possidebit
libere Johannes Belesmains,\(^5\) quondam Logdunensis
archiepiscopus, in vita sua; et post decessum illius,
predicti monachi Cantuariæ habeunt, ad augmentum
eleemosynæ suæ, tertiam partem decimarum bladi et
leguminis de eadem ecclesia, et totum reliquum illius
ecclesiae erit in donatione archiepiscopi. Similiter erit

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1 instituet\(^]\) constituet, B. I.
2 Symon\(^]\) Simon of Wells, also
called Simon Sywell or Satwell; archdeacon of Wells, and afterwards
in 1204 bishop of Chichester; he
was a canon of Lambeth and rector
of Monkton in Thanet. \(^\text{Epp. Cant.} 407.\)
3 Estreia\(^]\) Estreya, I.; Estria, B.
4 Radulfus\(^]\) Ralph of S. Martin,
one of the clerks of archbishop
Baldwin, who made him rector of
Eastry: he was an officer also of the
Exchequer. \(^\text{Epp. Cant.} 342.\)
5 Belesmains\(^]\) Belesmeins, B. I.
The ex-archbishop, who was a
Kentish man, held Eynsford by the
gift of archbishop Baldwin. \(^\text{Epp.}
Cant.} 343.\)
A.D. 1200.
November.
Final concord between archbishop Hubert and his monks.

de ecclesia de Mapeham, præter quod Virgilius¹ pos-
sessor ejus reddet inde predictis monachis Cantuariae
unum aureum nomine pensionis, dum vixerit. Exenia
autem quæ monachi petebant de propriis maneriis
eorum, remanebunt penes archiepiscopum dum vixerit;
et post decessum ipsius archiepiscopi, successor ejus ga-
debit possessione, salva questione monachorum. De
divisa mariscorum archiepiscopi et monachorum pro-
visum est, ut per sacramentum duodecim vel plurium
legalium hominum discernatur, quantum pertineat ad
archiepiscopum, et quantum ad monachos; et hoc idem
obtulerat eis archiepiscopus multotiens. Concessit autem
eis archiepiscopus gratis habere curiam suam de pro-
prisi hominibus eorum. Hæc supradicta omnia con-
cessa sunt inter illos,² et confirmata, salva auctoritate
domi papæ.

Eodem anno³ Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus
generale celebravit concilium Lundoniis apud Westmo-
nasterium, contra prohibitionem Gaufridi Filii Petri
comitis de Exexe,⁴ tune temporis summi justitiarii
Anglie. In quo concilio⁵ idem archiepiscopus sub-
scripta promulgavit decreta, statuens ea a suis subjectis
inviolabiliter observari.

Decreta Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.

"(I.) Cum in Divinis officiis non sine periculo corporum et
animarum erretur, salubri provisione concilii prospeximus,
"ut a quolibet sacerdote celebrante, verba canonis rotunde

¹ Virgilius] Rector of Mepeham, by the gift of archbishop Richard,
² The final award is given in the
Epistole Cantuarienses, pp. 512-
514, dated at Westminster, Nov. 6.
³ Eodem anno] Here MS. G. re-
sumes; but goes no further than
observavi.
⁴ comitis de Exexe] om. I.
⁵ In quo concilio] This sentence,
with the decrees of the Council, is
omitted in B. D. I. G. MS. C.,
however, contains them. The date
of the Council is given by Ralph de
"dicantur et distinguite, nec ex festinatione retracta, nec ex diurnitate nimirum protracta. Non est enim ibi diu im-
omandum propter insurgentes cogitationes, quia1 muscae morientes perdunt suavitatem unguenti. Similiter et omnes
horae et omnia officia aperte et distinguite dicantur, ita quod
ex festinatione nimita non praecidantur vel syncopentur.
"Quod si observatum non fuerit, sacerdotes hoc non obser-
vantes post trinam admonitionem usque ad condignam satis-
factionem suspendantur. Salvo in omnibus sacrosancto
"Romanæ ecclesiæ honore et privilegio.

Quod non liceat presbytero bis in die celebrare nisi necessitate cogente.

"(II.) Non liceat presbytero bis in die celebrare, nisi neces-
sitate urgentie; et tunc idem quando in die bis celebrat, post
primam celebrationem et Sanguinis sumptionem nil infun-
datur calici. Sane post primam celebrationem diligentissime
absorbeantur stillula de calice, et digiti sugantur vel lingua
lambantur, et laventur reservata lotura in vaso mundo ad id
specialiter deputato, quæ lotura sumatur post secundum
celebrationem. Hac igitur se habeant, nisi in prima celebra-
tione aditus diaconus, vel aliquus minister honestus, qui loturam
sumere possit. His adjiciuntur, ut reponatur Eucharistia in
pixide munda et honesta, et in pixide munda et honesta
deferatur ad aegrum, lindeo mundo superposito, et lucerna
precedente ac cruce, nisi aeger valde remotus fuerit. Re-
novetur quoque Hostia ipsa singulis Dominici diebus, habe-
aturoque certitus circa ipsam Eucharistiam, ita quod non
sumat non consecratam pro consecrata. His adjiciendum
decrevimus, ut secreto non detur communio Eucharistiae
impetenti; sed publice et instanter petenti data est, nisi
publicum sit ejus delictum. Salvo in omnibus, &c.

De baptismate vel confirmatione, si dubitetur.

"(III.) De baptismate vel confirmatione si dubitetur, sacro-
rum canonum statuta sequentes, statuimus ut conferatur,
quia non dicitur iterum, quod non scitum fuisse collatam.
Ideoque baptizentur expositi, de quorum baptismo dubitatur,
sive inueniantur cum sale, sive sine sale. Adjicimus etiam, ut nullus teneatur ad confirmationem a patre vel matre, vel vitrico vel noverca. Et ut non licet diaconibus baptizare vel pònitentias dare, nisi duplici necessitate, videlicet quia sacerdos non potest, vel absens, vel stulte non vult, et mors imminet puero vel aegro. Si vero in necessitate puer baptizetur a laico, quod fieri potest a patre vel a matre absque matrimonii prejudicio, sequentia immersionem, non precedentia, per sacerdotem expleantur. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

De pònitentia.

Quomodo archiepiscopus et episcopus et eorum officiales debent hospitari cum subjectis.
cum canibus venatoriis aut avibus proficiscantur; sed ita
procedant ut non qua sua sunt, sed qua Jesu Christi, qua-
rente vidcantur. Prohibemus etiam ne subditos suos tallis
et exactionibus episcopi gravare praesumant. Sustineamus
autem pro multis necessitatibus, quae aliquotiens superve
niunt, ut, si manifesta et rationabilis causa existiterit, cum
caritate medicum ab eis valeant auxilium postulare. Cum
enim dictit apostolus, 'Non debent filli thesaurizare parentibus,
'sed parentes fillis;' multo longe a paterna pietate videtur,
si prapositi subditis suis graves existant, quos in cunctis
necessitatibus pastoris more debent forere. Archidiaconi,
aut sui decani, nullas exactiones vel tallias in presbyteros seu
clericos exercere praesumant. Sane, quod de supradicto
numero evectionis secundum tolerantiam dictum est, in illis
locis poterit observari, in quibus ampliores sunt redditus, et
ecclesiasticae facultates: in pauperibus autem locis tantum
volums teneri mensuram, ut ex accessu majorum minores
non debeant gravari, ne sub tali indulgentia illi, qui pauc-
ioribus equis uti solebant hactenus, plurium 1 credant
potestatem indultam. 2 Spectat autem ad visitationis officium
eae imprimis, quae ad salutem animarum pertinent, cum omni
diligentia procurare, et ut unaqueque ecclesia habeat cali-
cem argenteum, et vestimenta sacerdotalia sufficientia et
honesta, et libros necessarios, et utensilia et catetera que
spectant ad cultum et reverentiam sacramenti. Sane ad
praeidendam tam avaritiam quam neglectitatem vitium, au-
toritate Toletani concilii subnixi, 3 praecipimus ut visitator
ab ecclesia, in qua visitationis officium debito modo non
exercet, procurationem aut procurationis redemptionem exi-
gere non praeusat. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

Ne quis ordinetur sine certo titulo.

(VI.) Illud etiam juxta tenorem Lateranensis concilii fir-
meter observari praecipimus, ut si episcopus 4 aliquem sine
certo titulo in diaconum vel presbyterum ordinaverit, tam
diu ei subministret, donec ei in aliqua ecclesia convenientia

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1 plurium] plurimum, A.; pluri-
mam, Savile.
2 indultam] So far the Lateran
Canon.
3 See the Decretum, pt. ii. caus. 10,
qu. 1, cap. 9.
4 si episcopus] See the Lateran
Canon; above, vol. ii. 185; Bened.
i. 234; the extract ends with the
word habere.
Quod non liceat praelatis suspensionis vel excommunicationis sententiam proferre in subjectos nisi canonica communitio praecedat.

7. Superiors are not to excommunicate or inferiors to appeal, in order to defeat the due course of justice.

This rule applies especially to the religious.

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1 From the second canon of the Lateran Council as given in Vol. ii. p. 172. Bened. i. 223.
2 religiosis] om. A.
3 injunctum] The Lateran canon ends with this word.
4 pejoraverint] pejoraverint, A.
PARS POSTERIOR. 133

A.D. 1200. September.

Prohibetur ne aliquid exigatur pro sacramentis ecclesiae.

(VIII.) Sicut in Lateranensi concilio salubriter a Sanctis patribus est provisum, inhibemus ne a personis ecclesiasticis deducendis ad sedem, vel sacerdotibus vel alius clericis instinentibus, aut sepielendis mortuis, aut benedicensibus nubentibus, seu pro chrismate, seu pro quibuslibet aliis sacramentis, aliquid exigatur. "De ejusdem etiam auctoritate concili prohibemus, ne antiquorum census ab episcopis vel abbatibus aliisve praebendis impingatur ecclesiis, nec veteres ecclesiis, nec partem militiae suae applicare presumant; sed libertatem quam majores sibi conservari desiderant, minoribus quoque suis bora voluntate conservent. Si quis autem alter egerit, irritum quod fecerit habeatur. Nulla insuper ecclesiastica ministeria, seu etiam beneficia vel ecclesiae, aliusve tribuuntur vel promittantur, antequam vacent; ne desiderare quis proximi sui mortem videat, in cujus locum vel beneficio se credit successurum. Cum enim et in ipsis locis gentilium legibus inventur prohibitus, turpe nimis est, et Divini plenum animadversione judicii, si in ecclesia Dei futurae successionis expectatio locum habeat, quam et condemmare ipsi gentiles homines curaverunt. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

2 His adjicimus . . . . repetatur]
3 De ejusdem . . . . habeatur] From the Canon.
5 In] om. A.

An addition to the Lateran Canon: compare however Vol. ii. p. 187.
Ne decima minuatur occasione mercedes servientum vel messorum.

9. No deduction is to be made from the reapers' wages.

Against defraanders and detainers of tithes.

Ne clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti focarias habeant.

9. Clergy are to perform the duties of their cure: not to keep women in their houses, or to frequent taverns.

\[1\] Rothomagensis] Canon III. of the Council of Rouen (date uncertain), incorporated in the Decretum, pt. ii. caus. 16, qu. 7, cap. 5.


\[3\] ut] quod, Savile.
"clerici, qui culpa sua quodammodo tamen dedere delictum, A.D. 1300.
maneant impuni. Clerici etiam omnes habitum habeant
clericalem, et tonsuram canonicam. Archidiaconi autem, of the clergy.
et alii in dignitatis constituti, et presbyteri cappis m-
nicatis non utantur. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

Quales personae debeat contrahere matrimonium.

"(XI.) Vir non contrahat cum aliqua consanguinea olim
uxoris sue; similiter nec uxor cum aliquo consanguino
quondam viri sui. Et susceptus in baptismo, non contrahat
cum filia baptizantis vel suscipientis, ante vel post genit.
Nec contrahatur aliquod matrimonium sine trina denuncia-
tione publica in ecclesia, neque si fuerint personae inco-
nitae. Sed nec copulentur aliqua persone matrimonio, nisi
publice in facie ecclesiae, et praeente sacerdote; et si secus
factum fuerit, non admittantur alicubi in ecclesia, nisi speciali
auctoritate episcopi. Nulli etiam conjugatorum liceat iter
remote perigrinationis arripere, nisi mutuo consensu
publicato. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

Diffamatis publica fama indicatur purgatio.

"(XII.) Diffamati fama publica, vel verisimilibus indiciis
super crimine, de quo vincit non possunt, commoneantur
semel, secundo et tertia, ut confiteantur et satisfaciant: si
vero incorrecti in negatione persisterint, indicatur eis pur-
gatio, et non occasione pecuniae captandae differatur de die
in diem, sed statim primo die, si parata fuerit, susciptiur,
et canonicum numerum non excedat. Salvo, etc.

Ut leprosi cimiterium et proprium habeant
cappellum.

"(XIII.) Affectu pietatis inducti, concilii Lateranensis
etiam institutione suffulti, decernimur, ut ubicunque tot
leprosi simul fuerint congregati, qui ecclesiis cum cimi,
terio sibi construere, et proprio valeant gaudere presbytero,
sine contradicitione aliqua habere permittantur. Caveant
tamen ut injuriosi veteribus ecclesiis non existant. Quod
enim eis pro pietate conceditur, ad aliorum injuriam nolu-

1 See the Canon in Vol. ii. p. 180.
“mus redundare. Statuimus etiam, ut de hortis et nutrimentis animalium suorum decimas tribuere non cogantur.
“Salvo in omnibus, etc.

Ne aliquis sine episcopali auctoritate ecclesiastica beneficia de manu laica recipiat.

14. Hospitalarii, Templarii, etmonasteriorum, etnoceri citationibus et priviligionum non extantem, ut to to be forced to pay tithe of their privileges.

Monks are not to be taken into monasteries for money or to have private property.

1 hortis et ortis, Savile. 2 decernimus See Vol. ii. p. 188. 3 Monachi From another canon. Bened. i. 236, 237.

1 A.D. 1290. September.
2 Gardens and cattle-food not to be forced to pay tithe.

*CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.*
"pectent, Salomone dicente, 'Væ soli, quia si ecce derit, non
'habebit sublevantem.' Si quis autem exactus pro sua re-
ceptione aliquid dederit, ad canonicos ordinem non accedat:
is autem, qui accepit, officii sui privatione mutetur. Si
vero peculium habuerit, nisi ei ab abbaie fuerit pro injusta
administratione permissum, a communione removeatur alta-
ris; et qui in extremis cum peculio inventus fuerit, nec
oblatio pro eo fiat, nec inter frates recipiat sepulturam.

Quod etiam de diversis religionis praecipimus observari.

Abbas autem, et qui diligenter ista non curaverit, officii sui
jacturam se noverit cursurum. Prioratus quoque, seu ob-
dientes, pretii datione nulli tradantur; alioquin et dantes
et accipientes a ministerio flant ecclesiastic alieni. Priores
vero cum in conventualibus ecclesiis fuerint constitutii, nisi
pro manifesta causa et rationabil non mutentur; videlicet,
si dilapidatores fuerint, si incontinenter vixerint, aut talo
aliquid egerint, pro quo amovendi merito vidcantur: aut si
etiam pro majoris necessitate officii fuerint transferendi.

Et illud preterea dignum adjectio videtur, ne monachi
aut canonici nigri, vel moniales nigrar, cappis coloratis
utantur, sed tantum nigris; nec utantur coopertorii nisi
nigris vel albis, cum pellibus agannis vel catinis vel vel-
puis. Monachi etiam aut alii religiosi pileis non utantur;
nec obtentu peregrinationis claustra egrediantur. Dece-
nimis etiam, ut in qualibet ecclesia monachorum vel quo-
rumlibet religiosorum suis usibus canonice appropiata,
"vicarius institutaur provisione episcopi, honestam et suffici-
entem sustentationem de bonis ecclesia percepturum."

Eodem anno Octovianus Ostiensis episcopus, cardi-
nalis et apostolice sedis legatus, venit in Franciam,
missus a latere domini Innocentii papae ad cognoscen-
dum de divortio facto inter Philippum regem Franciae,
et Botildam reginam sponsam suam, et ut ipse inpri-
mis ante ingressum litis compelleret predictum regem
Franciae dimittere adulteram suam Theu-
toniam, et resumere Botildam sponsam suam, et modo

\[adjectio\] abjectione, A.
\[Eodem anno\] Here MSS. B. D.
I. G. resume. MS. C. omits as far as tertii, p. 130, and MS. D. abridges
very much.

\[Botildam\] MS. G. gives the name Ingelburga generally in the
following passage; never Botilda.

\[suasa\] Blank for the name in A.;
where something has been erased.

Eodem die, scilicet in vigilia Nativitatis Sanctae Marie, postquam rex Franciae adulteram suam dimiserat, et Botildam sponsam suam receperat, statim relaxata est sententia interdicti ecclesiarum de regno Franciae, et pulsatis campanis facta est laetitia magna in clero et populo, quia interdictum illud jam duraverat plusquam per triginta hebdomadas, et corpora defunctorum sepulta erant extra villam per vicos et plasteas. Et paulo post praefata mulier, quam rex Franciae dimiserat, peperit filium, et vocatus est nomine patris sui Philippus.\(^2\) Genuerat etiam idem rex Franciae de cadem muliere filiam, quae quinqueannis erat die illa qua ipse illam dimisit: filiam autem illam spopondit rex Franciae se daturum Alexandro filio Willelmi regis Scotiae in uxorem.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) The place was S. Leger-en-Iveline, between Paris and Etampes. Bouquet, xvii. 608.


\(^3\) filiam . . . uxorém] filium alterum, D.
Eodem anno, nono kalendas Octobris, videlicet, die Sabbati quatuor temporum proximo ante festum Sancti Michaelis,\(^1\) Willelmus cognomento Malvaisin,\(^2\) Glasceuen-
sis ecclesie electus, ordinatus est in sacerdotem apud Lugdunum,\(^3\) a\(^4\) ejusdem civitatis archiepiscopo; et in crastino ibidem, seilicet die Dominica, viiio. ka-
lendas Octobris, consecratus est in episcopum Glasce-
ensem ab eodem archiepiscopo, per mandatum domini Innocentii papæ tertii.

Eodem anno, mense Octobris,\(^5\) post completa negotia
sua in Normannia et Ætæris terris suis transmarinis, Johannes rex Angliæ transfretavit de Normannia in Angliam, et adduxit secum Ysabel sponsam suam, filiam comitis de Engelmonio, et octavo idus ejusdem mensis, die Dominica, ipse et Ysabel uxor ejus coronati sunt Lundoniis apud Westmonasterium ab Huberto Cantua-
riensi archiepiscopo.

Interim,\(^6\) ex praeceto ejusdem regis, Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, frater suus, dissaisitus est de omnibus maneriis et bonis archiepiscopatus sui. Jacobus vcro de Poterne, tunc temporis vicecomes Eboraci mareria ejusdem archiepiscopi violenter in-
gressus, bona sua d'issipavit. Unde prædictus archiepi-
scopus excommunicavit vicecomitem illum, et omnes hujus violentiae auctores et consiliarios, accensis candelis et pulsatis campanis. Excommunicavit etiam omnes, qui Johanne regem fratrem suum adversus eum in iram et indignationem commoverunt vel commoverent sine ejus delicto. Excommunicavit etiam burgenses

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\(^1\) Michaelis\] Mikælis, A.
\(^2\) Malvaisin\] Malveisin, B. G.; Maveisin, D.; Mavesin, I.
\(^3\) Lugdunum\] Lucdunum, A.; Lud
detunum, B.
\(^4\) a\] Blank for the name in A. I.
\(^5\) John was at Valognes on the 1st, and at Freemantle on the 6th of October. Hardy's Itinerary.
\(^6\) Interim\] Here again MS. G. omits, as far as fratri suo, below, p. 140.
A.D. 1300. October.
Offences of the men of Beverley.

John restores the archbishop's estates, but fixes a day for him to give account of his proceedings.

Illness of S. Hugh of Lincoln.

Johannes vero redux Angliae, statim post coronationem suam, misit Philippum Dunelmensem episcopum, et Rogerum Bigot comitem de [Northfolc], et Henricum de Boum comitem Herefordiae, nepotem Willemi regis Scotiae, et David comitem de Huntendun, fratrem ejusdem regis Scotiae, et Rogerum de Lasci constabularium Cestriae, et Willelumin de Vesci et Robertum de Ros, generos ejusdem regis Scotiae, et Robertum filium Rogeri, vicecomitem de Northymbria, ad Willelum regem Scotorum, cum litteris regii patentibus de salvo conducto ad conducendum ipsum regem Scotorum ad regem Angliae; et statuit illi diem veniendi ad eum apud Lincolniam in crastino Sancti Eadmundi.

Interim Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, rediens in Angliam de transmarinis partibus, infirmabatur Lun-

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1 *Johannes vero* MS. G. resumes.
2 *Northfolc* Blank in A. G.
3 *nepotem* nepoti, I. The earl of Hereford was the son of Margaret of Scotland, sister of William the Lion, who married, after the death of Conan of Brittany, Humphrey de Bohun. *Eustace de Vesci* married Margaret, and Robert de Ros Isabel, two of the king's natural daughters.


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1 Baptistæ ] Babtistæ, A., in a later hand, over an erasure.
2 Cantuariensi ] archiepiscopo, ins. B. I. The following list is omitted in D.
3 et . . . de Pangor ] Blank in Α.
5 Norfolc ] Blank in Α. G.

Eodem die, scilicet ix. kalendas Decembris, corpus Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi delatum est Lincolniam, ibidem intumulandum. Cui occurrentes Johannes rex Anglie, et supradicti tres archiepiscopi, et praefati

1 et . . .] Blank for the name in A. Richard.
2 et . . .] Blank for the name in A. William.
3 Loonais] Lonais, B. This is Patrick earl of Dunbar. See Lord Hailes' Annals, i. p. 137.
4 Chamberlango] Chamberlano, I.; Camberlano, B.
5 Tankarville] Thankawilla, I.; Tankavilla, B.
6 Saero] Seero, B. I.
7 Hastinghes] Hastings, B. I.
tredecim episcopi, et comites et barones prænominati, receperunt corpus illud; et rex ipse, una cum comitibus et baronibus, portavit in collo suo corpus illud. Deinde comites et barones portaverunt illud in humeris suis usque in atrium matricis ecclesiae, gaudentes obsequium se praestare Deo, et beato praefato archiepiscopi et episcopi, et sic in humeris prelatorum delatum est usque in chorum, et ibi pernoctatum est. Cumque circa eum agerentur exsequiae defunctorum, quaedam mulier, quæ per septem annos ex uno oculo cœca fuerat, recepit visum.

Et ibidem quidem bursarum incisor scidit. Bursam cujusdam mulieris, et statim factae sunt ambo manus ejus contractæ, et ipse stans immobĭlis clamabat dicens,

"Poenitet, O, si quid miserorum creditur ulli,
"Poenitet, et facto torqueor ipse meo.
"Qui cum me pœna dignum graviore fuisse
"Confiteor, possum vix graviora pati.
"Et quamvis meritis pœna hæc sit debita nostris,
"Magna tamen spes est in bonitate Dei.
"Spes facit, ut vivat fossor quoque compede
"Vincentus,
"Liberaque a ferro crura futura putet.
"Spes facit, ut videat cum terras undique nullas,
"Naufragus in medii brachia jactet aquis.
"Sæpe aliquem sollers medicorum cura reliquit:
"Nec spes huic, venia deficiens, cadit.
"Carece dicuntur clausi spectare salutem;
"Atque aliquis pendens in cruce vota facit.
"En spes, quam multos laqueo sua colla ligantes
"Non est proposita passa perire nece!
"Confugit interdum templi violator ad aram,
"Nec petere offensi numinis horret opem."
A.D. 1200.
Nov. 23.

Penitence of the cut-purse.

Et ad se conversus, ait:

"Lingua sile, non est ultra narrabile quicquam." Et conversus ad clericum, dixit, "Miseremini mei, miseremini saltem vos, amici Dei, et orate pro me ad Dominum, ut Ipse pro Sua ineffabili misericordia miseretur mei. Ego enim abrenuncio Sathanæ et operibus ejus." Et statim facta oratione pro ipso ad Dominum, soluta suntvincula Sathanæ, quibus constrictæ erant manus ejus, et sanus factus est homo ab illa hora, laudans et glorificans Deum.

"Talia coelestes fieri praecomia gaudent, Ut, sua quid valeant numina, teste probent, Stepe levant poenas, ereptaque lumina reddunt, Cum bene peccati poenituisse vident." Nov. 24.


"Ultima semper Exspectanda dies homini est; dicique beatus Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet." Ovid. Met. iii. 133.

Non est enim gloriosum vivere, sed bene vivere gloriosum est.

Præterea dum Johannes rex Anglæ moram faceret apud Lincolniam, accesserunt ad eum duodecim abbates de ordine Cisterciensi, et ad pedes ejus provoluti,

Nov. 24.
The body of S. Hugh is placed in the tomb.

Two Cistercian abbots visit John.

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misericordiam petierunt, dicentes, quod forestarii ejus¹ averia sua, quibus ipsi et pauperes Christi sustentati fuerant, a pasturis et forestis regii exterminaverunt. Quibus rex respondit, "Surgite." Et surrexerunt omnes viri illi: et rex ipse, Divina inspirante gratia, cecidit pronus in terram ante pedes illorum, veniam postulans, et ait illis, "Pacem meam do vobis, et concedo, ut averia vestræ pascatis per pasturas et forestas meas, sicut relief, and to build a new abbey.

John promises them relief, and to build a new abbey.

Eodem anno,² mense Decembris, Rollandus princeps Galueiæ obiit in Anglia apud Northamton,³ xiv. kalendas Januarii, feria tertia, et ibidem sepultus est apud abbatiæ Sancti Andreæ.

Eodem anno Duncan, filius Gilleberti filii Fergus, Duncan of Galloway carries off a daughter of the lord of Renfrew.

rapuit Avelinam filiam Alani filii Valteri, domini de Rainfriu, antequam Willemus rex Scotiae rediret de Anglia in terram suam. Unde idem rex plurimum iratus, cepit de Alano filio Valteri viginti quatuor plegios, de pace sibi et terræ sue servanda, et de jure faciendo super calumniæ illæ.

Eodem ⁵ mense Decembris,⁶ Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, infra quindecim dies post obitum suum, apparuit in somnis magistro Rogero de Rolleston,⁷ decano Lincolniensis ecclesiae, dicens: "Concessit mihi Dominus noster Jesus Christus Sua gratia, quod unus ex vo- "bis fratribus meis in proximo veniet ad me cum

¹ e] om. B. I.
² et] om. D. I.
³ Eodem anno] MS. G. resumes.
⁴ Northamton] Northamton, I.; Northamton, A.; Northamtoniam, B.
⁵ Eodem] anno, ins. Savile.
⁶ Decembris] Septembris, B. D.
⁷ Rolleston] Rolleston, B.; Rolleston, G.; Rolviston, D.
A.D. 1200. December.
The dean relates his vision.

Robert de Capella dies.

A.D. 1201. March.


Eodem anno in medio Quadragesimae, mense Martio, Philippus rex Franciae, et Botilda regina uxor ejus, convenerunt cum partibus suis apud Sessuns coram Octoviano Ostiensi episcopo, a domino papa Innocentio judice delegato. Ex parte autem prædictæ reginæ interfuerunt ibi episcopi, et aliī honesti viri et discreti, missi a Cnut rege Dacorum fratre prædictæ reginæ; et ante ingressum litis petierunt a rege Franciae securitatem libere respondendi, et allegandi, et a terra

1 neque] ne, A.
2 medio] om. A. D. G.; interlined in B. MS. C. has this paragraph, but omits all that follows from Eodem to Anglia, p. 148.
3 Botilda ] Ingelburga, G., here and generally.
sua recedendi. Et his concessis, rex Franciae constanter petebat divortium fieri inter ipsum et Botildam sponsam suam, dicendo, quod ita affines erant 1 in consanguinitatis linea, quod eam de jure non deberet cognoscere. Ad hoc responderunt nuncii regis Dacorum,

"Nos cognovimus, audivimus, et vidimus, quod cum illius, et proponenter quod desiderio desiderastis ducere vobis in uxorem Botildam, regis stirpis egregiam puellam, sororem suam, et eam constanter petissent vobis transmitti; dominus noster Cnut rex Dacorum, hostium suorum magnificus triumphantor, cui nemo impune resistit, communicato magnatum regni sui consilio, dignum judicavit petitionem vestræ exaudiri. "Juraverunt ergo predicti nuncii vestræ in animam vestræm, juraveruntque in animas suas, quod vos praepsam Botildam 3 statim ex quo ipsa 4 fines regni vestræ intraret, cam vobis desponsari, et in reginam coronari faceretis, et eam sicut reginam et sponsam vestræm honorifice tractaretis, quamdiu vos duo 5 viro-ris. Et super hoc misistis domino nostro regi Dacorum cartam vestræm; quam hic pro manibus habemus: habemus etiam cartas magnatum vestrorum, qui hoc idem juraverunt. Et quia vos, secus quam magnates vestræ juraverunt, praepsam Botildam 6 sponsam vestræm tractastis: nos appellamus eos de perjurio et fide læsa coram domino papa: appellamus etiam ad dominum papam a judice isto domino Octoviano Ostiensi episcopo, 7 qui nobis sus-

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1 erat] om. I. The note on the affinity of Philip and his wife, in vol. III. p. 224, is based on a mistake and should be expunged.
3 Botildam] puellam, G.
4 ipsa] om. I.
5 duo] om. B. I.
6 Botildam] om. G.
7 Ostiensis episcopo] om. I.
“pectus est, utpote qui consanguineus vester est, ut dicit, et causam vestrarn nimio favore prosequitur.”

Similiter et ipsa Botilda regina appellavit pro se ipsa a judice illo ad dominum papam.

Octavianus igitur Ostiensis episcopus, apostolice sedis legatus, audiens quod appellatum esset ab eo ad summum pontificem, dixit ad nuncios regis Dacorum, “Exspectate donec collega meus, quem associavit mihi dominus papa, veniat, qui in proximo venturus est, et quod ab eo judicatum fuerit, recipite.” Illi autem abierunt, dicentes, “Appellavimus.”

Post triduum venit ille alius legatus, de cujus sanctitate et justitia dominus papa plenam fiduciam; et sedens pro tribunal, nullam invenit causam, quare divorciium fieret inter Philippum, regem Franciae, et Botildam reginam sponsam suam; et cum ille super hoc vellet dare diffinitivam sententiam contra regem Franciae, rex Franciae inde praemunitus, ante sententiae pronunciationem abiit, et duxit secum Botildam reginam uxorem suam, et posuit eam in arctiori custodia.

Eodem anno ¹ facta est hæc pax et finalis concordia inter Philippum ² regem Franciae et Johannem regem Angliae.

"Philippus Dei gratia rex Francorum, universis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, salutem. Noveritis quod hæc est forma pacis facta inter nos et dilectum nostrum et fidelem Johannem, Dei gratia regem Angliae; scilicet, quod ipse tenebit nobis et hereditibus nostris pacem, quam Ricar-

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¹ Eodem anno] MS. G. omits all that follows as far as p. 152, below.
² Philippum] Filippum, A.

This copy of the treaty has been transcribed very carelessly by Hoveden’s copyist, or taken from an unsound exemplar. It is given in the Fædera, i. 79, “ex rotulo in Thesaurar.” An abstract is given by Mr. Cooper in the Appendix D. to the Report on the Fædera; and a commentary by Mr. Stapleton in the Rolls of the Norman Exchequer, Vol. ii., p. cxxii. It is very much abridged in MS. C.
dus rex frater ejus fecit nobiscum inter Eroldum et Caro-
tom; 2 exceptis is quae per praesentem carta excepistit
vel mutavit, propter exceptiones quas idem ricardus
nobis fecerat de pace illa. Siclicet quod idem rex Johannis
donavit nobis, et hereditibus nostris, sicut rectas haeres Ri-
ardi fratris sui, civitatem Ebrocarum et Ebrocinium, cum
omnia feudis et dominis, sicut subscriptae metas determin-
ant. Meta autem posita sunt inter Ebroicas et Novum-
burcum: 3 et totum id quod erit inter has metas ex parte
Franciae, erit nostrum: id quod erit versus Novumburcum, 4
erit regis Anglie. Et quantum terrae habebimus versus
Novumburcum, tantum terrae habebimus 4 versus Conchias, 
et versus Akenni 5 ad eandem mensuram, ex parte ubi ab-
batia de Noa sita est, sicut aqua Itoniae currit. Guitebo, 6
ubicunque sit, nobis dedit. Tylers cum pertinentiis suis, et
Danvilla, remanant regi Angliae. item tamen quod dominus
2 de Bruroles habebit id quod habere debet in dominata de
Tylers; et domimis de Tylers habebat id quod habere debet
3 in dominatu de Bruroles. Concessit etiam nobis de episco-
patu Ebroicensi id quod est infra has metas; unde episcopus Ebroicensis nobis respondit, et hereditibus nostris.
Idem autem episcopus respondebat regi Angliae, et hereditibus
suis, de hoc quod erit extra has metas. Et scieendum quod
neque nos, neque rex Angliae, poterimus inter has
metas constitutae inter Novumburcum et Ebroicum, neque
apud Guitebo, neque nos ex parte nostra, neque rex An-
giae ex parte sua, nisi ubi firmatum est infra metas pre-
dictas. Praterea fortelicia de 7 Portis 8 et de Landis in
continenti dirueuentur, 9 neque ibi aliae forteliciae poterunt
readeificari. Hae autem omnia, quae comes Ebroicensis te-
nebat inter has metas, fecit nobis rex Angliae acquietari a
recto herede Ebroicorum. De Hulcasino 10 Normanniae scili-
cet erit: predicto regi Anglie et heredibus suis remane-
bunt feuda et dominium, sicut archiepiscopus Rotomagi
inde tenens erat die qua fecit excambium de Andeliaco ;
totum Hulcasini residuum nobis remanet. Nos quoque
non possimus firmare ultra Gammium ex parte nostra Nor-

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2 Carorunt] Properly Charrocuin, Charost, unless the place was Châ-
teaurex.
3 Novumburcum] Novum Burgum, B. I.
4 versus ... habebimus] om. I.
5 Akenni] Akenu, A. B.
6 Gutebo] Guitebo, Savile. Quit-
tebuen.
7 de] om. I.
8 Portis] Porris, Feud. i. 80. The
text is right.
9 dirueuentur] durueuntur, A.
10 Hulcasino] Hulecsino, A. B. I.
150  CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1260, May.  Enumeration of lands given by John to Lewis on his marriage with Blanche of Castile.


1 Eroldinum ] Eroldum, B. I.; Exolduni, Fed. i. 80.
2 Carscaii] Carsari, B. I.; Carsscai, A.; Carsarri, D.; Erascarii, Fed. i. 80. The abstract given in Mr. Cooper's Appendix to the Fadera, Thesor des Chartres, p. 3, has "Grassay."
3 Callviniaco ] Calvino, I.; Callumaco, A. B.

dedit] dabit, Savile.
3 sicut . . . Angliae] om. I.
6 Perticii] Patricii, Savile.
7 Angliae] om. I.; et feodium...
Angliae, om. D.
8 viginti millia ] triginta millia, Savile. The copy in the Fadera agrees with the text.
9 scilicet] sed, A.
10 recatum] rechatum, Fed. i. 80.
Pars posterior.

“que comes Pontivi tenet, inde feudum et dominium remanent nobis et comiti Pontivi; propter hoc quod comes Flandriae tenet de nostro, ideo faciet nobis homagium ligium. Et si ipse comes Flandria, aut alius quis hominem num meorum, qui melius sint aut esse debent homines nostri quam regis Angliae, nobis malum facere aut nescire vellent, rex Angliae non poterit contra nos adjurare, et manutenere cos; neque nos similiter suos, qui sint aut melius esse debent homines sui quam nosi; salva forma hujus pacis predictae. In conventionibus istis habet rex Angliae conventionem, quod ipse Otoni nullum faciat auxilium, neque per pecuniam, neque per gentes, neque per milites, nec per alium, nisi per consilium nostrum. De Arturo sic erit, quod rex Angliae non minuet eum de feudo vel de domino Britanniae sita mare Angliae, nisi per rectum judicium curiae sue. Rex vero Angliae dedit nobis securitas tates de hominibus suis subscriptis, Baldewino comite Albe-marliae, Willemo comite de Pembroc, Hugone de Gurnaco, Willemo de Homet constabulario Normanniae, Roberto de Harcourt, Johanne de Pratellis, Willemo de Kau, Garino de Gapiun, qui juraverunt hoc modo, quod ipsi cum omnibus suis feudis sita mare ad nos venirent, si rex Angliae non teneret pacem et conventionem sicut divisa est. Nos quoque dedimus securitates de hominibus nostris subscriptis; comite Roberto Drocorum, comite Galfriodo Perticii, Willemo Garlad, Bartholomaeo de Royia, Gervasio de Castello, Waltero Camerario patre, Ursone filio ejus, Philippo de Leuens, Waltero Camerario juniori: qui similiter juraverunt, quod cum omnibus suis ad regem venirent, si nos ei hanc pacem non tenuerimus, sicut est divisa. Nos autem et predicti ostagii, bona fide, et sine malo ingenio, hoc firmiter et fideliter observanda juravimus. Quae ut perpetuum robur obtineant, prae sentem cartam auctoris sigilli nostri corroboramus. Actum apud G., anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCC, mense Maii.”

Et consimilem cartam huic habet rex Franciae, conversis tamen nominibus.

1 Pontivi ] Pontici, A. B. I.; Pontini, Savile and Fed. i. 80.
2 ligium] om. Savile.
3 manutenere ] manutenire, A.
6 hominibus ] omnibus, A. B.
7 Garlad ] Garlande, B. I.
8 de ] om. B. I.; Royas, B.
9 G. } Guletou, Fed. i. 80.
**Eodem anno fuerunt haec consuetudines scaccarii Londoniensis super debitis domini regis inquirendis recitata apud Windlesoure post Pascha, coram rege Johanne, anno sui regni iido, et coram qui-busdam magnatibus terrae suae, et ab eodem rege fuerunt confirmata.**

"Statutum est in Anglia, et per præceptum regis Johannis confirmatum, quod nullus vicecomes recipiat aliquem ad præsentationem baronis in senescallum, qui non poscit respondere de misericordia pertinente ad transgressionem fidei, si forte in cam inciderit. Quod autem senescalbus ad præsentationem baronis affidaverit, quod pacem faciet vicecomiti de debitis domini sui ad scaccarium, intellegendum est, quod super compotum vicecomitis de debito pacem faciet: quod si non fecerit, mittatur in prisonam statutam secundum legem scaccarii, et debitum regis capiatur de catallis domini sui secundum legem scaccarii. Quod si fidem praestitam non servaverit, ita quod ad computum vicecomitis non venerit, vel si venerit et sine licentia recesserit, corpus ejus capiatur, et in prisonam ponatur statutam regis, nec deliberetur nisi per speciale mandatum domini regis.

"Item mittatur ad terram domini cujus senescalbus defecerit, et de catallis suis solvatur pecunia quæ debetur secundum legem scaccarii: et si pecunia illa debeatur pro fine terre, et catalla non inveniantur unde pecunia illa solvatur; ipsa terra, pro qua finis facta fuit, capiatur in manu domini regis, et teneatur donec pecunia illa solvatur secundum legem scaccarii. In pœna lœsionis fidei, senescalbus qui fidem transgressus fuerit, nunquam de hoc vel de alio debito per fidem suam credatur vel recipiatur; nec dominus credatur vel recipiatur in hoc debito, nisi de gratia et voluntate regis, secundum legem et consuetudinem scaccarii."

**Johannes rex Angliae vendidit Willelmo de Braiuse magnam partem Hibernie pro v. millibus marcis.**

**Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliae vendidit pro quinque millibus marcarum Willelmo de Braiuse totam**

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1 John was at Windsor shortly after Easter in both 1200 and 1201. If this document is rightly dated, it belongs to 1201; but Hoveden treats 1200 as the second, and 1201 as the third year of the reign; the exact date is therefore uncertain.

2 nullus om. I.; interl. B.

3 computum compotum, B. I.

4 Braiuse] Brausa, B.
terram Philippi de Wirecestre, et totam terram Teobaldi Valteri in Hibernia. Philippus autem vix evadens manus regis rediit in Hiberniam, transitum faciens per terram regis Scottorum, et recuperavit partem terrae sue per guerram. Et Theobaldus Valteri, auxilio Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, fratris sui, dedit Villetma de Brausa quingentes marcas pro terra sua rehabenda, et homo suus devenit.¹

¹ The following story appears in MS. A. only. It is written in a hand about half a century later than the rest of the text in Λ., and is no doubt an insertion made at the end of the year on a blank leaf. It is an extract from the Speculum Historiale of Vincent of Beauvais, lib. x., cc. lxx., lxxi.; but is given here as printed by Savile from MS. A., and as being referred to sometimes as the work of Hoveden. See Fabricius, Bibliotheca Graeca, i. 866.

De Secundo philosopho et ejus pertinaci silentio.

Temporibus Adriani floruit Secundus philosophus, qui philosophatus est omni tempore silentium servans, et Pictagoricam vitam ducess. Ille enim adhuc parvulus ad discendam nissus, audivit in scholis verbum lujsmodii, quod omnis mulier fornicateix esset et impudica. Tandem in philosophia perfectus reminavit in patriam suam, communem gerens peregrinationis consuetudinem, baculum et peram circumferens, comi capitis et barba prolica. Hospitatus est in domo propria, nemine domestorum eum cognoscente, neque propria matre; volensque probare de mulieribus, si verum esset quod audiverat, vocavit unam ex aeculis, promittens ei decem aureos, si persuaderet matris; at illa consentiens aecilia, vespere fecit eum ad se introduci. Cumque illa aestimaret se cum illo carnaliter debere commiseri, ille velut propriam matrem ampliets, inter ubera illius dormivit usque ad manae. Mane autem, cum vellet egredi et discedere, illa apprehendens eum ait, "Ut me tentares hac fecisti." Qui dixit, "Nequaquam, domina mater; neque enim dignum est, me illud vas maculare unde exivi." Illa autem sciscitans quis esset, respondit, "Ego sum Secundus filius tuus." Illa recogitans in semetipsa, et non ferens confessionem, exanimata est. Secundus vero, sciens quod per loquam suam mors matris contigisset, hanc a se in posterum exigit penam, ne amplius loqueretur; et sic usque ad mortem taciturnitatem conservavit. Circa vero idem tempus Adrianus imperator veniens Athenas, audivit de illo, cumque ad se venire faciens, prius eum salutavit; ille autem tacuit. Tune Adrianus ait, "Loquere, philosophes, ut a te aliquid addiscamus." Illo autem in proposito silentii perseverante, Tyron vocans quendam spiculatorem ait, "Hanc nolentem loqui imperatorii vivere nolamus. Abdue eum, et torquere." Adrianus denique spiculatorem latentet evocans, ait, "Loquere ei in via, et persuade ei ut loquatur; et si quid persuasus respondet-
De his qua ad interroga ta scripto respondit.

Tunc Adrianus admiratus philosophi contumaciam, dixit ei, "Quia lex "ista silentii, quam tibi ipse proposuisti, nullo modo solvi potest, sumens "tabulam istam, scribe, et saltem manu tua loquere." Accipiens Secundus tabulam scripsit in hunc modum : "Ego quidem, O Adrian, nihil te "timeo, quia princeps hujus temporis videris existere ; me quidem audire "[occidere V.B.] potes, sed vocis meae praesentiae nulla tibi potestas est." Adrianus itaque legens, ait : "Bene excusatus es. Sed adhuc quaedam tibi "problemata propone, ut ad haec mihi respondeas : quorum primum est, "Quid est mundus ?" Ille rescrpsit, "Mundus est inaccessibilis circuitus, "spectabilis supellex, multiformis formatio, internus tenor, circuitus sine "errone." "Quid est Oceanus ?" "Mundi amplexus, terminus coronatus, "hospitalium fluviorum, fons inabrum." "Quid est Deus ?" "Immortalis "mens, incontemptibilis celsitudo, forma multiformis, incognitabilis in-"quisitio, insipitosa Oculus, omnia continens, lux, bonum." "Quid est "Sol ?" "Caeli oculus, caloris circuitus, splendor sine occasu, diei ornatus, "horarum distributor." "Quid est Luna ?" "Caeli purpura, solis annula, "maelfactorum innica, solamen iter agentium, directio navigantium, "signum solemnitatum, larga roris, presagium tempusstatum." "Quid est "terra ?" "Basis caeli, meditullium mundi, fructuum custos et mater, "operculum inferni, mater nascentium, devoratrix omnium, cellarium "vita." "Quid est homo ?" "Mens incarnata, phantasma temporis, "speculator vitae, mancipium mortis, transiens viator, loci hospes, anima "laboriosa, parvi temporis habitaculum." "Quid est pulchritudo ?" "Flos "marcidus, carnis felicitas, humana concupiscientia." "Quid est "mulier ?" "Hominis confusionis, insaturabilis bestia, continua sollicitudo, "indesinens pugna, viri incontinentis nafragium, humanum mancipium." "Quid est amicus ?" "Desiderabile nomen, homo vix apparens, infelici-"tatis refugium, indesinens felicitas." "Quid divitie ?" "Anri pondus, "curaram minister, delectatio inlocunda, insatiabilis invidia, desiderium "inexplebile, os excelsum, invisa concupiscientia." "Quid est paupertas ?" "Odibile bonum, sanitatis mater, curaram remotio, sapien-"tiae repetrior, "negotium sine damno, possessio absque calumnia, sine sollicitudine "felicitatis." "Quid senectus ?" "Optatum malum, morts viventium, in-"columnis languor, spirans mori." "Quid somnus ?" "Mortis imago, "laborum quies, infirmantium votum, miserorum desiderium." "Quid "est vita ?" "Beatorum ieiitia, miserorum maesthetic, expectatio moris."
PARS POSTERIOR.

[Foot note—continued.]

"Quid est mors?" "Æternus somnus, divitum pavor, pauperum de-

"siderium, inevitabilis eventus, latro hominis, fuga vitae, resolutio

"omnia." "Quid est verbum?" "I'roditor animi." "Quid est

"corpus?" "Domicilia animae." "Quid est barba?" "Sexus dis-

"cretio." "Quid est cerebrum?" "Custos memoriae." "Quid frons?"

"Imago animi." "Quid oculi?" "Duces corporis, vasa luminis, judices

"animi." "Quid est cor?" "Receptaculum vitae." "Quid jecur?"

"Custodia caloris." "Quid fel?" "Suscitatio irascundia." "Quid

"splen?" "Ritus et latitiae capax." "Quid est stomachus?" "Ciborum

"coquus." "Quid ossa?" "Robur corporis." "Quid pedes?" "Mobile

"fundamentum." "Quid est ventus?" "Aeris perturbatio, mobilitas

"aquam, siccitas terrae." "Quid sunt fluminia?" "Cursus indeficiens,

"reflectio solis, irrigatio terrae." "Quid est amicitia?" "Æqualitas

"animorum." "Quid fides?" "Ignota rei miranda certitudo." "Quid

"est quod hominem lassum finire non sinit?" "Lucrum.

The same hand which has transcribed the story of Secundus, continues

with the following supposititious letter, which Savile did not print. The

heading only is a forgery; the rest being an extract from John of Salisbury,

Policraticus, lib. viii. cap. 23.

"Adrianus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Johanni Salesberiensi, fami-

"liari suo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Iste Johannes, Anglicus

"natione, de codem Adriano, qui erat nationis ejusdem, tali refert: Audivi

"papam Adrianum dicentem quod Romano papa nemo miserabilior est,

"conditio ejus nulla est miserior. Fatebatur enim in eadem sede tantas

"miseras invenisse, quod facta collatione præsentium ad prædicta, tota

"præsens jocunditas et felicitas sibi fuit amaritudo respectu vitae præsente,

"damnosam enim diebet cathedram Romani pontificis, in tantum aestis-

"simis usquequaque consultam aculeis, tantæque molis ut robustissimos

"premat terat et diminuat, humeros, coronam et frigium clara merito

"videri quia ignea sunt. Asserebat quoque se nunquam a natali solo

"Anglice malle exisse, aut in claustro Beati Rudi apud Valenciam perpetuo

"latusse, quam tantas intrasse angustias, nisi quia Divina dispensationi

"reluctari non audent. Hoc etiam sepulchre mihi adjecti, quod eum de

"gratia in gradum a claustrali elicerco per omnia officia ad summum ponti-

"ficiun ascendisset, nihil unquam felicitatis aut tranquilitatis quietis vitae

"priori adjectum est, et ut verbis ejus utar, 'In incude,' inquit, 'et malo

"semper dilatavit me Dominus, sed nunc oneri quod infirmitati meo im-

"posuit, si placet, supponat dexteram, quoniam mihi importabili est.'

"Nonne miseria dignus est qui pro tanta pugnata miseria? Sic dixissimus

"qui est dominus sequenti die pauper erit, et infinitis fere creditoribus

"tenebitur obligatus. Ambire ergo summum pontificium, et non sine

"fraterno sanguine ad illud ascendere, est Romulo succedere in parricidii,

"non Petro in ovibus paschandia. Bene ergo dicitur non tam nuncupative

"quam etiam substantive, Summus Pontifex, servus servorum, servit enim

"servis avaritiae, id est, Romanis: necesse est adae ut nisi servierit, fiat

"aut exponificet aut ex-Romanus." This is found also in Vincent of

Beauvais, Speculum Historiale, lib. xxix. c. iii., whence the copyist pro-

bably took it.
Tertius annus regni Johannis regis Angliæ.

1 Anno gratiae MCCC., qui erat annus tertius regni Johannis regis Angliæ, fuit idem rex die Natalis Domini, que feria secunda evenit, in Anglia apud Geldeforde. 2 Eodem die Willelmus rex Scottorum fuit in terra sua apud Lanarch. Eodem die Otho rex Alemanorum, nepos Johannis regis Anglorum, fuit apud Magnum coronatus.

Post Natale Domini, quintus idus Januarii, auditus est terremotus magnus in Anglia apud Eboracum, et in finibus ejus.

Post Natale Domini Johannes rex Angliæ venit Lincolinum, et non potuit convenire inter illum et canonicos Lincolniensium ecclesie de electione episcopi. Voluit enim rex pro sua voluntate eligere, et canonici volebant liberam habere electionem, quam rex eis concedere noluit.

Eodem anno 3 mense Januarii, die Conversionis Sancti Pauli, feria quinta, Johannes 4 rex Angliæ transivit fluvium Humbri, et venit ad Cottingham, 5 et hospitalatus est cum Villemo de Stutevilla; et in erastino venit ipse Beverlacum, et pretio conductus hospitatus est cum Johanne Crasso, Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi 6 excommunicato: et cum canonici Beverlacenses vellent eum cum processione et sonitu campanarum recipere, noluit recipi, nec permisit eos sonare. Et in recessu suo de Beverlaco captus est et incarceratus Henricus de Capella, serviens Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, ea ratione, quod idem serviens non permisit 7 regem quicquam habere de vinis archiepiscopi. Precepit etiam idem rex, quod omnes servientes archiepiscopi Eboracensis, ubique inventi fuissent, cære rentur: et ita factum est.

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1 Here MSS. B. D. I. G. resume.  
2 Gelderforda [Gildeforde, B.; Gelfordia, G.].  
3 anno] om. I.  
4 Johannes] om. B. I.  
5 Cottingham] Cottingham, B. I.  
6 Gaufridi ... archiepiscopi] a Galfrido Eboracensis ecclesie archiepiscopo, Savile.  
7 permisit] om. I.
Mense autem Februarii, in Purificatione Sanctæ Marie, Johannes rex Angliae, et Ysabel regina uxor ejus, fuerunt apud Scartheburg; et inde processit rex, et perrexit usque ad fines regni sui; et perambulatam terram, et homines regni redemit, id est, ad redemptionem coegit; imponens eis quod per eos gwavstata erat foresta ejus. Cunque venisset ex Extoldesham, et audisset quod apud Choresbrige esset thesaurus absconditus, fecit ibi fodere, sed nihil inventum est praeter lapides signatos are et ferro et plumbo.

Eodem anno, in vigilia Purificationis Beatæ Marie, Willelmus Glasceunensis episcopus applicuit in Angliam apud Duvere, rediens de consecratione sua.

Eodem anno, statim post Purificationem Sanctæ Marie, Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus transfretavit inter Dovere et Vissant, iturus ad Sanctum Jacobum in peregrinatione.

De interfectione Rotheric Machdunlef.

Eodem anno, inter Natale Domini et caput Jejunii, interfectus est in Ultonia Rotheric Machdunlef, ad horreum quoddam alborum monachorum, a servientibus Johannis de Curci, ipso Johanne nesciente, ut dicitur; et postquam scivit, valde pœnituit; qui pro facto illo interfectores illos relegavit.

In medio autem Quadragesimae, Johannes rex Angliae, et Ysabel regina uxor sua, fuerunt apud Eboracum; et Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus pacificavit se regi per pecnam pecuniariam, ita quod per considerationem quatuor episcoporum et quatuor baronum, ex parte regis et ex parte archiepiscopi electorum, emendabuntur excessus utriusque partis.

1 Scartheburg] Scardebarc, B. I.
2 Eodem anno] MS. G. omits all as far as the end of the pope’s letter, below, p. 160. MS. D. omits this paragraph.
3 Dovere] Doure, B.; Duere, I.
4 Rotherich Machdunlef] Rotherich et Machdunlef, B.; Roterich, D. Called king of Ulidia. Ware’s Ireland, p. 39.
A.D. 1201.
March 4.

The archbishop absolves his enemies.

Ibidem etiam Willelmus de Stutevilla, et Jacobus de Poterna, quos archiepiscopus excommunicaverat, ab eodem absoluti sunt.

De obitu Reginaldi Arundel præcentoris Eboracensis.

Interim Reginaldus Arundel, Eboracensis ecclesie præcentor, obiit.

The dean of York refuses to admit the archbishop's nominee to the archdeaconry of Cleveland.

The archbishop excommuni-
cates the dean's nomi-
nue.

Honorius, archdea-
con of Rich-
mond, com-
plains of the arch-
bishop to the pope.

Quo audito, cum Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus præcentoriam illum uni de suis dare vellet, non permiserunt decanus et capitulum; sed invito archiepiscopo, dederunt Hugoni Murac archidiaconatum de Clivelande, quem idem archiepiscopus pridie dederat magistro Radulfo de Kyme, officiali suo; et cum archiepiscopus velter mittere eum in stallum vice præcentoris, dixit ei decanus, "Non est vestrum mittere quenquam " in stallum, nec hunc mittetis, quia nos auctoritate " Lateranensis concilii dedimus archidiaconatum illum." Cumque archiepiscopus pro voluntate sua in his proce-
dere nequivisset, excommunicavit Hugonem Murac.

Interim Honorius archidiaconus de Richemund Romam profectus est, propter injurias quas Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus ei fecerat; qui, contra antiquas archi-
diaconatus de Richemund dignitates et consuetudines, vendicabat sibi institutiones ecclesiariam et synodaliam. Dicebat enim archiepiscopus, quod idem Honorius omnia ista ei resignavit, et carta sua confirmavit. Contra quod Honorius modis omnibus veniens, conquestus est domino papæ Innocentio de injuriis quas ei fecerat Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et litteras ab eo in hunc modum impetravit.1

1 Interim ... impetravit] omitted in B. C. D. I. with the following letter.
Epistola Innocentii papae ad Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, pro magistro Honorio.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, archiepiscopo Eboraci, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Si magis terium recognoscere apostolicae sedis, et debitam ei reversionem et obedientiam exhiberes, non presumeres plenitudinis potentatis eius et privilegium dignitatis in aliquo derogare, cum ab ea in partem sollicitudinis evocatus, ipsam in tuis necessitatis, in quas temere teipsum induxeras, senseris sepius adjutricem. Non enim excusare te potes, vel debes, quod illud privilegium ignoraris, per quod omnibus injuste gravatis facultas patet ad sedem apostolicam appellandi; cum et tu ipse aliquando ad nostram audientiam appellaris, et a tuis gravaminibus non semel sed sepius ad nos fuerit appellatum, nec ipsum privilegium te lieuerit ignorare. Verum, ut cessent cetera, ex eo solo ad invocationem nostri nominis a subditorum tuorum molestationibus debueras abstinere, quod in multis et arduis negotiis, et petisti et obtinuisti favorem tibi apostolicum exhiberi. Sed, ut rerum monstrat effectus, nec auctoritatem nostram, nec factam tibi gratiam recognoscis, nec appellationibus defers, quæ interponuntur ad sedem apostolicam, a gravatis.

Ecce enim cum dilectus filius noster magister Honorius, Richemundi archidiaconus, in plena possessione libertatum archidiaconatus Richemundi existens, cum clericis suis a te, propter manifesta gravamina et varias injurias, ad sedem apostolicam appellaverant, tu nihilominus in eum et quosdam clericos suos suspensionis, et [in] aliquas ecclesias archidiaconatus ejusdem interdieten sententiam promulgasti. Nec hoc contentus excessu, postquam ipse iter arripuit ad sedem apostolicam veniendi, suspensis quibusdam clericis ejus, et ecclesiis interdictis, et excommunicatis quibusdam, de facto tantum, quia de jure non potuisti, certam a ceteris extorsisti pecuniam quantitatem, statum ejus et clericerorum suorum turbam in pluribus et confundens. Quia vero tanta prsumptionis excessum incorrectum nec volumus nec debemus relinquere, tuæ fraternitati per apostolica scripta mandamus, atque precipimus, quod taliter, quæ predicta sunt, corregas per teipsum, quod adversum te nos non cogas durius com moveri, qui toleravimus hactenus temeritatem tuam in multis. Alioquin noveris nos venerabili fratri Eliensi episcopo, et

\[1\text{ vel}] ut, Savile.  \[2\text{ a gravatis}] agravatos, A.
A.D. 1201.

CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

"dilecto filio abbas de Valtham, per scripta nostra praeciipiendo
mandasse, ut predictas excommunicationis, suspensionis, et
interdicti sententias taliter a te illatas nullas esse denunciens;
et te ad restitutionem eorum, quae vel a clericis vel ab ecclesi-
sis archidiaconatus ejusdem, post appellationem ad nos legi-
time interpositam, extorsisti, et recompensationem damorum,
per censuram ecclesiasticum, appellacionem remota, compeler-
ent; et quicquid per te vel tuos in prajudicium ejus
vel suorum invenerint immutatum, in statum pristinum
nostra freti auctoritate reducant; et sub praemissa te dis-
tricte compescant, ne archidiaconum vel ejus clericos
injuste molestes, aut statum vel libertates eorum andeas
perturbare, scitor pro certo quod, cum durum sit tibi
contra stimulum calcitrare, nisi abstineas ab hismodi, et
mandatis nostris reverenter obedias, manus nostras in te
ultra forte quam times curabimus aggravare, ne tui nobis
imputentur excessus. Datum Laterani, iii° nonas Febru-
arii, pontificatus nostri anno 1."

Tertia coronatio Johannis regis Anglica, et secunda coronatio Ysabel reginae.

Eodem anno, videlicet ab Incarnatione Domini mil-
lesimo ducentesimo primo, qui erat annus tertius regni
Johannis regis Angliae, idem rex, et Ysabel regina uxor
ejus, fuerunt apud Cantuariam coronati ab Huberto
Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, in ecclesia cathedrali, die
Paschae, quae nono kalendas Aprilis evenit, festo Annun-
ciationis Dominicæ, praesentibus Johanne Dublencensi
archiepiscopo, et Willelmo Lundoniensi, et Gilleberto
Rofensi, et Eustacio Eliensi, et Johanne Nortwicensi
episcopis. Et statim post Pascha præcepit rex, ut
comites et barones Angliae essent apud Portesmueurad
Pentecosten, parati equis et armis ad transnrentandum
cum illo. Pictavi enim prævalueunt adversus custodes
terrarum suarum, et castella sua obsedurunt; et Varinus
de Clapiun, seneschallus Normanniæ, ex mandato domini

March 25.

Coronation of John and
Isabella at
Canterbury.

The king orders a
general levy
at Ports-
mouth at
Whitsun-
tide May 13.

1 The word [quarto] necessary for the completion of the date is omitted.
2 Here MSS. B. D. G. I. resume.
3 Properly "octavo."
sui Johannis regis Angliæ obsederat castellum de Driencurt, quod Ricardus rex Angliæ dederat Radulfo de Yssoudum, comiti de Auco, fratri Hugonis le Brun. Sed audito adventu regis Angliæ, Philippus rex Franciæ solvit omnes predictas obsidiones, antequam rex Angliæ veniret in Normanniam. Interim comites Angliae convenuerunt ad colloquium inter eos habitum apud Lei- cestre, et ex communi consilio mandaverunt regi quod non transfretarent cum illo, nisi ille reddiderit eis jura sua. Rex autem, malo usus consilio, petebat ab eis castella sua; et incipiens a Willelmo de Albenio, petit ab eo castellum de Beauvaer; cui idem Willelmus satisfaciens, tradidit filium suum in obsidem, et ita castellum suum retinuit.

Eodem anno Willelmus de Stutevilla constitutus est a rege vicecomes Eboraci.

Eodem anno Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus fuit die Paschæ, in eundo versus Sanctum Jacobum, apud Sanctum Johannem de Angeli, ubi est caput Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, quod Herodes fecit amputari in carcere, et dedit in disco saltatrici filiac Herodiadis uxoris suæ.

Eodem die Willelmus rex Scottorum fuit in Scottia apud Karel.²

**De Diabolo jam soluto.**

Eodem anno, regnantibus Innocentio papa tertio in urbe Romana, et Saffadino ³ fratre Saladini in sancta civitate Jerusalem, et Alexandro fratricida in civitate Constantinopolitana, et Leone in Ermenia; et Aymerico de Lezinnæante in civitatibus Tyri et Sidonis, et Accaron, et in insula de Cypro; et Raimundo principante in

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² *Eodem anno...* Karel] G. |  
D. Beaveir, G. Bauer, I. | omits these three clauses. D. omits the last.  
³ *Saffadino*] Saphadino, I.  
¹ *Lezinnæ*] Lizinar, B.I.  

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161
A.D. 1291.
Sataneloosied.
civitate Antiochena; et Othone, fratre Henrici ducis Saxoniae in Alemannia, electo in Romanorum imperatorum; et Philippo in Francia, et Johanne in Anglia, et Swero Birkebain in Nortweia, et Cnut in Dacia, et Willelmo in Scotia, et Guthered in insula de Man, et Johanne de Curci in Ulvestre; doctores nostri predicaverunt solutum esse draconem illum antiquum, qui est diabolus et Sathanas; dicentes, "Vae, vae, vae habitationibus in terra, quoniam solutus est antiquus draco, qui est diabolus et Sathanas,"1 juxta illud Beati Johannis apostoli et evangelistae, qui supra pectus Domini in cena recubuit, et Evangelii fluenta de ipso sacro Dominici pectoris fonte potavit, dicentis: "Ego Johannes vidi angelum descendentem de coelo habemtem clavem abyssi, et catenam magnam in manu sua; et apprehendit draconem antiquum, qui est diabolus et Sathanas, et religavit eum per annos mille, et misit eum in abyssum, et clausit, et signavit super eum ut non seducat amplius gentes donee consumentur mille anni, et post haec oportet eum solvi modico Rev. xx. 3. tempore." Asserebant itaque doctores nostri illos mille annos jam esse consumptos, et diabolum solutum. 
Vae terre et habitantium in ea, quia si diabolus ligatus tot et tanta intulerit mala mundo, quot et quanta inferet solutus? Precemur ergo Deum supplices,
"Ut in diurnis actibus,
"Nos servet a nocentibus; 4
"Linguam refrueans temperet,
"Ne litis horror insonet,
"Visum fovendo contegat,
"Ne vanitates hauriat.
"Sint pura cordis intima,
"Absistat et vecordia,
"Carnis terat superbiam


omit the rest of the extract.
"Potus cibique parcitas,
Ut cum Judex advenerit
Christus in fine seculi,
Nos sempiterni gaudii
Faciat esse compotes." 2

Eodem anno, mense Maii, in vigilia Ascensionis Domi-
mini, 3 obiit Valterus de Gant, primus abbas canoni-
corum regularium de Sancta Cruce de Waltham.
Eodem anno, in hebdomada Pentecostes, cum barones
Anglie essent congregati apud Portesme ad transfe-
tandum cum rege, rex cepit de quibusdam illorum
pecuniam quam expenderent in servitio suo, et per-
misit eos domum redeire; et præmisit in Normannia
Villelmu Marescallum, comitem de Strigwil, cum cen-
tum militibus soldariis, 4 et Rogerum de Lasci, 5 con-
stabularium Cestrœ, cum aliiis centum militibus, ad
reprimendum impetum inimicorum suorum in finibus
Normannie. Et rex tradidit Huberto de Burgo ca-
merario suo centum milites, et constituit eum custodem
finium Anglie et Valliae.

Deinde idem rex perdonavit Gaufrido Eboracensi
archiepiscopo iram suam, et reddidit ei servientes suos
liberos, et maneria sua; et confirmavit ei carta sua
libertates ecclesiae Eboracensis, et archiepiscopatus sui,
sicut Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus eas habuit.
Et pro illa confirmatione idem archiepiscopus spopon-
dit, se daturum regi infra annum istum 6 mille libras 7
esterlingorum; et super hoc posuit archiepiscopus ba-
roniam suam regi in pignore.
Deinde rex Anglie misit Gaufridum Cestrensem
et Ricardum Malebisse, et Henricum de

1 cum] om. B.I.
2 compotes] These lines are partly in the margin of MS. A., and have been cut in the binding. They are from the Hymn "Jam lucis orto "sidere."
3 Domini] om. B.I.
4 soldariis] soldariss, I.
5 Lasci] om. I.
6 annum istum ] annum annum, B.
7 libras] marcas, B.
A.D. 1201.
May.  

May 11.
John goes to the Isle of Wight; the Queen to Normandy.

Puteaco, ad Willehnum regem Scotorum, et petitiit, ut terminus respondendi, de petitione quam fecerat de comitatu Northimbriae, quem statuerat ei rex Angliae ad Pentecosten, prorogaretur usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis.

Deinde rex Angliae et Ysabel regina ascenderunt naves, transspretaturi feria secunda in hebdomada Pentecostes, sed rex applicuit in insula Vectae, et regina uxor ejus aliam navem ingressa, prosperis gavisa ventis, applicuit in Normannia. Et post aliquot dies facta mora in Anglia, Johannes rex iterum navem intravit apud Portesmune, et transspretavit in Normanniam: et statim habitum est colloquium inter ipsum et regem Franciae, prope insulam de Andeli, et bene convenit inter eos; nemine colloquii illorum conscio preter illos duos. Et post triduum Johannes rex ad preces regis Franciae venit Parisius,1 et in palatio regis Franciae hospitatus est, et honorifico procuratus; et rex Franciae alias se transtulit hospitaturus. Et recedens inde rex Angliae perrexit ad Chinonem;2 et venit illue ad eum Berengera quondam regina Angliae, uxor Ricardi regis, cui Johannes rex Angliae satisfecit de dote sua, secundum testimonium Philippi Dunelmensis episcopi, et ceterorum, qui interfuerunt desponsationi sua.

Interim Innocentius papa, super afflictos pia gerens viscera, in hac forma scripsit ecclesiarum praelatis.3

1 Parisius] Rigord dates John's visit May 31st, but it appears from the Itinerary that he was at Paris on the 1st of July. So that possibly the former was the date of his crossing to Normandy. He was at Bonneville-sur-Toque on the 2nd of June.
2 Chinonem] John was at Chinon on the 26th of July. The agreement with Berengaria is described further on.
3 Interim . . . praelatis] Omitted with the following letter in MSS. B. D. G. I. MS. G. omits all that follows as far as lucr causa, p. 172 below; and proceeds to give the account of Berengaria's settlement as at p. 172. MS. C. does give the following letter.
Epistola Innocentii papes pro auxilio faciendo terre Jerosolimitane.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopis et episcopis, per regnum Angliae, constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Justus et misericors Deus noster, Qui quos amat arguit et castigat, nec obliviscitur misereri, nec continet misericordiam Suam in ira: et si virga non parcat, ne odisse filios videatur, sic tamen circa delinquentes justi judicii Sui moderatur: examen, quod non flagellat ut perdat, sed quasi perditos revocet per flagella, noles mortem peccatorum, sed ut convi- vertantur et vivant; quoniam majus gaudium est angelis Dei super uno peccatore poenitentiam agentem, quam super nonaginta novem justis, qui non indigent poenitentiam. Cum enim proni sint sensus hominum in malum ab adolescentia sua, et humana natura proclivior ad peccandum, ne, si prosperis tantum extollantur, superbiunt, et superbia eorum semper ascendant adversos ipsos, fatigari permittit, ut cum ex meritis suis se affigi cognoverint, justitiam judicantis agnoscant, et culpam suae poenitentiae lacrymis diluentes, ipsi convertantur ad Dominum, et Dominus convertatur ad eos; quod in externinio terre Orientalis fas est omnibus intueri. Sane cum homines, mundo jam senescent, in virtute senescerent, et adolescentes vitiorum semitis, quasi centum annorum pueri lascivirent, omnesque fere, sicut oves errantes, in viam suam, carnis dediti voluptatibus, declinans sent, voluit Dominus in occupatione Jerosolimitana provincia- cie punire sic nostros excessus, ut passionis Sue quedam- modo mysterium innovando, et poenitentiae januam et salutis nobis aditum aperiret. Qui enim peccata nostra in corpore Suo super lignum pertulit, crucifixus iterum in ligno ad nostrorum absolutionem crimen, Se quasi permisset affligi, dum crucem in qua salus nostra pependit, et quam proprio sanguine rubricavit, a Sarracenis occupari passus est, et tam diu detineri, ut videat si quis doloribus Ejus doleret, si quis dari sibi peteret corpus Ejus, si quis invitatum sin- done deponent in sepulcrum, et in sepulcro positum cum aromatibus visitaret. Gaudemus autem in Domino, quod Ipse, Qui poenitentiae causam dedit, multis affectum tribuit poenitendi, et eis misericorditer inspiravit, ut assumpto crucis signaculo, ulisci velint injuriam Jesu Christi, illud evangelicum adimplentes: "Qui vult venire post Me, abne-
A.D. 1201.
May 5.

CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDE.


ut sic relicta gibbi sarcina, transeat per foramen acus ca-

melus, et dives pauper effectus regnum colorum introeat,

et recipiat pro momento eigsemiperna. Quia vero multi,

sicut accepsimus, et referimus cum moerore, abuentes retro,

crucis deponere signaculum ; ne venisse in vacuum videan-
tur, si non reddiderint quod voverint, fratresiti vestre

per apostolica scripta mandamus, et distriitae praeipimus,

quatenuis eis indulgentia non obstante, siqua forsan a praec-

decessoribus nostris apparuerit per surreptionem obtenta, ut

crucis signum recipiant, monitione praeissa, per excommu-

nicationis et interdicti sententiam appellatione postposita

compellatis, facientes eos singulis Dominici diebus et fest-
tivis, pulsatis campanis et candelis accessionis, expressis no-

minibus de quibus habetis vel habebitis noticeiam, excom-

municatos publice nunciare, et quocunque devenirent, officia

celebrari Divina, eis presentibus, prohibentes. Universos

autem, qui crucis signaculum acciperunt, monestatis atten-
tiis, et, si necesse fuerit, per districtionem ecclesiasticam

compellatis, ut ad terminum quem diiecti filii, nobiles viri

Flandrensis, Campanensis, Blesensis comites cum aliis deli-

beratione provida de sapientium consilio praeficerint, in estate

futura peregrinationis propositum exsequantur, ut, sicut

Terrae Sanctae magis expedire dinoscitum, obsequium Suum

Domino simul omnes impendunt. Illam quoque districtio-

nem, quam in eis qui crucis deponerunt signaculum, ad

illud resumendum exerceri mandamus, sub eadem forma

exercatis in eis, qui usque ad quinquennium tornamenta

presupserint frequentare ; nec prius relaxari sententihas

quas in tales tuleritis, quam tornamenta usque ad predic-

tum terminum solemmiti abjuraverint; ne sauguis Domino

consecrandus, quo de levi possint hoc tempore coelestia

comparari, fundatur demonibus in stragem corpoream, et

perniciem animarum. Ad hoc singuli vestrum in suis dio-

cesibus parochianos suos salubriter monente, et diligenter

inducant, eis remissionis apostolica formam frequentius ex-

ponentes, ut signum vivificae crucis assumant, ut saltem in

rebus suis juxta facultates proprias Terrae Sanctae subveni-

ant; ne, si Christo in hujus necessitatis articulo noluerint

subvenire, ab Eo sibi nunc et in futurum frustra postulent

subvenire. Super his autem omnibus te, frater Cantuarien-

sis, executorum statuimus, qui ad hoc excitis diligentius

negligentes. Preterea distriitae volis praeipiendo mandamus,

ut juxta quod volis per alias litteras dedimus in mandatis,

singuli vestrum in suis diocesibus quadragesimam de uni-

versis ecclesiariarum et ecclesiasticis redditibus et proventibus
Eodem anno\(^1\) Eustacius abbas de Flay rediit in Angliam, et predicans in ea verbum Domini de civitate in civitate, et de loco in locum, prohibuit ne quis forum rerum venalium in diebus Dominici exerceret. Dicebat enim quod hoc mandatum subscriptum de observatione diei Dominice venit de coelo;

\textit{Hoc est mandatum Dei de observatione diei Dominice quod dominus Eustacius abbas de Flay testatur venisse de coelo.}

\textit{"Mandatum sanctum Dominicae diei, quod de coelo venit in Jerusalem, et inventum est super altare Sancti Simeonis, quod est in Golgath,\(^2\) ubi Christus crucifixus est pro pecatis mundi. Et mandavit Dominus hanc epistolam, quae apprehensa\(^3\) super altare Sancti Simeonis; quam per tres dies et tres noctes homines aspicientes corruerunt in terram, rogantes Dei misericordiam; et post horam tertiam erexit se patriarcha, et Akarias\(^4\) archipresbyter, et excluderunt in terram, et sanctam aceperunt epistolam Dei.\(^5\) Quam cum accepissent invenerunt superscriptum istud, \textit{Ego Dominus.}" Qui praecepit vobis, ut observaretis diem sanctum Dominici, et non custodistis cum, et de peccatis vestris non penituitis, sicut dixi per Evangelium Meum: Coelum et terram transibunt, verba autem Mea non transient.\(^6\) Feci autem predicare vobis pœnitentiam vitæ, et non credidistis, et nisi super vos paganos gentes, qui effuderunt sanctum guinem vestrum in terra, nec tamen credidistis, et quia\

\(^{1}\) Eodem anno]\ A.D. 1201.
\(^{2}\) Golgatha]\ May 3.
\(^{3}\) apprehensa]\ A. D. 1201.
\(^{4}\) Acharias]\ May 3.
\(^{5}\) Dei]\ to be devoted to the purpose.
\(^{6}\) transient]\ Eustace abbots of Flay preach the observance of Sunday.

\textit{S. Mark, xiii. 31.}

\(1\) Eodem anno\(\) Here B. 1. resume.
\(2\) Golgatha\(\) Golgatha, I.
\(3\) apprehensa\(\) inventa est, D.
\(4\) Acharias\(\) Acharias, I.
\(5\) Dei\(\) om. I.
\(6\) transient\(\) transibunt, Savile.
\(7\) gentes\(\) om. D.
sanctum diem Dominicum non custodistis, per panes dies
habuistis famem; sed cito dedi vobis saturitatem, et post-
tea pejus fecistis. Volo iterum, ut nemo ab hora nona
Sabbati usque ad solem surgentem diei Lunae aliquid ope-
retur, nisi quod bouum sit. Quod si quis fecerit, cum
poenitentia emendet; et si huic mandato non obedieritis,
Amen dico vobis, et juro vobis per sedem Meam, et thoro-
um Meam, et Cherubin qui custodiet sanctam sedem
Meam, quia non mandabo vobis aliquid per aliam episto-
lam: sed aperiam celos, et pro pluviam pluam super vos
lapides et ligna et aquam calidam per noctes, ut nemo
precavere possit, quin destruam omnes malos homines.
Hoc dico vobis, Morte moriemini propter diem Dominicum
sanctum, et alias festivitates sanctorum Meorum, quas non
custodistis; mittam vobis bestias habentes capita leonum,
capillos mulierum, caudas camelorum, et ita erunt familece
quod carnes vestras devorabunt; et vos desiderabis fi-
gere ad sepulcrum mortuorum, et abscondere vos propter
metum bestiarum; et tollam lumen solis ab oculis vestris,
et mittam super vos tenebras, ut occidatis vos invicem non
videntes; et auferam a vos faciem Meam, et non faciam
vobiscum misericordiam. Incendam enim corpora vestra,
et corda illorum qui non custodient diem sanctum Do-
minicu. Audite vocem Meam, ne pereatis in terra prop-
ter diem Dominicum sanctum. Recedite a male, et peni-
tentiam agite de malis vestris. Quod si non feceritis,
quasi Sodoma et Gomorra peribitis. Nunc scitote quod
salvi estis per orationes sanctissimae Geniteonis Mea Marie,
et sanctorum angelorum Meorum, qui orant pro vobis quo-
tidie. Dedi vobis triticum et vinum abundanter, et inde
non obedistis Mihi. Nam vidue et orphani clamant ad vos
quotidie, quibus nullam facitis misericordiam. Pagani
habent misericordiam, vos autem non habetis. Arbores,
que fructificant, siccari faciam pro peccatis: flamina et
fontes non dabunt aquam. Dedi vobis legem in monte
Synai, quam non custodistis. Dedi per Me legem, quam
non observatis. Pro vobis natus fui in mundo, et festivi-
tatem Meam necivistis. Pravi homines diem Dominicum
resurrectionis Meae non custodistis. Juro vobis per dex-
tram Meam, nisi Dominicum diem et festivitates sancto-
rum Meorum custodieritis, mittam vobis paganos gentes,
ut occiadam vos. Tollitis tamen res alterius, et de hoc
nullam considerationem habetis. Propter hoc mittam super

1 corda] et omnium, ins. D. | 2 pro] vestris, ins. D.

Pervenit itur dominus Eustacius abbis de Flay, Eboracum, et a Gautrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et clero et populo civitatis honorifice susceptus, praedicationem illius festivitatum, dedit populo pœnitentiam et absolutionem, sub tali conditione, quod ipsi de cetero debitam impondem Dominicæ diei, et aliis sanctorum festivitatibus, reverentiam, non faciendo in eis quicquam operis servilis, nec in diebus Dominicis exercentor forum rerum venalium, sed bonis operibus et orationibus de vote insisterent. Hec servanda constituit ab hora nona Sabbati usque ad ortum solis in die Lunæ. Populus autem Deo devotus ad praedicationem illius voeverunt Deo, quod de cetero in diebus Dominicis nec quicquam emerent nec venderent, nisi forte cibum et potum pretereruntibus. Voverunt etiam quod de singulis quinque solidatis rerum, quascunque venderent, darent unum quadrantem ad lumen ecclesiae emendum, et ad sepulturam indigentium. Et ad hoc colligendum statuit praedictus abbas in singulis ecclesiis parochialibus fieri truncum concavum sub custodia duorum vel trium fideliium hominum, ubi populus jactaret prænominatum æs. Statuit etiam praefatus abbas, quod discus eleemosynarius haberetur quotidie in mensa divitum, in quo partem ciborum suorum mitterent ad opus indi-

1 in diei, I.  
2 duorum] duum, A.B.  
3 discus] omn. I.
A.D. 1201.
He forbids buying and selling in churches.

Miracle of Abbot Eustace at Beverley.

Miracle at Nafferton.

gentium, qui non preparaverunt sibi.\(^1\) Prohibuit autem idem abbas, ne quis in ecclesiis vel atriis earum ven- deret vel emeret quicquam, aut placitaret. His ergo, et alii sancti huys viri monitis, inimicus humani ge- neris invidens, misit in cor regis et principum tene- brarum, quod ipsi preeeperunt, ut omnes qui predictas traditiones custodirent, et maxime omnes qui in diebus Dominicis forum rerum venalium dejeecerant, ad regium examen satisfacturi de observantia diei Dominicae ducerentur.

Miraculum.

Sed Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Cui obediendum est magis quam hominibus, Qui nativitate, et resurrec- tione Sua, et adventu\(^2\) Spiritus Sancti in discipulos, Sibi hunc diem, quam Dominicam vocamus, illustravit, et celeberrimum dedicavit, virtutis Suæ miracula sus- citavit, et in quosdam Dominicae diei transgressores manifestavit sic. Quodam Sabbato post nonam quidam carpentarius in Beverlaco, contra salubria uxoris suæ monita clavum ligneum faciens, corruit in terram per- cussus paralysi.

Miraculum.

Et quaedam textrix in villa quæ dicitur , post horam nonam in Sabbato, cum ad pertexendum partem telle anxius insisteret, cadens in terram percussa paralysi obmutuit.

Miraculum.

Et apud Naffertun, villam magistri Rogeri\(^3\) Arundel, quidam homo fecit sibi panem subcinereum die Sabbati

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\(^1\) *preparaverunt sibi* ] A good deal of this has been told already, almost in the same words; above, p. 124.

\(^2\) *adventu* ] Suæ et missione, ins. Savile.

\(^3\) *Rogeri* ] de, ins. B.I.
post nonam, et comedit inde, et partem reservavit sibi usque manu; quen cum die Dominica fregisset, exivit sanguis, et qui vidit testimonium perhibuit, et verum est testimonium ejus.

**Miraculum.**

Et apud Wakefeld 1 quodam Sabbato, cum molendini- rius post nonam operam dare ut bladum suum moleret, subito exivit loco farinae tantus impetus sanguinis, quod vas subpositum pene impletur sanguine, et rota molendini stetit immobilit contra vehementem impulsuin aquae; et qui viderant mirati sunt, dicentes, “Parce, Domine, parce populo Tuo.”

**Miraculum.**

Item in Lincolnshire 2 paraverat quodam mulier pastam, quam deferens ad furnum post horam nonam Sabbati, misit eam in furnum calidissimum, et cum eam extrahearet, invenit crudam; et iterum misit eam in furnum valde calidum, et in crastino, et in die Lunae, cum aestimaret se invenisse panes coctos, invenit pastam crudam.

**Miraculum.**

Item in eadem provincia, cum quodam mulier pastam suam preparasset, volens cam ad furnum portare, dixit ei vir suus, “Sabbatum est, et hora nona pra- terit; dimitte ergo usque ad diem Lunae.” Mulier autem obediens viro suo, fecit sicut praeciperat, et involvit pastam lintaminibus mundis; et in crastino cam visitaret pastam suam, ne propter fermentum imposi tum vas excederet, invenit panes inde Divino nutu factos, et bene coctos sine igne materiali. Haece est

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1 *Wakefeld* Wakefield, B. Lincolnshire, B. Lincolnshire.
2 *Lincolnshire* Lincolnshire, I. D. Lincolnshire.
mutatio dexteræ Excelsi. Et quanvis omnipotens Dominus his et aliis potentiae Sue miraculis populum ad observationem diei Dominicae invitat, tamen populus, plus timens regiam et humanam ¹ potestatem quam Divinam, plusque illos timens qui corpus occidunt, et quid ultra faciant non habent, quam illum, qui postquam corpus occiderit, animam potest mittere in gehennam, et plus timens terrena amittere quam coelestia, et transitoria quam aeterna, proh dolor! ut canis ad vomitura, reversus est ad forum rerum venalium exorcendum in diebus Dominicis.

De relaxatione statuti regis Ricardi.

Eodem anno Hugo Bardulfi, et alii quidam justitiarii regis, venerunt ad nundinas Sancti Botuli, volentes capere in manu regis pannos laneos qui non habebant duas ulnas de latitudine infra lisuras, secundum assiam Ricardi regis. Quo audito, mercatores effecerunt adversus predictos justitiarios, quod panni eorum non capiebantur, et quod diutius non teneret assisa illa Ricardi regis, neque de latitudine pannorum, neque de mensuris bladi; et ut liceat eis de caetero facere pannos suos latos vel strictos sicut eis placuerit. Unde predicti justitiarii magnam aedepi sunt pecuniam ad opus regis, in damnum multorum. Vitanda est turpis luci causa.

Johannes rex Anglie satisfecit Berengeræ, uxori Ricardi fratris sui, de dote sua.

Eodem anno,² Johannes rex Anglie satisfaciens Berengeræ reginae, uxori Ricardi regis Anglie fratris sui,

¹ regiam et humanam] So Savile. In A. the word regiam has been written first, and humanam interlined as if to take its place.
² Eodem anno] Here MS. G. re-
De inquisitione facienda de cruciatis.

Eodem anno 1 Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, die Sancti Bartholomaei apostoli Lundoniis apud Vestmonasterium existens, precepit universis suffraganeis suis, in virtute obedientiae et ex parte domini pape, ut ipsi, facta diligentia inquisitione per suas dioceses, compellerent, si quos invenissent viros qui crucis religionem abjecerant, cruces resumere, et iter peregrinationis suae arripere, statuentes eis terminum crucis resumendae ad ultimum infra festum Sancti Martini proximo sequens, et terminum motionis in Purificatione Sancte Marie proximo sequentis.

Eodem anno obiit 2 Theobaldus comes Campaniae, relicuens sibi heredem filiam unicam, quam pepererat ei Blanchia uxor sua, soror Berengerse reginae Anglie.

Eodem anno obiit Theutonica, 3 filia de Genest, uxor Philippi regis Franciae, quam papa Innocentius in litteris suis adulteram nominabant; de qua prefatus rex genuerat filium et filiam. Filiam

1 Eodem anno] MS. G. omits this sentence: and all that follows as far as peregrinatione sua, p. 174, below, is transposed to follow the story of Hugh de Lasci.

2 obiit] Blank for name. Rigord gives the date May 24, p. 201.

3 Theutonica] Theutonica, I. Agnes of Meran.

4 filia] Blank in I. for the name Berthold. MS. D. omits the paragraph.
A.D. 1201.

Constance of Brittany dies.

Margaret countess of Hereford dies.

autem illam concessit idem rex Franciae se daturum
Alexandro filio Willemi regis Scotiae in uxorem.¹

Eodem anno obiit Constantia, mater Arturi ducis
Britanniae.

Eodem anno obiit Margareta, mater predictae Con-
stantiae, soror Willemi regis Scottorum, mater Henrici
de Boum, comitis Herefordiae.

Item discordia inter Eboracensem archiepiscopum et
Symonen decanum.

Eodem anno obiit Robertus præpositus Beverlacensis
ecclesiae; eujus præposituram Gaufridus Eboracensis
archiepiscopus dedit Morgant² fratri suo, filio Henrici
regis, ut dicebatur, contra appellationem Simonis Eborac-
ensis ecclesiae decani, qui dicerat præposituram illam
sibi datam fuisse ab eodem archiepiscopo, dum adhuc
viveret predictus Robertus præpositus.

Eodem anno Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus redit
in Anglia de Sancto Jacobo, facta peregrinatione sua.

De Johanne Salernitano, Romanae ecclesiae cardinali
legato in Scotia.

Eodem anno³ Johannes Salernitanus, tituli Sancti
Stephani in monte Celion presbyter cardinalis, aposto-
licœ sedis legatus in Scotia, et in Hibernia, et in insulis
adjacentibus, venit Eboraeum. Qui cum esset unus de
dubius electis in Romanum pontificem proximo post
decessum Coelestini papa, electioni sua renciaavit,
lieet decem cardinales in electione sua consensissent:

¹ uxorem ] Two lines and a half have been erased, following this word, A. M.S. G. omits the clause Filiam . . . uxorem. See above, p. 138.
² Morgant ] Called Morgan Bloeth. He was afterwards elected to the see of Durham, but dis-
qualified by his illegitimacy.
³ Eodem anno] MS. G. resumes.

_De confirmatione pacis inter reges Franciae et Angliae._

Eodem anno, ut pax firmior haberetur inter Philippum regem Franciae et Johannem regem Angliae, statutum est, et scripto confirmatum, quod si rex Franciae in aliquo violaverit pacem, quam ipse cum rego Angliae fecerat, barones Franciae quos ipse fidejussores de servanda pace assignavit, a fidelitate sua cum omnibus hominibus eorum soluti, redirent ad regem Angliae ad auxiliandum ei contra regem Franciae. Similiter erit de baronibus regis Angliae, quos ipse constituit fidejussores de pace servanda, qui in obsequium regis Franciae convertentur cum hominibus eorum, a fidelitate regis Angliae soluti, si rex Angliae pacem illam fuerit transgressus.

1 _tertius_ om. B.I.  
2 _siceram_ ciceram, A.  
3 _Eodem anno_ MS. G. breaks off  
4 _Angliae_ om. I. Franciae, B.  

A.D. 1201

*His abstinence from everything but money.*

_The archbishop offers to abide by his arbitration, but in vain._

*The archbishop offers to abide by his arbitration, but in vain.*

*The archbishop offers to abide by his arbitration, but in vain.*
A.D. 1391.

De captione Johannis de Curci.

Eodem anno 1 Walternus de Lasci, vir potens in Hibernia, cepit colloquium cum Johanne de Curci, domino de Ulvestire, 2 et volens eum priditiose capere, multit os de suis interfecit. Cum autem predictus Johannes verteretur in fugam, dixit ei Hugo de Lasci, frater predicti Walteri, "Domine, veni mecum, et repetabo te in castello meo, de quo homo vester sum, donec exercitus vester congregetur, ut possitis vindicare vos de iis qui te oderunt semper." Credidit ergo illi predictus Johannes et intravit castellum tutus de præfato Hugone. Sed cum inde exire vellet, non permisit eum Hugo exire: immo cepit, traditurus eum regi Anglie, qui a multo tempore desiderabat eum tenere. At homines predicti Johannis die ac nocte non cessabant devastare ferro, flamma, fame, terras predictorum Walteri et Hugonis de Lasci, donec liberaverunt dominum suum Johannem de Curci de captione 3 præfati Hugonis de Lasci.


Eodem anno magister Honorius calumniatus est archidiaconatum de Richemund adversus Regerum de

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1 Eodem anno] MS. G. resumes.  
2 Ulvestire] Ulvestrie, I. Ulvestire, B.  
3 captione ] captivitate, Savile.  
MS. G. reads captione illa, and omits all that follows to appellationes suas, p. 185, below; as do also MSS. B.  
C. D.
Sancto Eadmundo; super quo litteras a domino papa Innocentio in hac forma impetravit; 1

Epistola Innocentii papa ad decanum et capitulum Eboraci pro magistro Honorio.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectissimi filius decano et capitulo Eboraci, salute et apostolicam benedictionem. Significavit nobis dilectus filius magister Honorius, archidiaconus Richemundiae, quod, cum venerabili fratri nostro Eboracensi archiepiscopo exhiberit obsequium gratiae devotionis in multis, archiepiscopus ei retribuens malam pro bonis, et odiunm pro dilectione rependens, cum contra dignitates et libertates archidiaconatus multipliciter molestavit; tandem, ut eum laderet amplius, et fortius aggravaret. Rogerum de Sancto Edmundo clericius, cum quo idem magister Honorius compositionem inicrat, adversarium suscitavit euidem, qui cum, occasione litterarum ad dilectos filios Sancti Edmundi 2 et de Sibbetun abbates, et priorum de Norwico 3 obtentaram, tacita veritate, in pluribus inquietat.

Cum igitur nos predictas litteras, ut per surreptionem ad judices suspectos obtentas, curavit revocare, discretioni vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus, atque praepicitum, quatenus eundem magistrum Honorium in iure suo defendere ac maintenere curetis, et taliter ei sicut confratres vestro et socio assistatis, ut a nobis ex hoc merito commendari possitis, et ipse vobis ex debito devotione reddatur."

Item epistola Innocentii papa ad episcopum Eliensem, et archidiaconum Northamtonii.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Ileliensi episcopo, et dilecto filio archidiacono Northamtoniae, 4 salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum venisset ad sedem apostolicam dilecti filii magister Honorius archidiaconus Richemundiae, et magister Columbus 5 subdiaconus nostrer, et procuratores venerabiliis fratri nostro Eboracensis archiepiscopi, cos in consistorio nostro benigna

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1 Eodem... impetravit] omitted in I. with the following letters down to p. 185.
2 Sampson.
3 Gerard.

1 archidiacono Northamtoniae
2 Columbus] See above, p. 98.
A.D. 1201.

Archdeacon Honorius has appealed to Rome against the archbishop, who has withheld from him the right of institution and the guardianship of vacant churches within his archdeaconry.

The archbishop's answer.

Honorius's reply.

duximus audiendo. Fuit ex parte archiepiscopi memorati
propositum, quod institutio personarum et custodia ecclesiae-
rum vacantium ad eum in dioecesi sua spectat, tam de jure
communi quam ex consuetudine generali. Verum quidam
praedecessores ipsius quibusdam archidiaconis tam institu-
tionem quam custodiam personaliter commisserunt, eas sibi
alicujus tempore retinentes, et libere, sient spectabat ad
eos, utentes eisdem; ita quod archiepiscopus, qui Eboracensi
ecclesia modo praestat, quondam archidiacono Richemundii
illas ad preces inclytæ recordationis Ricardi regis Anglorum
de gratia speciali concessit; et eo in episcopum post electo
sibi retinuit tanquam suas. Cumque archidiaconatum illum
predicto magistro intenderet assignare, tam ante concessio-
nem quam in concessione ipsius expressit, quod tam insti-
tutiones sibi quam custodias reservabat. Cui archidiaconus
ipse respondit, quod contra Deum ageret, et juri canonicô
derogaret, si institutiones ecclesiarum sibi usurpare præ-
sumeret, quæ soli archiepiscopo competebant. Deinde liber-
tatibus ipsis renunciat, renunciationem suam redigat in
scriptis: et ad majorem cautelam sigillo proprio roboravit,
ac tandem quod eis se millatenus immisceret, corporaliter
præstitit sacramentum. Ad haec autem archiepiscoum ipse
respondit, quod cum inclytæ recordationis primus Henricus
rex Anglie apud Carleolum sedem episcopalem vellet de
novo creari, quia ex hoc archidiaconatus Richemundie
ledebatur, rex ipse a bona memoria quondam Eboracensi
archiepiscopo postulavit, ut in recompensationem cujusdam
partis, quæ subtrahebatur archidiaconatui memorato, ei predi-
tcas concederet dignitates. Archiepiscopus autem annuit
precibus postulantibus, et tam institutiones quam custodias,
non personaliter archidiacono qui tune erat, sed perpetuo,
de consensu Eboracensis capituli, archidiaconatui reali et
liberali concessione donavit. Cum autem archidiaconatus
ipse in continua possessione tam istorum quam aliarum
etiam libertatem, multorum archiepiscoporum, regum et
archidiaconorum temporibus extitisset, et sepe dictus
archiepiscopus sine conditione qualibet concessisset ipsum
eidem, post concessionem asseruit quod ipsum cum omni-
bus libertatibus suis concesserat, institutionibus et custodiis
ecclesiarum vacantium exceptis. Ipse vero consuetudinem
ejusdem archiepiscopi plene nescens, scilicet quod sicut daret
de facili, sic penitere leviter consuevit; ac timens ne, si
negaret expresse, cum nondum archidiaconatus possessionem

1 quondam] condam, A.
esset adeptus, vel impediretur penitus factum ejus, vol
diutius differretur, respondit, quod non solum de illo, sed
de omnibus reditibus suis, faceret quod archiepiscopo com-
placearet. Postmodum vero possessionem archidiaconatus
ingressus, libere libertatibus ipsis est usus, sicut prae-
decessores ejus facere consueverant. Consequenter vero cum
archiepiscopus eum archidiaconatu ipso contra justitiam
spoliasset, nec restitutionem ejus potuisset aliquatenus ob-
tiere, nisi por cartam renunciaret libertatibus memoratis,
ipsa jus sumum durare cognoscens, litteras renunciationis
spoliatus adhuc archiepiscopo ipsi dedit sigillo proprio
ratas; sed illas, sicut est propositum ex adverse, nullatenus
abjuravit; 1 immo restitutionis beneficium assecatus, usus est
eisdem libertatibus sicut prius, liet idem archiepiscopus
ipsum et clericos ejus super illis et aliis post appellationem
legitime interpositar multiplicitier aggravaret. Unde eum
predictarum concessio libertatibus non fuerit sicut personalis
persona, sed sicut realis personarii magis factura, non gratia
specialiter concedebatur aliqui; sed ex debito potius eum
archidiaconatu pariter tradebantur ad ejus integritatem
tanquam in recompensationem dote proculdubio pertinent.

Propter quod, etsi aliquis archiepiscopus eis forsas usus Hs argu-
fuerit, dum archidiaconatum in suis manibus retinebat,
nullum propter hoc archidiaconati est prajudicium gene-
ratum, cum intelligitur postmodum in ipsa concessa. Pra-
terea, cum in Turonensi concilio praebendarum, dignitatum,
beneficiarum sint inhibitus sectiones 2; et Lateranum 3 con-
cilium, ubi census novos imponi prohibet, et veteres aug-
mentari, subjugat, 4 Ne partem redditiunm aliqui suis usibus
‘appropriate prasumant;’ patet archiepiscopum nec debuisse
nee potuisse archidiaconatum suis dignitatis et liber-
tabilibus muti4are. Nee est creodendum quod ante conces-
ssionem, vel in ipsa concessione actum fuerit, ut predictas
libertas ebi archiepiscopu retineret, quia si alienum
sibi sic voluisset forsitan usurpare, commississe videretur
Simoniacam pravitatem. Renunciatio autem archit*acono
necere non potuit, cum renuncia[erit spoliatus, et bone
memoria Alexander papa, predecessor noster, renunciationi-
nem hujusmodi asseruerit non valere. Insuper eum, etsi
collatio archidiaconatus surrepserit 4 ad archiepiscopum me-
memoratum, integritas tamen ad Eboracensis ecclesias pertinet

1 abjuravit] objuravit, A.  
2 sectiones] sanationes, A. See 
Concilii, Labbe and Cossart, x. 1418.  
3 Lateranum] In 1179. See vol. 
ii. p. 175.  
4 surrepserit] scripsert, A. 
M 2
A.D. 1291. Argument of Honorius. "dignitatem, nec potuisset archiepiscopus vel archidiaconus præter assensum et absque consilio Eboracensis capitali ipsius archidiaconatus in tantum laedere dignitates vel libertates. Super haec pars replicavit adversa, quod etsi renunciatio vel abjuratio archidiaconatui non noceret, per haec tamen esset archidiacono repetendi facultas adempta. Sed archidiaconus libertates illas se non repetere respondebat, cum eis libere situs prius, quando iter arripit ad sedem apostolicam veniendi, uteretur, et carum possessione gauderet. Adjecit etiam, quod cum archiepiscopus contra jus constitutionis dignitatem turpiter retinendo multilaverit, nec super subsecuente renunciatione, vel etiam, si intercessisset, adjuratione, tanquam suam suam allegans turpitudinem, contra ipsum possessorem audiri deberet. Nos igitur, auditis quæ fuerant hinc inde proposita, et plenius intellectis, interlocuti summus, archidiaconum esse in plena libertatum ejusdem archidiaconatus possessione tuendam, donec probatum fuerit ex adverso, libertates ipsius ab archiepiscopis archidiaconi fuisse concessas, cum in hoc casu, tam ante quam post, in ipsa etiam concessione archiepiscopos eae retinere sibi potuit licite tanquam suas, vel donec legitime probatum fuerit easdem libertates archidiaconum abjurasse. Sed in hoc casu, si concessio fuit illa realis, archiepiscopo nihil juris vel utilitatis accedat; quia nos ad petitionem Eboracensis ecclesiae, vel per nosipsum, super hoc eidem archidiaconatui consulemus. Si ergo alterutrum istorum legitime fuerit propositum et comprobatum, archidiacono super libertatis ipsis; si neutrum, archiepiscopo silentium imponatur. Ideoque distriece præcipimus, et per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatemus partibus convocatis, et auditis quæ fuerint hinc inde proposita secundum formam expressam in omnibus precedentibus; sic tamen ut dum litis ingressum, si quid circa praedictas libertates per archiepiscopum vel suos post appellationem legitime interpositam, vel iter arreptum, sit immutatum, in statum pristinum formetis, appellatione remota; et causam ipsam, sublato appellationis obstaculo, fine debito terminetis, si consensu partium diffinire non poteritis; aliasquin causam ipsam plene instructam ad nos referatis." 

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1 *esse* [om. Savile.]
2 *casu* [om. ins. A.]
3 *quatemus* [quam, A.]
4 *referatis* [om. A. has here a blank space of two lines, apparently intended for the insertion of a rubric.]
Si ad actiones venerabilis fratri nostri Eboracensis archiepiscopi respectam debitum haberemus, et ei vellemus pro meritis respondere, non solum nocendi adversumus licentiam, sed auctoritatem etiam minueremus ipsius, qui gravaminibus abutitur subjectorum. Qualiter enim et quam diu dilectum filium magistram Honorium, archidiaconum Richemundii, vexaverit, et in suis litteris et suis probitatis intuitu debuerit honorare, ipsius archidiaconi nobis conuestio patfeciit: cum et ipsum, sicut asscrsit, aliquando archidiaconatu suo spoliaverit sine causa, et in eum ac clericos ejus et alios etiam frequentem excommunicationem et suspensionem sententiam praebat, pro motu propria voluntales. Unde si eodem archidiacono sufficienter curaremus, eum ab ipsius archiepiscopi jurisdictione in perpetuum exemere curabimus, sicut aliquis praedecessorum nostrorum etiam suis tempore quosdam exemissemis dinoceitur. Volentes tamen sic archidiaconum providere ne ipsius archiepiscopi auctoritatem ad present innumerumus, vobis mandamusque precipimus, quatenus ipsum archiepiscopum auctoritate nostra nomenatis attentius, et indicatis, ne in ipsum archidiaconum vel clericos ejus aut laicos vel ecclesias archidiaconatus sui, sententias excommunicationem, tiationem, suspensionem, secundo interdicto, sine manifesta et rationabili causa proferre, et non nisi rationabiliter, non praecipitam. Quod si fecerit, vos sententias taliter latas, appellacione remota, nostra freti auctoritate, ipso jure denunclatis irritas et inanes; ipsum archidiaconum et suas contra insolentias archiepiscopi in posterum attentius defensuri, in irritum, appellacione remota, revocantes quicquid contra eos duxerit temere attentandum. Nos vero, si monitis vestris parere contempererit, non sine confusione ipsius et dedecore, et suis, sufficienter curabimus providere."

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum, etc., Johanni illustri regi Anglorum, etc. Interest regiae celsitudinis ecclesias et viros ecclesiasticos in suo jure tueri, et malignum impetus ab eorum molestationibus potenter et regulariter effrenare. Cum itaque dilectus filius magister Honorius, archidiaconus Richemundii, usque adeo vir litteratis..."

1 This is a new letter, although printed in Savile as a continuation of the last; but it seems to be addressed to the same persons.
2 magistrum] om. Savile.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1297.
He is to be upheld in his possession of the archdeaconry.

A.D. 1300.
Innocent III. understands that cardinal Peter committed the decision of the case of Honorius against Roger of S. Edmund to the bishop, dean, and sub-dean of Lincoln. Roger afterwards obtained letters against Honorius, directed to the recipients of this letter.

"Accedens 1 ad praesentiam nostram dilectus filius Honorius, archidiaconus Richemundiae, obiata nobis petitione monstravit, quod cum olim dilecto filio P., Sanctæ Mariae in Via Latina diacono cardinali, apostolice sedis legato, causas, qua contra illas proponebantur, qui intrusi fuerant in prebendas et dignitates Eboracensis ecclesie, commiserimus terminandas, ipse tamen [cam] qua vertebatur contra Rogerum de Sancto Edmundo super archidiaconatu Richemundiae, venerabili fratri nostro episcopo, et dilectis filiis decano et subdecano 2 Lincolnieni audientiam commisit, dicit in multa sibi sententia reservata. Sed cum ipsi servato juris ordine usque ad diffinitivam sententiam processissent, mediante tandem Eboracensi capitulo, inter ipsam Honorium archidiaconum et predictum Rogerum amicabilis et honesta compositio intercessit, quam se promisit utraque partium juramento praestito servaturam. Postmodum autem idem Rogerus, de facto compositione et interpositione juramenti, ratione non habita, litteras a nobis ad vos contra predictum archidiaconum impetravit, qui cum, sicut ascrit, voluistis in multis contra justitiam aggrandare. Dicit enim quod, cum ad ostendendas exceptiones legitimas ad nostrum praesentiam accessisset, et te, fili, abbas de Sancto Edmundo, tanquam spectum penitus recusaret, tum quia idem nimirum est tibi familiaritate conjunctus et se tuum esse asserit consanguineum, tum etiam nihilominus quia praefato archidiacono circa idem salutation in the only MS. which contains the letters.

1 This letter is addressed to Sampson abbot of S. Edmund's, Gerard prior of Norwich (1185-1201), and the abbot of Sibton in Suffolk, but the rubric is wanting as well as the

2 subdecano [The archdeacon of Northampton mentioned above, p. 177.]
3 habita] haec iba, A.
negotium manifeste studueras et adversari pro\(^1\) predicto

\(^1\) pro [om. Savile.]

Rogero, carissimo in Christo filio nostro Johanni illustri regi

\(^2\) et] ea, A.

Angliae, et venerabili fratri nostro Cantuariensi archiepiscopo

\(^2\) gravamen] gratiam, Savile.

supplicante, cum exceptionem hujusmodi se coram electis

judicibus assereret probatumur; vos, fili, abbas de Sibbeto

et prior Norwicensis, promuniciare, ut dicitur, presumpsitis.

Præterea cum de fractibus archidiaconatus indeterminato

in nostris litteris mentio habetur, vos edictionis benefi-
cium ei\(^2\) contra leges et canones denegasti. Iturum cum

\(^2\) contra leges et canones denegasti. Iturum cum

memoratus archidiaconus praefatum adversarium suum ex

communicatum esse in nostra presentia objecisset, et hoc

vellet probari infra terminum competenter, et preparare

corporaliter juramentum, quod hoc frustrante causa dilations

non peteret, vos ipsum, inhibita exceptione, audiendum non

esse pronunciasti, nisi quod objecerat, probare incontinenti.

Cunque in his et aliis se a nobis cognosceret contra jus-
titiam aggravari, idem archidiaconus nostram audientiam

appellavit, et ad appellationem prosequendam iter arripuit

veniendi. Sed vos, sicut dicitur, a cognitione cause post

appellationem objectam minime destitis, super ea in ipsius

archidiaconi gravamen\(^3\) et prejudicia procedentes. Cum

que neminem velumus contra justitiam aggravari, et sic in

causarum cognitione seu decisione procedi, quod neutri par-
tium justa remanet materia murmurandi, discretioni vestra

per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus si in litteris,

quas praefatus Rogerus ad vos impetravit a nobis, factae com-

positionis super archidiaconatu et interpositi juramenti men-
tio non habetur, quia eas per suppressionem veritatis ob-
tinuit, cum juxta canonicas sanctiones mendax precator

carcere debat impetratis, litteras ipsam vires volumus non

habere. Si etiam vos exceptiones legitimas predicti archidia-

coni admittere nolueritis, et presumpsistis post appellationem

legitime interpositam in causa procedere memorata, volumus

nihilominus, et mandamus, ut ab ipsius causa persecutione

penitas desistentes, quod per vos factum est, deuncertis

penitus irritum et inane. Volumus enim quod causa ipsa

talibus judicibus committatur, qui neutri partium debant

esse suspecti, vel coram nobis, mediate justitia, terminetur.

Quod si forte vos mandatum nostrum exsequi neglexeritis,

alicujus interveniente gratia vel timore, noveritis nos vene-
rabili fratri nostro episcopo Rovensti, et dilectis filiis abbat

A.D. 1200.

Honorus objected to

the abbot of

St Edmund's

judges de-

legate, yet

the other

two gave

sentence in

spite of his

objection.

He com-

plains of

their con-

duct on

other

grounds.

\(^3\) gravamen] gratiam, Savile.
A.D. 1290. Dec. 20. The bishop of Rochester, the abbot of Boxley, and the prior of Leeds are to decide it.

The pope writes to the clergy and laity of the archdeaconry of Richmond.

Roger of S. Edmund has obtained letters on false preences.

These letters are recalled.

Honourius is to be regarded as archdeacon.

A.D. 1291. The judges delegate re-

"Foxl.\textsuperscript{1} et priori de Ledes\textsuperscript{2} dedisse nostris litteris in mandatis, ut ipsi, veritate cognita, quae mandavimus, sublato cujuslibet contradictionis et appellationis obstaculo, exsequantur. Data Laterani, xiii\textsuperscript{r}. kalendas Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno tertio."

Item de codem.

"Innocentius papa, abbatibus, prioribus, decanis, personis, vicecomitibus, et clericis et laicos per archidiaconatum Ricemundiie constitutis, salutem. Exposuit nobis dilectus filius magister Honourius, archidiaconus vester, quod cum archidiaconatum Ricemundiae canonice fuisset adictus, et alicquamdi pacifice\textsuperscript{3} posseisset, orta postmodum inter eum et venerabilem fratem nostrum archiepiscopum\textsuperscript{4} Eboracensem discordia, Rogerus de Sancto Edmundo clericus, archidiaconum Ricemundiae se nominans, ad dilectos filios Sancti Edmundi\textsuperscript{5} et Sancti Benedicti de Holmo\textsuperscript{6} abbates, et priorem de Toftes,\textsuperscript{7} predictorum tacita veritate, litteras impetravit, ut vos ad exhibendum ei obedientiam et reventiam debitem, et satisfaciendum de damnis illatis, monitio præmissa, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, cogere non different. Quia vero mendax precator carere debet secundum sanctions legitimas impetratis, universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus cum litteras illas mandaverimus revocari tanquam ad suspectos judices, per suppressionem veritatis et falsitatis expressionem obtentas, cias non obstantiibus, iura ejus inviolabilitos conservantes, ipsi et officialibus suis, appellatione remota, obedientiam exhibeatis debitam, et honourem, sicut eam impendebatis cideon, præsum quam idem archidiaconus iter arriperet ad sedem apostolicam veniendi. Alioquin sentientiam, quatenus ipse vel officiales sui in vos propter hoc rationabiliter duxerint proferendum, ratam haberi volumus, et inviolabilitos observari."

His igitur et alii domini papæ litteris, quas Honourius pretendebat, Rogero de Sancto Edmundo respondente,

\textsuperscript{1} Foxl.\textsuperscript{1} So MS. A. No doubt we should read "Boxl." and identify the person with the abbot of Boxley, Robert, whose name occurs several times in the Epp. Cantuar.

\textsuperscript{2} de Ledes\textsuperscript{2} deleat, A. The prior of Leeds in Kent.

\textsuperscript{3} pacifice\textsuperscript{3} pascieve, A.

\textsuperscript{4} archiepiscopum\textsuperscript{4} archidiaconum, A.

\textsuperscript{5} Sancti Edmundi\textsuperscript{5} Sampson, 1182–1212.

\textsuperscript{6} Sancti Benedicti de Holmo\textsuperscript{6} Ralph, 1186–1210.

\textsuperscript{7} Toftes\textsuperscript{7} Monk's Toft in Norfolk was a cell of the monastery of S. Paul at Préaux in Normandy. Mon. Angl., vi. 1027.
supradicti judices delegati, propter appellationes hinc et inde factas, et propter testium varietates, causam ipsam, utcumque poterant instructam, ad dominum papam miserunt determinandum:1 et ipsi Honorius et Rogerus prosecuti sunt appellationes suas.

\[\textit{Eodem anno}^2 \textit{G.}, \textit{summus magister Hospitalis Jerusalem, priori et fratribus suis per Angliam constitutis, in hac forma scripsit.}\]

"Magister Hospitalis Jerusalem priori Angliae."3 Quem admodum rumores proveniant, ita eos cupimus cordibus amicorum nostrorum intimari. Transacti itaque passagii lugendo tempore de solito rumores terrae Jerusolimitanae mittebamus; sed navi contracta in maritima Tripolis ante Biblium, Aconensis episcopus, et plures viri honestissimi fratrum nostrorum ad vos pro negotio Terrae Sanctae destinati, cum multis tam nobilibus quam humilibus peregriinis, ad dolorum et gemitum totius populi Christiani, sicut Domino placuit, sub aquis vehementibus perierunt. Post quod naufragium nullum putamus transfretasse navigium, ut dicitur ab omnibus: quia quaedam naves, in quibus nuncii nostri mittebantur, transfretatae disponentes, cum ab Acone recessissent, et per triduum at plures navigassen, amissis arboribus antemis insolita ventorum et turbinis rubie, vix naufragium evadentes, Tripolim sunt reversae. Ea tamen qua potius navigii opportunitate reperta, vestre fraternalitati declaramus, quod ille Christianorum hostis nequisimus, Damasci dominus Sephadinus,6 Babilonis effectus est dominus; quia nepotem suum et alios, quorum successionem timebat, de regno Babilonis, ut perfidus et perjurus, ejectit. Viget adhuc inter ipsum, et soldanum Aleph,7 et plures

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1 \textit{determinandum} The final sentence of Pope Innocent III., in favour of Honorius against Roger of S. Edmund's, is dated June 1, 1202; and may be found in Baluze's edition of Innocent's letters, vol. i. p. 643, with other letters on the subject addressed to the king and to the dean and chapter.

2 \textit{Eodem anno} Here MSS. B. C. D. I. resumes; also MS. G. Godfrey de Dunstan was now Master of the Hospital.

3 \textit{Angliae} salutem, ins. B.

4 \textit{Aconensis} Aconensis, B. I.

5 \textit{Acone} Acone, B. I.

6 \textit{Saphadinus} Saphadinus, I.; Saphadinus, B. Saphadin drove his nephew Malek-el-Afdal out of Damascus in 1196; and his great-nephew Malek-el-Mansour out of Egypt in 1200.

7 \textit{soldanum Aleph } Malek-el-Daher Gaiatheddin Ghazi, son of Saffadin, was sultan of Aleppo from 1193 to 1216.

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A.D. 1201. for the settlement back to the pope.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1291. War between Saïfddin and his relations.

Plagues sent on his kingdom of Egypt.

This is an opportunity for the Christian powers.

Rise of a Saracen who preaches Christ.

Want of money.

" alios nimia discordia, quae fine carcat, et nunquam decidat vel arescat. Ipsi quoque Sephadimus, suis odibilis et insistent, domesticas timent insidias, et in nullo loco tutum se credens, utpote qui nepotibus suis proderit existit et perjurus, quos etiam funditus quotidie exhaeredit conatur, "Babiloniam exire non audet. Quae res nobis hoc anno nun

nimem praestiti et tutelam. Paraverat enim contra nos tumidos et intolerabiles insilire, et Christianitatis, quae superfuerant, funditus demoliri reliquis. Percussit etiam Deus virga potentissimae Sae Babilonicas regiones, in flumine illo Paradisi quod agros hostium irrigat, ne fluere, nec anno preterito fluitus emisit. Foppter quod in fame percu

ent, et corum animalia perderunt, nec plures corum veriti sunt pater filium vendere, dives pauperem, potens debilum, ut sic vitam suam a fame conservent: quam siccitatem fluminis, si non fluxerit, futuram timent. Hoc etiam quisquis excoigit sapiens, quod si flumen nutu Dei presenti anno non fluxerit, arva non irrigaverit, in magno discriminate vite sua erunt. Quorum jam infinita multitudo necessitate compulsa, et famis austeritate, terram nostram, sicut locustarum agmina, replevit pro sustinendis corporibus suis: ubi quidam terras ecclesiae solvit; quidam more bestiarum sylvestribus herbis vescuntur; quidam fame nec

cat per loca sylvestria mirative reperientur vernibus et aviscomendendi. Nos igitur in Domino ponentes spem nostram, Qui, quando vult, praelia finem ponit, speramus quod populo Christiano dat initium miserendi, cum ipsorum conterit inimicos. Datur etiam gentibus materies ad

mirandi, quod quidam Sarracenus, etate juvenis, origine vilis, inter pastores a pueritia simpliciter nutritus, nutritus, de novo sic omnibus peritus apparat, ut omnes sapientiam ejus administrat, et nomen Jesu Christi publice predicat: ita quod ipsi jam duo millia paganorum et eo amplius concrentes, ejus exhortationibus fidem nostram susceperunt, et fonte sacri baptismatis sunt recreati, et circumcissionis suum condolent se sustinuisse dolorem. Immenso tamen inimici nostri exultant gaudio, quos nostra sciant, et pecunia pauperes, et armatorum copia sentient derelictos. Quapropter ad vos vocem lamentabili clamamus, et misericorditer exoramus, quatenus nobis, tam apud maiores quam minores, consilio et auxilio vestro subvenire dignemini, et dominum regem

1 fluxerit [fluxerunt, B. I.]
2 irrigaverit [irrigaverunt, A. B. L.]
3 vult [om. I.]
4 conterit [conteret, I.]
5 simpliciter [simplicia, A.]
6 nutritus [eruditus, G.]
7 recreati [renati, D.; regenerati, B.]

Anglie, et quoscunque poteritis, ad subvectionem nostram efficaciter inducere, et diligenter monere procuraretis. Nos cuim infinitas trementes divitiis, eun sibi propter opes nullorum subveniant mercimonia mercatorum, non minus solito timore conterimus universi; et cum de uno tantum regno Babilonis, aut Damasi, universus Terrae Promissionis populus vix bene se tacri solebat; nunc duo regna uni domino conjugata, nobis tantillii residui numeri terrorum parint et minantur. Hic est certe verus status Terrae Promissionis, et inimicorum Christi; quo taliter permanent, si bonum Christianorum haberemus auxilium, gratia propter coelesti, et Christi injurias et dedecus Christianorum crederemus vindicare. Propterea, bone frater, quia pauca dicere sufficit, satis novistis qua et quanta nobis incumbunt possessions necessaria; et nunc audite quid ultra modum nos afflict. Terra regni Siciliae jugiter destruitur a Teutonicis et their Longobardis; domus nostra Baroli relicta fuerit; fratres intus in civitate manent; domus extrinsece, a quibus auxilium nostrum procedebat, ad nihilum deductae sunt, nullus in civitate persistit. Postquam autem a terra recessistis, nihil de regno Siciliae nobis subvenit, ad praeceptum jam et per annum, frumentum, vinum et hordeum, carnes et caseum, et quoque necessaria eminus pro universis domibus et castris nostris, in quibus omnibus sine numero necessaria est expensa. Pecuniam nisi ab ultramarinis domibus receperimus, aliunde alter habere nequimus, et jam diu est quod nihil fero recepimus ad comparationem expense. Noveritis quod in debitis plurimis subjacemus: exspectantes auxilium vestrum, et aliorum bonorum fratrum nostrorum, amore Divino et nostro vos monemus, ut quantumcumque poteritis, in primo Martii passacio subveniatis. Valete."

Quibus auditis, dominus papa Innocentius misit unum cardinalem ad regem Franciae, et ad regem Anglie, postulans subsidium fieri de terris eorum, ad subvectionem terre Jerusolimitane. Ad cujus mandatum, ipsi reges concesserunt se daturos, ad subvectionem prefatae terre, quadragesimam partem omnium redituum suorum de uno anno. Et rex Anglie hoc ipsum mandavit fieri de reditibus et excætis et wardis suis Anglia: et precepit ut omnes laici terrarum suarum similiter modo quadragesimam partem reedituum suorum darent in eleemosynam ad subvectionem terre Jero-

1 Teutonicis] Theutonicis, B. l.
A.D. 1201. solimitane. 1 Unde Galfridus 2 Filius Petri, tunc temporis summus justitiarius Anglie, in hac forma scripsit vicecomitibus et ballivis Anglie;

Epistola Galfridi Filii Petri ad vicecomites et ballivos Anglie, de quadragesima parte redituum regis et laicorum colligenda in subsectionem terrar Jerosolimitane.

Letter of the Justiciary directing the collection of the fortieth for the relief of Palestine.

1) Galfridus Filius Petri, comes Exsessa, universis vicecomiti-
bus ballia sua, salutem. Sciatis quod dominus rex Anglie,
ad instantiam et predicationem cujusdam cardinalis a summo
pontifice missi in Franciam, de consilio magnumatum suorum
de partibus transmarinis concessit ad sanctae Jerosolimae sub-
sidium quadragesimam portionem 3 valoris omnium redituum
et terrarum suarum unius anni, tam de wardis quam de
exactis in manu sua existentibus. Quod etiam ipsi magnates
sui ultra mare voluntarie concesserunt. Ad eorum etiam in-
stantiam scripsit dominus rex omnibus Anglie magnatibus
per litteras patentes, rogans et inducens eos, quatenus puro
corde, et caritatis intuitu, illud ipsum de valore omnium red-
dituum et terrarum suarum unius anni concederent; quod
quidem nec debito, nec de consuetudine, nec de coactione, 4
nec de aliqua alia auctoritate apostolica conceditur vel pos-
tulatur. Unde praecepit quod omnes comites et barones de
qualibet ballia in primis admonentur et inducantur diligenter,
quatenus pro se hanc collectam faciant in terris suis hoc
modo; scilicet, ut quilibet quadragesimam partem valoris
eu juslibet ville sua, sicut posset ponit ad firmam per annum;
et si in eadem villa fuerint per servitium militare tenentes,
dent quadragesimam portionem modo predicto; si autem
fuerint libere tenentes, similiter dent candum portionem modo
predicto, computato reddito, quem dominis suis solventint
per annum. Hanc autem collectam colligi faciant per tandem
discretos et legales, qui ad hoc possint et sciant sufficere,
qui eam recipiant 5 tam de comitibus quam de baronibus
predictis. Et postquam per manus eorum fuerit collecta,
receptores predictae collectae faciant in scriptum redigi dis-
tincte, et aperte, quantum de quilibet receperint, tam de
comitibus quam de baronibus, et militibus et libere tenen-

1 Jerosolimitane] Here MS. G. ends, with the rubric, Explicitant
Chronica Magistri R. de Houedene.

2 Galfridus] Gaufridus, B. I.

3 portionem] partem, Savile.
4 coactione] coactione, Savile.
5 recipient] recipient, B. I.
tibus; et nomina singulorum, et villarum, quantumcunque
de singulis villis, et quorum qualibet sit, imbreviari faciant.
Summam autem de dominicis, et de waridis et \( \text{et} \) exactis, et
reditibus domini regis, faciant separatim imbreviari. Si
quis vero clericus laicum feodum habuerit in ballia aliqua,
vel homines tenentes laicum feodum; in eorum terris flat
hae collecta per predictos collectores modo predicto. De
terris autem eruce signatorum predicta collecta fiat modo
predicto, ita tamen quod eorum pecunia separatim repounatur
ab alia; et summa pecuniae, et nomina singulorum quorum
ipsa pecunia fuerit, subscribatur; ut illi, qui iter arripu-
cerint, pecuniam suam prompte recipient. Providetur autem
quod pecunia illa sit collecta, ita quod unusquisque vice-
comes simul cum collectoribus habeat cam apud Novum
Templum Londiniae a die Sancti Hilarii in quindicim dies,
et imbreviamentum \( \text{et} \) modo predicto ordinatum, videlicet, de
summa pecuniae, et nominibus eorum qui cam dererint, et
nominibus villarum de quibus data fuerit pecunia predicta,
et quantum de qualibet datum fuerit. Si qui autem contra-
dixerint huic collecta assumendum prabere, nomina eorum im-
brerviarentur, \( \text{et} \) et coram nobis represententur apud Lundonias
ad terminum predictum, et hoc breve et nomina collecto-
rum ibidem habeantur. Valete.”

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The report to be made at London on the 27th of January.

1 \( \text{et} \) de, ins. I.
2 \( \text{imbreviamentum} \) cum, ins. I.
3 \( \text{imbreviatur} \) imbreviatur, A.
4 \( \text{Valete} \) Valete, valete et pacem
habete, D. I. Two MSS., C. and D.,
contain, after the letter of the Justi-
ciar, the following addition, in a
hand of the seventeenth century:
probably, however, taken from some
earlier source,—

"Mirabilia plura per Angliam
evenerunt; sanguine vel ex ves-
tibus vel ex alis rebus per se still-
lante. Aeris etiam intemperies,
fugura, et pluviarum instabilita-
tiones. Coragium per Angliam
exactum est ut regi Franciae de-
narii pro pace firmata procuraren-
tur. Expliciunt Chronica Rogeri
"de Hovedon."

MS. D. contains also, on the last
page of the Chronicle, immediately
after the note given above, and in
the same hand as the Chronicle, the
following:—

_Littera enjusdem magnatis scri-
bentis ad quandam magnatum unicum
sumum in principio verre inter regem
Johannem Angle et barones._

... "Salutem. Sciatis quod comes
"Gloucestrie et comes Wintone;
"venerunt Londinias die proxima
"post Epiphanian. Venerunt aut-
"tem cum ipsis Baldwinus Brutel,
"et Willelmus Pusin, Mariscallus
"domini Lodowici, et frater ducis
"Lavanie, et frater viccomitis de
"Melon, qui tenentur de melioribus
"bacheleriis Franciae, cum octies
"XX. militum et amplius de meliori-
"bus tornatoribus Franciae, et cum
"XL. balestariis equestribus, et cum
"c. balestariis pedestribus; et cum
"multis servientibus, equestribus et
pedestribus; quorum numerum
ad præsens nescio. Sciasis etiam
pro vero et nullam inde dubitati-
onem habeatis, quod dominus Lo-
dowicus veniet in Anglia cum
coiposa multiuitum gentium; et
juravit quod erit ad mare, promp-
tus ad transfretandum, ad ulti-
um in octavis Sancti Ilylarii.
Adducto vero secum ducem de Bar
et de Naves, et comitem Britun-
nicæ, et vicecomitem de Melon, et
comitem Sancti Pauli, et ducem
de Breban, et ducem Burgundien-
sem, et Willelmum de Rupibus, et
Willelmum de Bares, et comitem
Willelmum, qui in patria sua
promptus est jam veniendi in
Anglia, et plures alios duces, co-
mites, et magnates, quorum nomina
nescio. Unde multum timeo quod
dominus rex non habeat potesta-
tem ei resistendi cum viderit;
cum tanta cuim veniet potestate,
quod timeo quod terra omnino
destrutatur. Item vero dat terras
eorum qui contra ipsum sunt, ut
per ipsos qui de eo veniant mili
i datur intelligi. Adventus autem
ejus per nullum mandatum quod
de Roma possit venire aliquo mo-
do poterit impediri: quia pater
ipsius credit habere totum consi-
lium Romanum et ipsam penes se.
Idem etiam rex misit quendam
virum religiosum ad regem diffi-
dandum, imponens ei quod treu-
gas Petavie infregit, per Ix
millia marcarum quas de merca-
toribus suis acceptit. Dictum est
autem postea, quod jam venerit et
dimiserit hostem suum in tres
partes et quod a Londoniis amo-
verunt se."

Hec sunt nomina baronum qui
capti sunt in civitate Lincolnia in
vera predicta.

Comes Wintoniæ Serlo, et Robert-
tus filius ejus; Robertus filius Wal-
teri; Willelmus de Mubrai, et Ro-
bertus frater ejus; Gilbertus de
Gant, et Mauricius frater ejus; Ge-
wardus de Fornival; Robertus de
Greli; Ricardus de Munificet;
Willelmus de Ros; Simon de Kinde;
Robertus de Roppenege; Johannes de
Bassingeburne; Walterus de Tiwe;
Hugo de Renou, baro Franciae;
et comes Pertice ibi oecius fuit ex
parte illa, et Robertus de Tibbetot
miles comitis de Ferreres oecius
erat ex parte regis. Et cum ipsis
baronibus capti fuerunt centum quin-
quaaginta miles tam de Angligenis
quam de Franciis, quorum nomina
fuerunt scripta, exceptis his qui
securis et privatim undique ad-
ducti sunt per regnum. Isti autem
evaserunt; Johannes de Laci, con-
stabularius Cestrin; Willelmus de
Mandevile; Symon de Persi; Gal-
fridus de Lucy; et circiter sexaginta
miles cum dextrarum sine armis.
Et sciemund quod multi ali quae
capti sunt pro voluntate et ad placitum
quorum numerus ignoratur. Postea
capti fuerunt comes Herefordian;
Willelmus de Huntingfend; Gilber-
tus de Clare; Henricus filius comi-
tis David, et multi ali infra villam;
et tota civitas robhata infra ecle-
siam et extra. Et sic cito postea
terminata est werra et Lodovici a
sententia excommunicationis qui
fuerat innocatus absolutus ab Anglia
recessit et in Flandria applicuit.
Valete.

THE END.
GLOSSARY.
# GLOSSARY

## A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aeria, ii. 244; an eyrie.</th>
<th>Capelet, ii. 261; a head piece.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agistare, ii. 246; to turn the cattle into the woods to feed.</td>
<td>Cappa, ii. 93; a cope.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agistamentum, ii. 246; the right of feeding in the woods.</td>
<td>Carcase, iii. 251; to load.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albergellum, ii. 253; a coat of mail.</td>
<td>Carvana, ii. 182; a caravan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alevoso, ii. 126; a Spanish word for traitor.</td>
<td>Cassata, i. 73; the land appropriated to a ceorl’s tenement; a hide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alligera, ii. 297; the Hejira.</td>
<td>Casula, i. 6; a chasuble.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astridelthot, ii. 231; a corrupt word, probably meaning “a three-fold hot or compensation.”</td>
<td>Ceptus, ii. 243; apparently, = Coppatus, coppice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ategar, i. 91; a lance or dart.</td>
<td>Chimimen, ii. 223; a highway.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Averus, iii. 275; a farm horse.</td>
<td>Cleptor, i. 56; a robber.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## B.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brex, iii. 60; bran.</th>
<th>Collect, iii. 245; a slice.</th>
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Ferla, ii. 244; a forge.
Frusura, ii. 243; the breaking of the soil for the first time.

G.
Grantum, iii. 218, = cercantum, security (Du Cange).

H.
Haia, ii. 244; a hedge; an enclosure.
Herbergagium, ii. 244; herbage.
Hurdicus, ii. 73, 113; a hurdle; a siege engine.
Huscarl, i. 92, 107; a body-guard.
Hypocrisins, i. 19; deceitful.

I.
Imprisa, ii. 67; undertaking.
Inbladare, Inbladtare, ii. 243; to sow with corn.
Indiscibilis, i. 70; inexplicable.
Inedicitalis, i. 66; unspeakable.
Insilium, i. 100; evil counsel.
Interranea, i. 66; the bowels.
Interrare, ii. 238; to bury, apparently without the rights of the Church.
Interiari, ii. 229; to demand warranty of a person in whose hands stolen goods are found.

L.
Laceatus, ii. 357; laced or fringed.
Ledon, i. 13; neap-tide.
Lex, ii. 250, 251; the ordeal.

Leucata, iii. 60; the bailliene of a city.
Listura, iv. 34; the salvage.

M.
Macherarius, ii. 238; a butcher.
Maisneda, ii. 97; the household.
Malina, i. 13; spring-tide.
Marabotinus, ii. 130; a maravedi.
Medianetum, ii. 124; arbitration.
Mineria, ii. 244; a mine.
Murdra, ii. 225; Murdredum, ii. 250; secret homicide.

N.
Namtire, ii. 146; to distrain.

O.
Ostigare, iii. 260; to release a prisoner under a security.

P.
Paagium, ii. 42, = pedagium, a toll.
Paga, iii. 142, = pagus, a district.
Palefridus, iii. 33 = Paraveredus; a riding horse.
Panagium, ii. 246; the privilege of turning swine into the woods.
Pario, i. 49; = paro, a pirate-ship.
Pasta, iii. 60; pastry.
Pedo, i. 39; a foot soldier.
Perperus, ii. 195; a Byzantine coin, worth half a mark.
Platoma, i. 15; = platonium; a slab of marble.
Prisa, ii. 5; a receipt; an exaction.
Priso, ii. 68; a prisoner.
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Q.

Quintallus, iii. 165; a quintal; a weight of 100 pounds.

R.

Rech, iv. 99; immature wine (?).

Regrataria, iv. 100; sale by retail.

Reneez, iii. 180, a renegade.

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Roberia, ii. 89; robbery.

S.

Salma, iii. 60, 61; a seam, or quarter of grain.

Scitha, i. 66; diarrhoea.

Scotum, i. 141; payment, shot; in this place, taxation.

Siglatura, iii. 51; a sailing, a day’s sail; from A.S. Segl, a sail.

Siminellus, iii. 245; a loaf of the second best bread, from Simila.

Solarium, i. 18, 92; a state chamber; a drawing room.

Sperarius, ii. 244; a sparrow-hawk.

Stafa, ii. 142; a stirrup.

Stolium, ii. 97; a fleet.

Subescus, ii. 243; underwood.

Sumnarius, iii. 33; a pack-horse.

T.

Telon, i. 89 = Teloneum; a tax.

Teneatura, ii. 257; tenure, in the sense of possession.

Terrin, iii. 60; a Sicilian coin, the tarenus or taris, weighing 20 grains of gold.

Thesaurizarius, i. 105; a treasurer.

Timoratus, i. 65; having the fear of God.

Trabarium, i. 85; a boat cut out of the trunk of a tree.

Transvadare, i. 131; to wade across; to ford.

Tunellum, iv. 100; Tonellum, iv. 99; a wine cask.

U.

Urser, iii. 97; a large ship; in French, Huisser.

Uthlagatio, ii. 221; outlawry.

Uthilegatus, iii. 4; outlawed.

V.

Veredarius, i. 97; a courier.

W.

Wambasia, ii. 253; Wambaif, 259; a coat of mail.

Wastellus, iii. 245; a cake; gâteau.
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Ada, sister of Malcolm IV., king of Scots, married to the count of Holland, i. 219.

Adam, chamberlain to the king of France, dies at Acre, iii. 89.

Adam, descent of Alfred from, i. 35.


Adda, third king of Northumbria, i. 3.

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Adeliza, of Louvain, married to Henry I., i. 178; her chancellor Godfrey made bishop of Bath, 180; her clerk Simon made bishop of Worcester, 181; her brother Jocelin of Louvain, ii. 13.

Adelulf, bishop of Carlisle. See Carlisle.

Adestan, one of the kings of Norway, iii. 271, 272. See Norway.

Adrian I., pope, sends the pall to archbishop Albert of York, i. 9; sends bishop George as legate to England in 786, 11, 25; dies in 794, 15; or 795, 27.

Adrian IV., succeeds in 1155, i. 215; dies in 1159, 216.

Adrian, emperor of Rome, his questions put to Secundus, iv. 153, 155.

Agafra, F. Roderici de, ii. 123.

Agatha, niece of the emperor Henry II., marries the Etheling Edward, i. 87; ii. 238; flies to Scotland with her children in 1068, i. 117; returns, after the Danish invasion of Yorkshire, to Scotland, in 1070, 121.

Agde, G., bishop of, proceedings of, against the Albigensian heretics, ii. 107–116; archdeacon of, 107, 116; city of, 50, 178; count of, iii. 60.

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Agelnoth, sheriff of Herefordshire, killed at Glashbury, i. 102.

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abbot of Glastonbury, goes to Normandy with William in 1067, i. 116.

of Canterbury, goes to Normandy with William in 1067, ib.

Agelthen, ancestor of Offa, i. 22.

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Agnellis, Henry de, drowned at sea, ii. 3, 4.

Agnes, daughter of Lewis VII., married to Alexius Comnenus, ii. 192, 201; and after his death, to Andronicus, 203.

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Agrigentum, Bartholomew, bishop of, ii. 97.
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Ailafr, a Danish leader, ravages Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire in 1009, i. 73.
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Alwardus, chamberlain of the younger Henry, deserts him in 1173, ii. 46.
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Aix, in Savoy, promised by the count of Maurienne to John, ii. 41.
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Aix-la-Chapelle, burial place of Charles the Great, iv. 38; place of coronation of the German kings, 88; Otho IV. crowned at, 89.
Akarias, archbishop, iv. 167.
Ala, of Champagne, wife of Lewis VII., ii. 102, 192, 193; persecuted by her son Philip, 196; he is compelled to make her a pecuniary allowance, 197.
Alais, of Brittany. See Brittany.
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Alarchas, episcopal see in the province of Toledo, iii. 176.
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Alascrat, promontory of, in Spain, iii. 48.
Alava, disputed by the kings of Castile and Navarre, ii. 125.
Alavarde, Sufact de, ii. 42.
Albani, the Scottish war-cry, i. 194.
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Albano, cardinal bishops of:
Walter, legate to England in 1095, brings the pall to S. Anselm, i. 150.
Walter, at the peace of Venice in 1177, ii. 137.
Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, made bishop in 1179, ii. 171; he is sent to mediate between Philip and Henry in 1188, and dies at Arras, 355; he gave the cross to the emperor Frederick, 356.
John, bishop of, joins in the settlement of the S. David's case, iv. 103.
Alberic, earl of Northumberland, i. 59.
Albert, cardinal of S. Laurence in Lucina, chancellor of the Holy See, sent into Normandy as a papal commissioner in 1171, ii. 33, 34; arrives in Normandy, 34; meets Henry II. at Caen, ib.; absolves him and receives his oath at Avranches, 55; his charter of absolution, 36; his letter to the archbishop of Ravenna on the subject, 37-39; holds a council at Avranches, 39, 40; was at the peace of Venice, 138; witnesses the relaxation of the sentence against William the Lion in 1182, 268; becomes pope, as Gregory VIII., 322. See Gregory VIII.
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Albert, abbot of Ripon, succeeds in 786, i. 11; dies in 787, 12.
Albert, has part of the kingdom of East Anglia in 749, i. 6.
Albert, margrave, a representative of the emperor Frederick at the peace of Venice, ii. 139; his son swears on the emperor's behalf, 142.
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Albini, William of, lord of Belvoir, gives his son as hostage to John, iv. 161.
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Alhumassar, the astrologer, ii. 293, 298; his Centiloquium, 293.

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Alcæa, Alchaz, city in Saracen Spain, iii. 177; taken by the emperor of Morocco in 1191, iii. 175.

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Alech, Dunbarton, taken by the Northumbrians and Picts in 756, i. 7.

Aldred, Aldred, king of Northumbria, descended from Ida, succeeds Moll Ethelwald in 765, i. 8, 23; reigns eight years, 23; is deposed and exiled in 774, 9, 23; takes refuge with the Picts, 9; his son Osred becomes king in 788, 12.

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Aldgita, wife of Sigeforth, marries Edmund Ironside, i. 79.

Aldgitha, sister of Edwin and Morkar, widow of Harold, i. 116; sent after the battle of Hastings to Chester, ib.

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Alidham, estate of S. Cuthbert at, i. 45.

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son of Bose, killed in 779, i. 24.

Altwin, bishop of Lichfield. See Lichfield.
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abbot of Ramsey, attends the council of Rheims, i. 96; is deprived in 1102, 160; goes with Anselm to Rome, 161.
a monk of Evesham, one of the restorers of monachism in Northumbria, i. 129; receives Turgot, 130; is prior of Durham, and dies in 1087, 139.
a monk of Melrose, receives the confession of Cospatrie, 159.

Alençon, Henry II. assembles his army at, in 1188, ii. 343.

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Alentia, a city near Gibraltar, iii. 48.

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Alesia, daughter of Lewis VII., betrothed to Richard, son of Henry II., i. 218; Henry will not allow the marriage to take place, ii. 143; and is threatened with interdict, ib.; the engagement is renewed in 1186, and Henry swears to it, 308; Philip threatens to ravage Normandy if the engagement is not carried out in 1188, 334; Henry refuses to allow it, 354, 355; and again in 1189, 363; he proposes to marry her to John, ib.; she is to be delivered up to Richard's officers after the peace of Tours, 365; she goes to Normandy
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Alexander, of Macedon, i. 64.

I., king of Scots, son of Malcolm and Margaret, i. 122; asks Henry I. for a bishop, 131; brother of queen Mathilda, 157; is present as earl at the exhibition of S. Cuthbert's relics in 1104, 162; becomes king in 1107, 164.

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II., pope, succeeds in 1061, i. 104; sends a legate to England in 1062, 105; and three in 1070, 122; gives bulls to Lanfranc and Thomas, 125; arranges the relations of Canterbury and York, iii. 16.

III., pope, succeeds in 1159, i. 216; is expelled from Rome by Frederick I., and comes to France in 1162, 219; holds a council at Tours, ib.; excommunicates the antipope, ib.; sends Philip of l'Amône to mediate between Henry II. and Becket, 220; also the archbishop of Rouen, 222; refuses to give the legation to Roger of York, and offers it to Henry, 223; consecrates Engelram of Glasgow, 224; Thomas proposes to visit him, ib.; receives an embassy from Henry II., 230; receives Becket, 231; condemns the constitutions of Clarendon, returns to Rome, ib.; edict of Henry II. against, ib.; letters of Becket to, 235, 255; commends Becket to the abbot of Pontigny, 241; letters of, to Henry II., 241, 255, 276; to the bishop of London, 243; of the suffragans to, 266; of the bishop of London to, 244; excommunicates the bishop of London and suspends the archbishops of York and other bishops at Becket's instigation, ii. 6; letter of, to the archbishop of York and bishop of Durham, 7; is urged by Lewis VII. to excommunicate Henry II., 10; miracle wrought by Becket at his table, 11; he is visited by Becket's murderers, and fixes their penance, 17; letters to him describing the martyrdom, 18, 19, 20, 21; applied by Henry's ambassadors for a commission, 25, 26; threatens to excommunicate the king, 27; is pacified, and sends Albert and Theodinus as legates, 25; mission of Gratian and Vivian, 28, 29; Henry sends him a copy of the submission of Ireland, 31; he confirms the submission, 31, 32; orders the absolution of the bishops of London and Salisbury, 32; mission of Albert and Theodin, 34; Henry swears to be faithful to, 35, 38; and to submit to his imposition of pilgrimage, 36, 38; and that he will allow appeals to, 39; his rebuke to the bishop of Ely for not visiting the court of Rome, 59; he consecrates and gives the pall to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, ib.; extract from decretal letter of, 73, 75; appeal of the archbishop of York to, against Canterbury, 77; advises archbishop Richard to compel the bishop of S. Asaph to reside, 78; mission of Hugouin from, 85; ap-
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Alexander, a clerk of Becket, opposes Henry II. at Rome, ii. 27.
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Alexandretta, visited by Philip II., iii. 156.
Alexandria, emir of, captured by Conrad of Montferrat, ii. 347.
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Alexius, legate of Alexander III. to Scotland, ii. 208; confirms the election of John Scot to the see of S. Andrew's, 209; excommunicates the rival candidate, 209, 210; and the king of Scots also, 212; a clerk of his sent by Henry II. to Ireland, to seize the property of the see of Dublin, 253.

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Alfugr, Algar, son of Meu, fights on Cathune's side at Sherstone, i. 84.

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Alfred, son of Ethelwulf, king of Wessex, i. 19, 33, 93; his pedigree, 35; is sent to Rome in his childhood, 33; goes there with his father, ib.; marries, 38; is victorious at Ashdown, 40; defeated at Basing, 41; and at Merton, ib.; succeeds Ethelred as king, ib.; wins a sea fight, 42; his misfortunes in 877, ib.; is comforted by S. Cuthbert, 43; beats the Danes at Ethandun, ib.; and in a sea fight in 882, 44; confirms the privileges of S. Cuthbert, ib.; the English school at Rome freed at his request, 45; is beaten at sea in 885, 47; rebuilds London, 48; builds two monasteries, 49; sends alms to Rome, ib.; is godfather to Guthrum, ib.; makes peace with the Northumbrians, ib.; his fleet, 50; reigned 29 years, 84; dies and is buried at Winchester, 50.
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(Aldfrid), king of Northumbria, succeeds Ecgfrith, iv. 4; was father of Osred, ib.  
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Algitha, daughter of earl Uhtred and mother of Cospatrie, wife of Maldred, i. 59.  
Allun, bishop of Worcester.  
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Alkersmunt, forest of, iv. 125.  
Alkubaz, Cistercian abbey in Portugal, sacked by the Saracens, iii. 303.  
Aller, Guthrum baptized at, i. 43.  
Allertonshire, oblations of, claimed by archbishop Geoffrey, iii. 168.  
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Almada, Almade, in Saracenic Spain, iii. 77; taken by the Crusaders in 1148, i. 210; taken by the emperor of Morocco, in 1191, iii. 175.  
Almar, the beloved, fights on Canute’s side at Sherstone, i. 82.  
Almaira, cape of, in Spain, iii. 48; silk made there, 48, 51; is a city of Murcia, 178.  
Almian, a promontory in Spain, iii. 47.  
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Almorav’, E. and S., concerned in the Spanish award, ii. 123.  
Ahuc, a city of the county of Roussillon, iii. 178.  
Alne, river in Northumberland, Malcolm III. killed near, i. 147.  
Alnwick, castle of William de Vesci, ii. 60; besieged by William the Lion in 1174, ib.; he is taken prisoner there, 63.  
Alphege, caldorman of Devon, i. 87.  
Alric, son of Herebert, slain at Veluchare in 798, i. 28.  
Alsias, abbot of Bath, dies in 1087, i. 139.  
Alviller, Hugh de, a juror for the count of Maurienne, ii. 42.  
Alwig, bishop of Lindsey.  
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Amalfe, Richard passes, on his way to Sicily, iii. 54; surrendered to Henry VI., 269.  
Amaeric, king of Jerusalem.  
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Amesbury, nuns of, expelled for incontinence, and nuns from Fontevraud introduced, ii. 118, 119; the bishop of Bangor consecrated at, 119.  
Aniens, the Danes at, in 884, i. 45; surrendered by the count of Flanders to Philip, ii. 267; marriage of Philip and Botilda at, i. 224.  
Amihugo, disputed by Castille and Navarre, ii. 128.  
Amphilhabus, S., his relics discovered in 1177, ii. 136.  
Ampost, in Spain, iii. 49.  
Amand, a Danish leader, winters at Cambridge in 875, i. 42.  
a huscarl of Tostig, killed at York, i. 107.  
Amandevile, Thomas of, iii. 13.
Ancelotus, the antipope Pierleoni, expels Innocent II. from Rome, i. 186.

Anagui, John of, cardinal; sent to arbitrate between Henry II. and Philip in 1188, ii. 360; attends a conference between them in June, 1189, 362; his intervention rejected by Philip, 363; he is accused of being bribed by Henry, 363; comes to England to settle the dispute between Baldwin and the monks of Canterbury, iii. 23; visits Canterbury, 24; confirms the election of archbishop Geoffrey to York, 27; leaves England with the king, 28.

Anastasius IV., pope, becomes pope in 1153. i. 213; consecrates Hugh bishop of Durham, 213; restores the See of York to S. William, 213; dies in 1155, 215.

Ancest, the judges delegate on archbishop Geoffrey's case sit in 1195 at, iii. 286.

Ancenis, Ancena, taken by Henry II. in 1174, ii. 61.

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Anchises, son of Arnulf, and father of Pipin, i. 183.

Ancon, march of, ii. 358; a port of Venice, iii. 166.

Andel, Andely, taken by Lewis VII. in 1169, i. 282; claimed by Philip in 1196, iv. 3; Richard builds a castle at, 14; the archbishop of Rouen appeals to the pope about, 14, 17, an exchange for, arranged, 18; and agreed on, 19; confirmed, 125; meeting of Richard and Philip near, proposed, 21; archbishop Geoffrey appears before Richard at, 51; Henry of Saxony visits Richard at, 55; meeting of Richard and Philip near, in 1198, 79; demanded by Philip in 1199, 93; meeting of John and Philip near, 106; referred to, 149; meeting of the kings in 1201, near, 164.

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Andover, Aulaf, king of the Danes confirmed at, i. 68.

André, island in the Greek sea, iii. 159.

Andredeswald, Sieghbert killed in, i. 21.

Andria, Roger count of, ambassador of William of Sicily at the peace of Venice, ii. 138; maintains the cause of Constantia against Tancred, and is taken prisoner by the count of Acerra, iii. 29.

Andronicus, swears fealty to Alexius Comnenus, ii. 202; is taken by him as partner in the empire, 202; puts Alexius to death, 203; is crowned emperor, 204; his tyranny, 60; is warned by his magicians, 205; his downfall, 206; and execution, 207.

Andronicus Angelus, the Logothete, blinded by Andronicus, ii. 204; his son Isaac Angelus, 204.

Aneth, Simon de, a castle of his burned by Welsh mercenaries, iii. 345.

Anfrid, Ceokesfot, flies with the Normans in 1052, i. 100.

Angers, Henry II. keeps Christmas 1177 at, ii. 150; Walter of Coutances consecrates bishop of Lincoln at, 281; meeting of Henry and his sons at, in 1183, ii. 274; surrendered to Arthur, iv. 86; Arthur goes to, 97; John goes to, 125.

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Anglesey, ravaged by Ethelred in 1000, i. 69; seized by the Welsh in 1094, 149; Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury and the earl of Chester invade, 153.

Angoulême, William Taillefer, count of, taken captive by Richard in 1176, ii. 93; surrenders his castles, 94.

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Aimar, count of, attacks Richard in 1188, ii. 339; and in 1194, iii. 256; terms arranged for him in 1193, 218; and in 1194, 259; marriage of John with his daughter, iv. 119; taken by Richard in 1194, iii. 257; John married at, iv. 120.
Angus, earl of, commands a division of the Scottish army in 1174, ii. 60; is a hostage for the observance of the treaty of Falaise, 81.

Anjou, Fulk, count of, marries his daughter to William, son of Henry I., i. 176; she returns to him on William's death, 179; goes to Jerusalem, marries the king's daughter and becomes king, 184, 186.

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Geoffrey, count of, son of Fulk, i. 273; marries the empress Matilda, 182; father of Henry II., 187; quarrels with his wife, ib.; makes peace with Stephen, 192; invades Normandy in 1148, 210; dies in 1151, 212. mentioned, ii. 6, 53; iv. 95. See also Henry II., Richard, and John.

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Anlaf, Onlaf, king of the Norwegians, son-in-law of Constantine, king of Scots, i. 54; beaten by Athelstan at Brunanburh, ib.; elected king of Northumbria in 941, 55; comes to York, and overruns the north, meets Edmund at Leicester, ib.; divides England with Edmund, ib.; destroys the church of S. Balthere, and dies, ib.

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Anlaf, Onlaf—cont. in 941, i. 55; is baptised in 943, 56; and expelled from his kingdom by Edmund in 944, ib.

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a monk of Worcester, gives an account of the trance of a lay brother ii. 293-295.

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Bohemond III. prince of, (called Raymond).

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Aquabella, Geoffrey de, ambassador of the
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in 1129, holds a council in England on clerical marriages, and deludes archbishop William, i. 184, 185.
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1130; keeps Easter at Woodstock, i. 183; tries Geoffrey Clinton, ib.; at Michaelmas goes to Normandy, 186.
in 1131, meets Innocent II. at Chart-
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phen in 1152, ib.; and gains the 
chiefs of the baronage, ib.; makes 
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adopted by him as his successor, 
and made justiciar, ib.; succeeds to 
the crown of England in 1154, 213; 
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in 1159, besieges Toulouse, i. 217.
in 1161, quarrels with Lewis VII., i. 217; negotiations marriages for his sons with Lewis's daughters, 218; gets possession of Gisors and Nanteuil, ib.; receives and rewards the Templars, ib.; makes Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, 219; enters Alexander III. in his exile, ib.
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in 1175, goes to Le Mans, receives the fealty of his son Henry at Bur, and keeps Easter at Cherbourg, ii. 71; makes peace with the count of Flanders, 72; sends Richard and Geoffrey into Poictou and Brittany, ib.; and lands at Portsmouth in May, ib.; comes to London, ib.; receives the surrender of Bristol, 78; holds a council at Woodstock, 78, 79; enforces forest law, 79; meets the king of Scots at York, ib.; treaty of, with the king of Scots, 80–82; holds a council at Windsor in October, 83; makes a treaty with the king of Connaught, 84, 85; has a visit from the legate Hugezun at Winchester, 85; keeps Christmas at Windsor, 86.

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In 1178, receives letter of assurance from Lewis VII., and sends a commission of hercys to Toulouse, ii. 150, 151; goes to England, 166; knights Geoffrey of Brittany at Woodstock, ib.; welcomes the archbishop of Rheims, 167; keeps Christmas at Winchester, 170.

In 1179, holds a council at Windsor, ii. 190; and sends out itinerant judges, 190, 191; receives Lewis VII. on his pilgrimage to Canterbury, 192; keeps Christmas at Nottingham, 196.

In 1180, goes to Normandy to reconcile Philip II. with his relations, ii. 196; meets him and makes peace, 197; receives the homage of Philip of Flanders, ib.; makes a treaty with Philip, 198, 199; receives Henry the Lion in his exile, 201; makes new coinage, 208; appoints Ranulf Glanvill justiciar, 215; keeps Christmas at Le Mans, 253.

In 1181, issues his assize of arms at Le Mans, ii. 253; visited by the archbishop of Dublin, ib.; takes the property of his see into his hands, ib.; removes Hugh de Lacy from the government of Dublin, 253, 254; makes his son Geoffrey chancellor, 255; goes to Chinon for Easter, ib.; meets Philip at Gué S. Remy, ib.; promises succour to Palestine, 259; hears the quarrel of the king of Scots with his bishops, ib.; appoints bishops to Evreux and Lisieux, and makes peace between Philip and the count of Flanders, 260; issues his assize of arms for England, 260-263; makes John Cumin archbishop of Dublin, 263; forbids the execution of archbishop Roger's final disposition of his goods, 265; is defied by the bishop of Durham, ib.; persecutes the bishop, 266; keeps Christmas at Winchester, ib.

In 1182, goes to Normandy to keep his son Henry in order, ii. 266; makes peace between France and Flanders, 267; intercedes for Henry the Lion with the emperor, 269; warned of his coming troubles, 273; keeps Christmas at Caen, ib.

In 1183, orders his son Henry to receive the homage of his brothers, ii. 273, 274; tries to help Richard against his brothers, 274, 275; comes to Limoges and is shot at, 275; tries in vain to reconcile his sons, 276, 277; his grief at the death of Henry, 279, 280; takes Limoges and other strongholds, 280; settles a dower in money on queen Margaret, 281; makes Walter of Coutances bishop of Lincoln, ib.; and soon after archbishop of Rouen, 283; consults the bishops.
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in 1184, crosses from Witsand to Dover, ii. 285; gives the earldom of Huntingdon to the king of Scots, ib.; spares Gilbert Plumpton, 286; holds councils at Reading and London for the election of an archbishop of Canterbury, 286, 287; visits Canterbury, 287; accepts Baldwin as archbishop, 288; visited by the archbishop of Cologne, ib.; again intercedes for Henry of Saxony, 289; issues assize of the forest, ib.; receives the homage of the Welsh at Worcester, 290; makes a bishop of Bangor, ib.; keeps Christmas at Windsor, 299.

in 1185, receives the ambassadors of Jerusalem at Reading, ii. 299; letters from Lucius III. to, 300; holds a council at London, on the Crusade, 302; knights John, and sends him as king to Ireland, 303; goes to Normandy in April, 304; orders Richard to give up Poictou to his mother, ib.; promises aid to Palestine, ib.; is allowed by Urban III. to make one of his sons king of Ireland, 306; keeps Christmas at Domfront, 308.

in 1186, meets Philip and discusses Richard's marriage, ib.; crosses to England, makes S. Hugh bishop of Lincoln, 308, 309; goes to Carlisle on his way to Galloway, ii. 309; tries to restore the see of Carlisle, ib.; marries William, king of Scots, to Ermengard of Beaumont, 309, 310; makes Hubert Walter dean of York, 310; and new bishops of Worcester and Exeter, ib.; refuses to entrust Philip with the heiress of Brittany, 314; makes a truce with him, 315; keeps Christmas at Guildford, 317.

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in 1188, meets Philip and arranges for a crusade, ii. 334, 335; his ordinance for the Saladin tithe, 335-337; returns to England in January, 338; holds a council at Geddington and directs the collection of the tithe in England, 338, 339; refuses to be answerable for Richard's behaviour in Toulouse, 340; letter of the patriarch of Antioch to, ib.; his answer, 342; returns to Normandy in July, 343; defies Philip, 344; invades France, ib.; and captures several places, 345; holds two ineffectual meetings with Philip, ib.; letter from the master of the Templars to, 346; of Clement III. to, on the subject of the Scottish church, 349; punishes Gilbert of Ogerstan for embezzling the tithe, 354; meets Philip at Dons Moulins, ib.; makes a truce until January, 355; has a warning of his approaching end 356; keeps Christmas at Saumur, 362.

in 1189; Philip and Richard renew the war against, ii. 362; meets Philip at la Ferté Bernard, ib.; proposes John as husband for Alessia, 363; is said to have bribed the papal legate, ib.; flies from le Mans, ib.; to Chinon, 364; and to Saumur, ib.; visited by the archbishop of Rheims and the count of Flanders, ib.; meets Philip between Tours and Azai, and submits 365; his
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grief at hearing of the treachery of John, 366; returns to Chinon and falls sick, *ib.*; dies at Chinon, and is buried at Fontevraud, 241, 367; his body bleeds in the presence of Richard, 367; his assize of Clarendon, 248; his assize of the forest, 243; he reigned 35 years, 241.

Henry, son of Henry II. and Eleanor, married to Margaret of France, i. 218; called by Becket as witness of his acquittance of his Chancery accounts, 228; he is crowned in 1170, king of England as Henry III., ii. 4, 5; receives the homage of William of Scotland, 5; Normandy bequeathed to him by his father, 6; keeps Christmas 1170 in England, 14.

in 1172, is again crowned, with his wife, ii. 34; goes to Normandy, 35, 40; swears his innocence of Becket's murder, 36, 39; visits Lewis VII., and is set against his father, 41; is summoned by Henry II. to Angers, and sent thence into Normandy, *ib.*

in 1173, goes with his father into Auvergne, ii. 41; receives the homage of the count of Toulouse at Limoges, 45; refuses to make a settlement on John, *ib.*; flies to Lewis VII., 46; conspires with him against his father, and promises feuds to the great vassals, 47; rises against Henry II., *ib.*; besieges Vernueil, 49; admits the people of Vernueil to terms, *ib.*; meets his father between Gisors and Trie, but is persuaded by Lewis VII. to hold out against him, 53; forbids his father to nominate bishops, 56.

in 1174, joins Philip of Flanders and threatens invasion, ii. 57; sends Berter of Orleans to oppose the confirmation of the bishops, 58; comes to Gravelines ready to embark, 60; fails to get a favourable wind, 61; joins Lewis VII. at the siege of

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in 1175, meets his father at le Mans, ii. 71; swears fealty to him at Bur, *ib.*; keeps Easter at Cherburg, *ib.*; goes to England, and attends the council at Westminster, 72; goes to Woodstock, 78; to York, 79; receives the homage of Scotland, 79, 82; attends a council at Windsor, 83; receives the legate Huguezn at Winchester, 85; keeps Christmas at Windsor, 86.

in 1176, is at the council of Nottingham, ii. 87; keeps Easter at Winchester, 93; goes to France, *ib.*; helps Richard to take Neuf-château, *ib.*; punishes Adam of Chuchdown for betraying his secrets, 94; keeps Christmas at Argentan, 117.

in 1177, his wife bears a stillborn son, at Paris, ii. 136; his father promises him the Vexin, 143; is at the peace of Yvry, 146; his love of arms, 166.

in 1179, returns to England, ii. 190; and from England to Normandy, 192; carries the crown to the coronation of Philip II., 194.

in 1180, is sent by Philip's relations to England to entreat his father's interference, ii. 196; returns with his father to Normandy, *ib.*

in 1182, intrigues with Philip against his father, ii. 266; submits to him, and is put on a new allowance, 267; is released by the count of Flanders from his claims on him, *ib.*; warning of his death, 273.

in 1183, is ordered to receive his brothers' fealty, ii. 273; quarrels with Richard about it, 274; is persuaded by the barons of Aquitaine to wage war on Richard, *ib.*; goes to Limoges, and sees his father shot at by his men, 275; his duplicity,
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276; pretends submission, ib.; openly joins his father's enemies, 277; plunders the shrine of S. Martial, ib.; and Roquemadour, ib.; falls sick at Martel, confesses, and does penance, 278, 279; dies, ib.; his father's lamentation for, ib.

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Henry III., emperor, marries Gunhilda, daughter of Canute, i. 87; his war with Baldwin of Flanders in 1049, 94; is in alliance with Edward the Confessor, 94, 95; embassy from Edward to, 101; dies in 1056, 102.

Henry IV., king of Germany, succeeds in 1056, i. 102; deposes Gregory VII. at Mentz, 136; and sets up Wibert of Ravenna, ib.; besieges Rome in 1081, ib.; war with the Pope, ib.; introduces Wibert into Rome in 1083, and returns home, ib.; war with his son in 1106, 163; story of his being murdered by his son, 163, 181.

Henry V., emperor, dethrones his father in 1106, i. 163; said to have killed him, 163, 181; marries Matilda of England, 167; visits Rome and makes peace with Paschal II., 167; besieges Cologne, 169; makes peace, ib.; sets up Burdinus as antipope to Gelasius in 1118, 172; goes to Rome, ib.; the pope's complaint against him, 172, 173; negotiates with Pope Calixtus and the council of Rheims, 175; is excommuni- cated, 176; dies in 1125, 181; current story of his disappearance, ib.

Henry VI., emperor; takes charge of Germany on the emperor's departure on the crusade, ii. 351; was husband of Constance, aunt to King William of Sicily, iii. 29, 164; sends an army into Italy on William's death, 29; restores the estates of Henry the Lion, 73; demands the imperial crown, 74; is crowned with his wife by Celestine III., 101, 102; story of the coronation, 102; gives up Tusculum to the pope, 104; besieges Salerno, takes it, loses his army before Naples, and goes to Milan, 164; asks the aid of the pope to recover his wife, ib.; intrigues with Philip of France against Richard, 166, 167; announces the capture of Richard to Philip, 192; has an interview with Richard on Palm Sunday, 1193, 198; is convinced by him and arranges terms of ransom, 199; receives his cession of the English crown and restores it, 202, 203; released Richard from his obligations before his death, 203; is threatened with excommunication, 208; forms a league with Richard, 209; writes to the English barons, 210; proposed interview with Philip, 212; it is prevented by Richard's party, 214; sees Richard at Worms, ib.; and makes a new arrangement about ransom, 215; treaty of, with Richard, ib.; gives him the kingdom of Provence, 225; fixes the day of release, 226, 227; after fresh propositions from Philip postpones it, 229; meets Richard at Mentz, 231; shows him Philip's proposal and releases him, 232, 233; in 1194, invades Apulia and takes Salerno, 268; takes Amalfi, goes to Sicily and takes possession of it, 269; gives Durazzo to Margarit, ib.; is crowned at Palermo, disinherits Tancred, 270; keeps Christmas 1194 at Palermo, 276; sends a gold crown to Richard, and offers help against Philip, 300, 301; forbids Richard to make peace.
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Malduilt, William, lost in the White Ship, i. 177.
Malebyse, Hugh, threatened by Longchamp with excommunication, iii. 153; goes to Scotland as envoy from John in 1199, iv. 91.
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Malton, castle of, held by Eustace FitzJohn against Stephen, i. 193; visited by Richard I. in 1194, iii. 243.
Malus Catalus, Roger, vice-chancellor to Richard I.; seals his charter of Wreck, iii. 68; is drowned, 105; his seal found, 106; said to be lost, 267.
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Mantel, Robert, an itinerant justice in 1176, ii. 87.

Mantes, burnt by William the Conqueror, i. 140; attacked by Henry II., ii. 344; treaty made by Longchamp at, iii. 218, 220; Philip marches from, against Richard, iv. 56, 58.
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Maraclea, passed by Philip, on his way home, iii. 156.

Maranon, staked by the king of Navarre on Henry's award, ii. 122; entrusted to R. Martini, 123.

Marceaus, the captain of Richard's mercenary, lends Richard a horse to pursue Philip at Vendome, iii. 256; captures the bishop of Beauvais iv. 16; comes to the assistance of Richard in Normandy, and pursues Philip, 59; is attacked by the French during a truce, 80; is with Richard at Chaluz, 82; his physician operates on Richard's wound, 83; he hangs Bertrand de Gurdun, 84; assists Eleanor to subdue Anjou, 88; is killed at Bourdeaux, 114.

Marche, la, Audebert, count of, sells his county to Henry II., ii. 147, 148.

Hugh le Brun, count of, his lodging at Messina attacked, iii. 57; is one of Richard's sureties at the peace of Messina, 63.

Hugh le Brun, count of, betrothed to Isabella of Angeleme, iv. 119; Ralph of Yssoudun was his brother, 161.

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Marchia Guarneri, Marchowald besieged in, iv. 31.

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Marciliac, taken by Richard in 1178, ii. 170; and in 1194, iii. 257.

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Margaret, sister to Malcolm IV., married to Conan of Brittany, i. 217; re-married to Humphrey Bohun; dies in 1201, iv. 174.

Margaret, daughter of Lewis VII., married to Henry of England, i. 218; is not crowned with her husband, ii. 5; is crowned at his second coronation, 34; goes to Normandy, 35; visits her father in France, 40; returns to Normandy, 41; is brought by Henry II. to England in 1174, 61; keeps Christmas at Argentan in 1176, 117; she bears a still born son at Paris in 1177, 136; is sent to Philip by her husband during the war of 1183, 275; death of her husband, 279; Philip claims the restitution of her dower, 280; she accepts a pension from Henry instead, 281; she is married in 1186 to Bela III., king of Hungary, 309; takes the cross on the death of her second husband, iv. 14; dies at Acre in 1197, 32.

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Margaret, admiral of Sicily, receives Richard at Messina, iii. 54; visits him, 57; flies from Messina, 66; his possessions among the Greek islands, 161; has the duchy of Durazzo and principality of Tarentum, 269; dispossessed and mutilated by Henry VI., iv. 27; proposes to gain the empire for Philip of France, 121; is killed at Rome in 1200, 122.

Margenzai, Giroudus de, ii. 42.
Marinus, pope, frees the English school at Rome, i. 45.

Marlborough, bishop Ethelric imprisoned at, i. 124; castle of, given to John in 1174, ii. 68; Henry II. at, in June 1177, 135; Richard gives the castle of, to John, iii. 6; besieged by archbishop Hubert in 1194, 237; taken, 237, 238; prisoners taken there summoned to Winchester, 243.

Marleswein, carries off Edgar Atheling to Scotland, i. 117; joins in the Danish invasion of Yorkshire in 1069, 118; flies to Scotland in 1070, 121.

Marmiun, Robert, turns the monastery of Coventry into a castle, and is killed there, i. 207.

Marmontier, abbot of, surety of peace in 1196, iv. 4.

Marseilles, Richard arrives at, on his way to Sicily, iii. 37; stays there eight days, 38, 39; letter of his, dated at, 39; journal of his voyage from, ib.; arrival of the fleet at, 30; description of the relics at, 51; distance from Acre, 51, 52; the fleet leaves, 54; distance from Sicily, 160; Berengaria reaches, 228.

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John, carries the spurs at Richard's coronation, iii. 9, 10; excommunicated on account of Longchamp, 153.

William, receives the cross of the younger Henry at his death, ii. 279; is sent by Henry II. to defy Philip in 1188, 344; is married to the daughter of Richard, earl of Striguil, iii. 7; has the earldom, ib.; carries the sceptre at Richard's coronation, 9; attests the grant of Sadberge, 15; his brother Henry, 16, 17; is made justiciar, 16; swears for Richard to meet Philip for the crusade, 20; his commission as justiciar renewed, 28; again in 1191, Marshall, William—cont.

96; sent from Sicily by Richard, ib.; has charge of Nottingham castle at the truce of Winchester, 136; exhibits the commission superseding Longchamp, 140; excommunicated on account of Longchamp, 153; takes measures to ensure the succession of John, iv. 88; is at John's coronation, and girt with the sword of his earldom, 90.


Marske, given by Cospi to Durham, i. 58; church of S. German at, ib.

Martel, the younger Henry dies at, ii. 278.

William, steward of Stephen, taken prisoner at Winchester and compelled to surrender Sherborn castle, i. 206.

Martini, R., entrusted with Maranon during the Spanish arbitration, ii. 123.

Mary, daughter of Malcolm and Margaret, wife of Eustace of Boulogne, i. 122; married in 1102, 160.

Mary, of Antioch, widow of Manuel Comnenus, ii. 201; attempts to raise the protosevastos to the throne, 202; is drowned by the advice of Andronicus, ib.

Maszua, Jordan de, captured at Dol, ii. 52.

Matagirron, Richard's castle at Messina, built, iii. 67; he keeps Christmas 1190 at, 93; destroyed, 105.

Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror, consecrated in 1068, i. 117; dies in 1083, and is buried at Caen, 137.

Matilda, daughter of Malcolm and Margaret, i. 122, 157; married to Henry L., 122; advises archbishop Ralph to go to Rome in 1116, 171; dies and is buried at Westminster in 1118, 172; her son William, 176; her dower, iii. 27.

Matilda, wife of king Stephen, takes Dover, i. 193; keepsKent faithful to him, 204; her army defeats the earl of Gloucester at Winchester, 205; her dower, iii. 27.
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daughter of Henry I. given in marriage to the emperor Henry V. i. 167; married and consecrated empress in 1114, i. 168; loses her husband in 1125; and returns with her treasure to her father, 181; comes to England in 1126, 182; married to Geoffrey of Anjou in 1127, ib.; is sent back to him in 1131, 186; fealty sworn to her and her son Henry by the English nobles in 1134, 187; quarrels with her husband and father, ib.; lands in England and is besieged by Stephen at Arundel; escapes to Bristol, 197; is received as lady of England after the battle of Lincoln, everywhere but in Kent, 204; her pride, 205; she is expelled from London, 206; puts Stephen in chains, ib.; is defeated at Winchester, ib.; besieged by Stephen at Oxford, ib.; escapes on the ice to Wallingford, ib.; the pope mediates through her, for Becket, 243; dies and is buried at Rouen, 253; Becket made archbishop against her wish, 264.
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daughter of Henry II. married to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, i. 220; on her husband's forfeiture, has her dower lands secured to her by the emperor, ii. 269; goes to Normandy in 1182, ib.; bears a son, 270; keeps Christmas, 1182, at Caen, 273; comes to England in 1184, 285; bears a son at Winchester, ib.; dies in 1189, iii. 3.
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Matussala, the patriarch, i. 35.
Maumoine, John, and his man Gwiard, captured at Campenni, ii. 55.

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May, William, prior of, envoy from William the Lion to John, iv. 91.
Mayenne, Juell of, captured at Dol, ii. 52.
Maynil, Peter de, complaint of the Danish ambassadors against, iii. 307.
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Meath, king of, does homage to Henry II. in 1171, ii. 30.
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bishop of, present at the homage at Lincoln, iv. 141.
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Medway, river, the Danes in 999, in, i. 69; and in 1016, 83; dried up in 1114, 169.
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Melide, abbey of, Richard lodges at, iii. 54; city, in Syria, passed by Philip, iii. 156.
Melior, cardinal, conducts Berengaria home from Rome, iii. 218; as legate, is made arbitrator between Richard and Philip, 259.


Melps, castle of, surrendered to Richard, ii. 94.

Melrose, property of S. Cuthbert at, i. 45; Aldwin and Targot, monks of, 59.

Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow, dies at, iv. 85.

Melrose, Wultheof, abbot of, dies, i. 216.

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Arnulf, or Arnold, abbot of, sent to ask absolution for William the Lion from pope Lucius, III., ii. 264, 265; success of his mission, 267; letter of Urban, III. to, 314; ordered to enforce compliance on bishop Hugh, 311; letter of Clement III. to, 347; another, 351.

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