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PIMS
PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

or

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

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

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

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

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

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Prineeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed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They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no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.
CHRONICA

MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE.

EDITED

BY

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TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

VOL. IV.

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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-

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 mediæval 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.
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.¹ The minor additions are, however, marked by a similar motive, the grant of Brakenholm and Hemmingburgh to Durham, an abstract of which is given,² 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 ³

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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 Fflay, 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-
tial at Poictiers weeping on the death of William Long-
champ,\(^1\) the unquestioning credit given to the posthu-
mous miracles of bishop William of Poictiers,\(^2\) whose
life, as the historian specially mentions, had been very
reprehensible in the sight of men; the revolt ing 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 sud-
denly paralyzed and irresistibly compelled to spout Latin
verses; the vision of dean Rolleston of Lincoln, a fort-
night after the death of S. Hugh, which seems to have
helped to bring about its own fulfilment;\(^11\) the an-
nouncement 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-

\(^1\) Vol. iv. p. 17.  
\(^3\) Vol. iv. pp. 26, 27.  
\(^5\) Vol. iv. pp. 67, 68.  
\(^6\) Vol. iv. p. 76.  
\(^7\) Vol. iv. p. 77.  
\(^8\) Vol. iv. p. 100.  
\(^10\) Vol. iv. pp. 143, 144.  
\(^12\) Vol. iv. pp. 161, 162.
Curious stories localizing the author.

Inferences.

Contrast between Roger and his predecessor.

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

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

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East Anglia, and the discovery of living dogs and toads in hermetically sealed beds of rock. If William of Newburgh, the most independent thinker in the whole list of our mediaeval 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-

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1 Will. Newb., lib. i. cap. 27. | 2 Will. Newb., lib. i. cap. 28.
PREFACE.

The good faith of a writer impaired only when he declares himself an eyewitness of an impossible event.

More than good faith requisite for credibility.

Deeply rooted prevalence of superstition.

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 ascertainable 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 proportionably greater; but where there was not, the devout 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 between coincidences and prodigies as limited, his ability of weighing evidence on the subject of physical phenomena 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 telegraphed 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

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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 whatever.
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 impressive 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 interpretation. And so wide is the applicability of this principle, 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 considerable majority in which blindness or disease of the eye is healed, the largest number may be said to consist

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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. Unquestion-
ably 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 testi-
monials 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 fur-
nished 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,

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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 close to it; 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-

1 *De Mirac. S. Thomae*, 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 extinctis sed postea per se reactis, non infisa multorum relation est."

2 This is reported as occurring so frequently that the monks were obliged to use leaden or tin *ampulla* 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. Thomae*, 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.
The annalist records what he believes.

Cases of imposture very numerous.

How such stories affect credibility.

Preface.

The annalist ticukr 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 dropsy. 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

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,\(^1\) the rain of blood in the Isle of
Wight,\(^2\) the earthquakes and landslips\(^3\) 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,\(^4\) the fishes of S. Agatha
at Catania,\(^5\) the fires of S. Elmo at Messina,\(^6\) are told
with more show of misgiving than the visions of the
Crusaders\(^7\) or the miraculous cure of Philip II.\(^8\) 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;"\(^9\) 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 for-
mula 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

\(^{1}\) 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.
\(^{8}\) Benedict, i. 240-242. Hoveden, ii. 192, 193.
\(^{9}\) Hoveden, iii. 53.
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.

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 mediæval 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 degrading 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.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) His dates from 1124 to 1135 are a year before the true date;\(^3\) 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,\(^4\) 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;\(^5\) the appointment of Thomas Becket to the Chancery is misdated;\(^6\) so are Henry's coronation at Worcester,\(^7\) the very important councils of Westminster\(^8\)

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\(^{1}\) Vol. i. pp. 43-54.  
\(^{2}\) Vol. i. p. 54.  
\(^{3}\) Vol. i. pp. 180-189.  
\(^{4}\) Vol. i., pref., p. lxxv.  
\(^{6}\) 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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1 Vol. i. p. 224.  
2 Vol. i. p. 240.  
6 Vol. ii. pp. 34, 40.  
7 Vol. ii. p. 57.  
10 Vol. ii. p. 351.
length already; 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. 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. Of these the abbot of Rievaulx, who was none other than the famous Alred, died in 1167; Ralph de Warneville became treasurer on the promotion of John of Poictiers in 1163. The date of the document falls within these two limits. It is true that the two copies do not coincide so closely

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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, “archidiaco-‘ nas 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.1 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 1192,2 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,

1 Vol. iii. pp. 192, 193, and note on p. 192.
2 Vol. iii. p. 203, note 2.
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.

1 Vol. iii. p. 221.
2 Vol. iii, pp. 197, 215.
3 Vol. iii. p. 231.
(6.) Under the year 1200\(^1\) are inserted certain rules for the business of the Exchequer, which are dated "post 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 S. 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.\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) and consequently the final concord dated in the second year is misplaced under the year 1200,\(^3\) and probably the rules of the Exchequer also inserted wrongly.\(^4\)

\(^{(7.)}\) 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.\(^5\)

\(^{(8.)}\) 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.\(^6\) 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.
\(^3\) Vol. iv. pp. 117, 118.
\(^4\) Vol. iv. p. 152.
\(^5\) 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, and the occasional mistake in the identification of the Christian name of a foreign bishop or king, 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

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 Puisset, count of Bar, and John, the brother of William des Barres, were drowned in the Epte. William of Armorica, in the Philippis, 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

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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.
4 If the article on him in the Art de Véfier les Dates is to be trusted. Hoveden ought, however, to be good authority on the subject of the Puissets.
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 Heptarchy, 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. Archaeological 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-
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...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

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\(^1\) 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 Brihtgeage, nephew of archbishop Wulfstan, was appointed, in 1033; his successor Living and archbishop Elfrie 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 I., 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.
Injuries to the church organization.

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.

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. 

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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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. 8d. 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.

Nomination of Geoffrey to the see of York.

Composition of the chapter at this time.

scopal revenue. 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

1 William le Vavassur was joined in the commission with them. Madox, Hist. Exch. 211. Pipe Roll of Rich. I., p. 9.
4 Ben. Pet. i. 346.
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 archdeacons.

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\(^1\) Hubert was made dean on the death of Robert Butevilein 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. Mere 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 vice-chancellor under Geoffrey, as Walter of Coutances had done. His connexion with the chancery under whatever title must have brought him into early intercourse with Geoffrey, and probably produced the personal jealousy which so much affects their later relations.

\(^2\) 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 1 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, 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. 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 Puisset; 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, 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

are specified by Hoveden as being in the treasurer's archdeaconry are situated in the East Riding. Hugh de Puisset 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.

1 Ben. Pet. i. 334.
3 Ben. Pet. ii. 88. It is added that Henry II. had confirmed the appointment.
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,¹ 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;² 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;³ 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 Cambrensis\(^1\) 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

death of the late king. In consequence of this Geoffrey’s servants were displaced by those of the dean and the Exchequer.  

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. 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; 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. 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.

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1 Ben. Pet. ii. 77.  
3 Benedict, ii. 79.  
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 Puiset 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. ² Gir. Camb. V. Galfr. p. 379.
Geoffrey refuseth to install them.

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

2 Benedict, ii. 99.
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

¹ Hoveden, iii. 31, 32.
Riot in the minster and flight of the dean. 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 Vezelay 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.  
\(^2\) Gir. Camb. p. 386.  
\(^3\) Gir. Camb. p. 386. Richard was at Lions in Easter week. Federa, i. 51.  
\(^4\) Gir. Camb. p. 386.  
\(^5\) Ralph de Diceto, 653. The pope mentions that Alexander III. had already granted Geoffrey a dispensation; from the bar, no doubt, of illegitimacy.  
\(^6\) Gir. Camb. p. 387.
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 Wigetoff 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 papacy, 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.
His consecration, Aug. 18, 1191.

He summons the bishop of Durham, who appeals to Rome.

His landing, imprisonment, and share in the deposition of Longchamp.

He goes to York and excommunicates bishop Hugh.

Geoffrey prepares to return to England.

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.¹ 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.² 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.³ 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.⁴ 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 processio, to York, where he was enthroned with great solemnity on All Saints’ day.⁵ Bishop Hugh failed to make his appearance, and after three citations,⁶ to which he replied by three appeals, was excommunicated, Geoffrey so far disregarding mode-

¹ Gir. Camb. p. 387.
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. 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.

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. She also carried her wrongs to the pope. The heavy hand of Geoffrey fell also on the chapter. Henry Marshall and Bouchard de Puisset 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 Thornover, Peter de Ros, the archdeacon of Carlisle, and Hugh Murdac, another of the canons. As usual, Geoffrey excommunicated them, and as usual, they appealed. 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.

1 Hoveden, iii. 169.  3 Hoveden, iii. 188. Benedict, ii. 240.  2 Benedict, ii. 237.  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 Thornover, 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. 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.

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, 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.

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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,\(^1\) 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

\(^1\) Hoveden, iii. 222.
before the Chapter of York; 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; 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, 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

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1 Hoveden, iii. 222.  
3 Hoveden, iii. 221.
Dispute as to the filling up 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 bonâ 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.  

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.\textsuperscript{1} He immediately sent
the pieces 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.\textsuperscript{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, arch-
deacon of Cleveland, for whom the archbishop had in
earlier years obtained his prebend; William Testard,
archof Nottingham, who, like Hamo, had in 1190
acted as his agent at Rome; and the archdeacon of the
West Riding.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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 Can-
terbury; but was ordered back by
the archdeacon of Canterbury, and
 returned to York, c. 1586. That was
perhaps the Canterbury view of the
story.

\textsuperscript{2} Hoveden, iii. 229, 230.

\textsuperscript{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.

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.
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 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.

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
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 Leicester 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.
PREFACE.

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, notwith-
standing 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

1 Hubert's abbey, founded at West Dereham, was Premonstrat-
tensian, 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 Premon-
stratensian houses in England was
thus founded by Hubert's kinsfolk.
New privileges of the chapter.

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.\(^1\)

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,\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) 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.\(^4\)

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

\(^1\) 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 judicibus delegatis. Madox, Hist. Ex. 336. Simon of Apulia, in 1195, paid 666l. 13s. 4d., “de dono suo” (Rot. Pip. 7 Rich. I), 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.¹

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.² 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,

¹ Hoveden, iii. 286, 287.
² Hoveden, iii. 292-298. W. Newb. lib. v. cap. 12. The latter writer accounts for the conduct of the canons in attending this visitation thus, “legato potius quem amicum et patronum optabat, maluit subjici, quam illius (sc. Gaufridi) non frannandam poten-

“tiam experiri.” He mentions a privilege acquired by the church of York a few years before, exempting the archbishop and the church from legatine visitation. This must have been the privilege overruled by Celestine III. in his commission to Hubert. Hoveden, iii. 291.
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. 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.

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.

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. 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.
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 sheriffsdom.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.\(^1\)

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.\(^2\) 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.
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

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. 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.

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; 1 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 Thornover, the dean Simon, the new precentor, and others still held out. 2

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. 3

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. 4
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.
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.1

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!2

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.3

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1 Hoveden, iv. 158.
2 Hoveden, iv. 174.
3 Dr. Ducarel saw his monument with this epitaph:

"Regis erat natus, meritis et hore probatus,
Vermibus esca datus, his qui jacet incineratus.
Hie quid opes sequeris, quid, homo, fugientia quaeris?
Oe speculo quid eris, finemque tuum 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, “quadrasque rotandum?”
“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.
Importance of the transitional period preceding Magna Carta.

Hubert's relations with Richard and John.

Character of Hubert's policy.

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 archæology. I shall not attempt to rebut the imputation; only if such things are archæology, then archæology is history; and that is as much as its most fervent students would
ask for it. If by archæology is meant the science of the obsolete, I deny that they are archæological; it is only to the plucked flower that the root is archæologically 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
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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"\(^1\) which admitted the demand, must be

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\(^{1}\) "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.

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.1

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;2 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 Hoveden's statements refer generally to the impost 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 3l. 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-" suvit tempore Henrici regis avi " nostrì;" 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.
The grant of a fourth part of revenue and moves limea 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 re-
quired 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, al-
though the largest and wealthiest part, was far from
being the whole, of the area to be taxed\(^2\); and yet either
because the money was not honestly applied, or because
the produce fell short of the estimates, considerable ar-
rears of the ransom were unpaid in 1195.

In the council of Nottingham in 1194 Richard de-
manded a carucage of 2s. on the carucate; as the men-
tion 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

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\(^1\) This is illustrated, as well as the demand of the wool, by the
measures taken by Edward I. when in severe financial difficulties in

\(^2\) The Norman Exchequer Roll of 1194 is lost. In that of 1195 is
an entry stating that Geoffrey the Exchanger (Cambior) renders ac-
count of 22,891l. 7s. 4d. Angevin, for 5,722l. 16s. 10d. sterling ; and
4,600l. and 400l. Angevin; alto-
gether 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 mes-
sengers, for the delivery of the hos-

This may have been, however, only
the English contribution in transitu. Further on, p. 172, William Poig-
nart 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 domum, "pro bene-
"volentia domini regis et pro liber-
"tatibus suis conservandis et de
"auxilio suo ad redemptionem do-
"mini 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 talliage 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 talliage, 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.
Examination of the sheriffs' accounts threatened, but postponed.

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.

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. 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 prseterito," i.e. 1195, Rot. Pip. 8 Rich. I.; the second, "Ter- tium 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 aid.
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 commis-
sioner 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 distur-
bance 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 ex-
chequer: "fraude officialium re-
giorum ærario ejus plurimum
"deperire; qua nimirum depre-
"hensæ et castigata, absque omni
"provincialium gravamine duplicia
"posse fisco accedere."

\(^2\) William of Newburgh (v. 20),
although expressing an opinion con-
demnatory of William FitzOsbert,
distinctly connects the two events:
"Similitudine vel causa vel pro-
positi consonare videbantur. Ab-
"bas enim ut commoda regia cum
"quie tele provincialium quareret,
"fraedium atque effrenem avaritiam
"officialium regiorum castigandam
"esse sensebat. Iste autem . . .
"allegans . . . quod ad omne edic-
tum regium divites, proprii for-
tuis parentes, pauperibus per
"potentiam omne onus imponerent,
"et ærarium principis multa summa
"fraudarent." Nearly the same
words as Hoveden uses.
per capita, 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, 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; 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, 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 Curiae 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 733,383l. 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. 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)d., 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 ascertain 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, archdeacon 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 certainly seems to imply some connexion with Roger le Poor of Salisbury and so with Nigel of Ely, Richard Fitz Neal and the chan-
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 demanded 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. 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 innovation was the determination that every hundred acres should be regarded as a carucate. 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 was

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1 Hoveden, iv. 46, 47.
2 According to the Dialogus de Scaccario, i. 17, the hide was a hundred acres, that is, it was regarded by the time of Henry II. as of that extent. This act of Hubert then identifies the carucate henceforth with the hide, as far as concerns extension. In the same spirit of definition the prices of cows, pigs, sheep, &c., the animalia pacabila, are fixed, instead of being allowed to vary according to the size or condition of the animal. See the seventh clause of the XXIII4; 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: "Each field (of the common fields of Tickering) 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 hideage 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 assess-
ment 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 be-
tween Domesday Book and Magna Carta, and a most
important precedent. An examination of the documents
contained in the Fœdera and Parliamentary Writs, on

^I have put together the chief documents illustrative of this pro-
cess 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;
lection in full county is used; in
the third, the fifteenth of 1225,
both election and jury are em-
ployed; in the fourth, the fortieth
of 1232, the townships are repre-
dented 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 thirtieth of 1237, the
knights collectors are nominated,
the local assessors, the reeve and
forty elected men. In the last case,
the tallage of 1304, the collection
is made simply by the king's officers.
The comparison shows the main-
tenance of the royal authority in
cases of strictly feudal taxation,
such as scutage and tallage; and the
employment of election and repre-
sentation 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

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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.

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. 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, and the institution of the Great Assize. 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 Angliae, 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

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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 shire moot or hundred moot 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.

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.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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. \(^3\) and of the consequent destruction of Tusculum,\(^4\) 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;\(^5\) the hostile attitude of the emperor towards France, which partly resulted from Richard's release, and was partly the purposed effect of his diplomacy;\(^6\) the cruelties and outrages committed by Henry in the Sicilian kingdom in 1194;\(^7\) the German crusade of 1197;\(^8\) the reverses of the imperial

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\(^1\) Faedera, i. 52.  
\(^3\) Vol. iii. p. 101.  
\(^4\) Vol. iii. pp. 102-105.  
\(^6\) 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

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.,3 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 4 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.5

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

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, and of the early reforms of Innocent III. 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.

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, his dealings with the Jews, and his conduct of the quarrel between the university and citizens of Paris, 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, and his negotiations for the marriage of his daughter with Otho of Saxony, 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. 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 greatgrandmother, S. Margaret. The statement of our author that in the year 1197 the king of Scots introduced into his dominions the oath for conser-

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3 Vol. iii. p. 270.
6 Vol. iv. pp. 120, 121.
10 Vol. iv. p. 100.
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 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: it 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; 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 conduced 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

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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 Memoriale 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. xxii.

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.

lxxxii. 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.

lxxxii. 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. cxi.


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

ci, note 1, for "Bermonsey" read "Bermondsey."

8, line 18. Some attempt should have been made in a note to identify Streburg and Homunc, the other names speak for themselves. Homunc 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-
"tmata quæ priscæ diecabantur Hamelea-Mutha, juxta illud mer-
"cimoniun quod dicitur Hambiech." Mab. AA. SS. O. S. B.
Soc. III., p. ii., p. 335. Mabillon settles the question in a note.
Hamelea is the river Hamble, and Homwic or Hambiech 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-
minster, Stradbroke (?)

12, line 33, for "Efwine" read "Elfwine."
12, 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 "Taddeneseylf;" the place is
Tasheif 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 "Porteskewrth" read "Port-
"skeweth."
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?" 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 "sequenti" 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 5, 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."
ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS. cxı

Vol. II.

Page xviii, line 3, for "Gaucelin" read "Gocelin."
" xxx, line 21, for "conquerer" read "conqueror."
" l, line 2, for "Riddel" read "Ridel."
liii, note 1, last line, for "1199" read "1201."
lxvii, note 1, last line, for "261" read "268."
lxxxii, line 28, for "develop" read "watch."
lxxxiii, lines 8 and 28, for "Louis" read "Lewis."
lxxxviii, note 3, for "Silvester, IV." read "Silvester IV."
" 14, line 21, the broken word is satellites.
" 22, line 18, for "quibus" read "quibus."
" 40, line 26, erase the reference 3.
" 45, note 2, line 4, for "Labbé" read "Labbe."
" 52, note 1, for "Lones" read "Leones."
" 57, line 6, for "upad" 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 pre-
face 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."
" 125, line 22, after "Amen" insert reference to note 3.
" 127, inner margin, line 4, for "i. 194" read "i. 149."
" 133, 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 "earl" 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.
" 228, marginal abstract, line 5, read "Tenementale."
" 230, marginal abstract, line 3, for "it" read "is."
" 253, note 1, line 4, for "Harlean" 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 "innum" read "in num."

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 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 Dicto, c. 604. He crossed to England soon after Whitsuntide in that year. The length of the visit is not stated.

xxiii. It is not quite clear that the Stephen de Turonis of Benedict and Hoveden is identical with either the Stephen de Marzai of Richard of Devizes, or Stephen of Turcham. 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.

xli, fourth note, for "4" read "4."

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 Corbeul, but on his death in 1136 they were expelled and a colony of monks from Christchurch, Canterbury, substituted for them. See Ger-

lxxxvii, note 1, line 1, for "172" read "179."

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.

Page 62, line 32, for “e” read “et.”

83, line 4, for “regni” read “regn.”

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 “eclesium” read “ecclesia.”

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. Diceto, 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 Reliquiae, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. Canute of Denmark, died 1086.</th>
<th>Eric I., king of Denmark, died 1103.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adela, daughter of Robert Friso, count of Flanders.</td>
<td>Charles, count of Flanders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Canute, king of the Obotrites.</td>
<td>Waldemar I., king of Denmark.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canute VI.</td>
<td>Ingeburga, wife of Philip II.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Vérisier les dates; and William of Armorica in the Philippos states that Philip lost none of his nobles on that occasion. (ed. Pithou, p. 289.)

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

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

285, line 11, for "predictae" 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 Chateauroux should probably be Châteauroux, see vol. iv. p. 149.

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

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Vol. IV.

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

21, note 1, line 3, for "1206" read "1197."

42, prefix 1 to the first note.

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

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

49, note 1, line 3, for "Baluze" read "Balue'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 Yssoudun, in pursuance of the arrangement made by the treaty of 1194; see vol. iii. p. 259.
CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.
Colloquium inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliae.

Eodem anno, post festum Sancti Hilarii, Philippus rex Franciæ et Ricardus rex Angliæ convenerunt apud Lovers ad colloquium; ubi inter eos consilio hominum suorum ita convenit, quod rex Franciæ quieta clamavit regi Angliæ et hæredibus suis, ab ipso et hæredibus suis, Ysoudun cum pertinentiis 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 Albemardia, et cætera castella multa, quæ occupaverat per guerram. Et hæc contra rex Angliæ quieta clamavit regi Franciæ castellum de Gysorcio, et totum Wogesin Normannicum: et ut hæc omnia rata habenterunt, 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 Franciæ petiit ad opus suum Andeli, manerium Rothomagensis archiepiscopi. Quod cum

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. Dict. 686, 687.
2 Ysoudun] Ysodun, D. I.; Yson-dun, G.
3 Gysorcio] Gisorcio, I.
4 omnia] om. D. I.
nulla ratione fieri posset, rex Franciæ postulavit sibi fieri fidelitatem a Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo de illa parte archiepiscopatus quæ est in regno Franciæ, scilicet de Vogesin le Franciæ. \(^1\) Videns igitur Rothomagensis archiepiscopus hoc sibi grave et ignominiosum esse, appellavit ad dominum papam pro statu ecclesiæ suæ, et abiit, 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 inhiants irruit in Divina; destinatus ad sclerus, ad periculum promptus, paratus ad crimen, causas innocentiæ non requirit, jus abnegat; confundit fasque nefasque, cui nequitia est sodalis, cui otiosa est æquitas, iniquitas semper est amica, qui ædibus vivit, qui se munit sanguine, qui crudelitatibus sævít, cui de morte stat totum, de amore constat nihil. O!

Si quoties peccant homines sua fulmina mittat Phæbus, exiguo tempore inermis erit.

Procedente itaque tempore, ponituit regem Franciæ se tales fecisse cum rege Angliæ conventionem: et magnum congregavit exercitum, et obsevidit Albemarliam: quo facto, rex Angliæ praecipit saisiri in manu sua, in omni loco dominationis suæ citra mare et ultra, omnes res et possessiones abbatum de Majurmuster,\(^2\) et de Cluinni,\(^3\) et de Sancto Dionisio,\(^4\) et de la Charite.\(^5\) Erant enim predicti abbates fidejussores erga regem Angliæ, quod rex Franciæ\(^6\) supradictam pacem servaret;

\(^{1}\) Franciæ\footnote{Francesc, B. D. I.}\(^{2}\) Majurmuster\footnote{Geoffrey de Coursonzez, 1187–1210.}\(^{3}\) Cluinni\footnote{Cluini, I. Hugh of Clermont, 1183–1198.}\(^{4}\) Sancto Dionisio\footnote{Hugh Foucauld, 1186–1197.}\(^{5}\) de la Charite\footnote{Savarie, or William, prior of the Charité.}\(^{6}\) MS. G, which now frequently abridges the text, completes the sentence "de pace servanda."
et nisi fecerit, darent regi Angliae xv. millia marcarum argenti.

Eodem anno Robertus comes Leicestriae, datis Philippo regi Franciae duabus millibus marcis argenti, et quieto clamato ei castello suo de Pasci, liberatus est a captione illius.


Interim Philippus rex Franciae cepit per vim castellum de Albemarle, et subvertit illud, et rex Angliae dedit ei tria millia marcarum argenti pro redemptione militum et servientium suorum, qui capti fuerunt in Albemaria.

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

Eodem anno orta est dissensio inter cives Londoniarum. Frequentius enim solito propter regis captonem 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 aequitatis accensus, factus est pauperum advocatus; volens quod unusquisque, tam dives quam pauper, secundum mobilia et facultates suas daret ad universa civitatis negotia; et abiit ad regem trans mare, et impetravit

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1 abbatem de Cadamo] a blank for the Christian name. It was Robert, the eleventh abbot of S. Stephen's, and an officer of the Norman Exchequer. See W. Newb. v. 19.; Stapleton, Rolls of the Norman Exch., i. pp. cli, cliv; and D'Achery's notes on the life of Lanfranc. MS. G. abridges this paragraph.
A.D. 1196.
April.
The archbishop's severity towards the discontented.

London merchants arrested at Stamford Fair, at Midnight, 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, praecipit, ut ubicunque aliquis de plebe inveniretur extra civitatem, caperetur tanquam hostis regis et regni. Contigit autem quod in medio Quadragesimae, apud nundinas de Stanforde, capti sunt quidam mercatores de plebe Londoniensis per praecptum justitiarii regis. Deinde praecipit idem justitiarius, ut supradictus Willelmus cum Barba ad eum duceretur etiam invitus, ad quem capiendum cum quidam de civibus, Gaufridus nomine, veniret, praedictus Willelmus cum Barba interfecit eum; cumque alii eum capere vellent, ipse aufugit cum quibusdam suorum, et incluserunt se in ecclesiam qua dicitur ecclesia Sanctae Marie del 1 Arche; qui cum inde exire nollet, factus est insultus in eos: et cum nec sic reddere se vellent, ex praeceto archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, regis justitiarii, appositus est ignis, ut per fumum et vaporem ignis exirent. Cumque praedictus Willelmus exiret, quidam extracto cultello evisceravit eum, et sic ductus est ad turrim Lundoaniarum, et ibi judicatus est suspendi. Alligatus 2 igitur caudae equi, trahitur per vicos civitatis et plates, ad patibulum, ac suspensus est, cum octo sociis suis. Ceteri vero cives Lundoniarum, qui adhaerarent ei, posuerunt se in misericordia regis, et obsides dederunt de pace servanda regi et regno.

Monachi autem Sanctae Trinitatis Cantuariensis, scientes quod ecclesia sua Lundoniis, qua dicitur Sancta Maria del Arche, ita violaretur per praecptum archiepiscopi sui, qui, quanvis regi serviret, tamen ecclesiastica jura debueret servare illesa, indignati sunt, et gravatum est cor eorum super eum, et non potuerunt cum eo quicumque pacifice loqui.

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 Angliæ 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 Cestriae, 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 Franciae, et terras regis patrui sui combussit; deinde rex Angliæ 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 est audientia: et cum prædicta et alia plura ei objiceruntur, 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 cum de consilio totius curiae ad officium et beneficium restituens, omnibus prelatis et aliis clericis per Eboracensem dioecesim constitutis dedit in mandatis, ut ei tanquam archiepiscopo in omnibus debitam exhiberent revertentiam et obedientiam; insinuans 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 Angliæ perveniente, qui archiepiscopum temporalibus jampridem spoliaverat, et ad ejus, ut dicebatur, cum adversariis suis aspirarat depositionem, valde turbatus fuit, et duobus adversariis suis præcepit, ut se de cura spiritualium

A.D. 1196

Otho made count of Poitou.
The countess of Brittany imprisoned by her husband.
Arthur joins Philip, and Richard invades Britain.
intromitterent, 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 rediens, 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 Romam eundi iter arripuit.

Interim dominus rex Anglie, prece Arturi ducis 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 predicti 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 2 Adæ de Tornovere sub annua pensione lx. marcarum; statuens quod predictus Adam archidiaconatum illum in integrum habeat et teneat omnibus diebus vitae suæ, et reddat ei singulis annis inde xl.3 marcas 4 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.  
2 ipsi] om. B. D. I.  
3 xl.] Savile reads “60.”  
4 marcus] argenti, ins. B. I.  

Peter of Dinan became soon after this bishop of Rennes.
altera die similiter, et sic mutabunt vices suas de die in diem quaedam morum simul fecerint 1 in Eboraco.

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

"... Radulfo Etburford, omn. anno, ...

Et bene 3 electus, atque archidiaconatus de Westrihing caritate intuitu de-disse: in quem Adam de Tornovero, sicut a multis certissime didicimus, nescimus cujus auctoritatem, se intransit, et nomen archidiaconatus sibi usurpat, 4 licet ordinatio archidiaconatum, dignitatum, et ecclesiaram nostri archiepiscopatus ad nos ad nos tantum, quibus hoc Divina miseratione est concessum, pertineat. Et idem etiam Adam, post restitutionem a domino papa nobis factam, contra nos et officiales nostros in administratione rerum spiritualium diabolicum in-sine stinctu se immiscit. Nos autem quicquid ipse Adam in institutionibus, in excommunicationibus, in suspensionibus et in aliquis alios, quae nomine archidiaconii fecerit, irri-tantes, et penitus auctoritate nostrae adnihilantes, jam dictum Adam excommunicavit, vobis mandantes, et in virtute obedientis precipientes quatenus in nullo ei de cetero respondesatis, sed ut excommunicationem vitetis.  5 Preterea vobis notificamus, quod sententiam in Paulinum de Eborford,  6 et in alias qui contra obedientiam nostri debeat veniunt, ab officialibus nostris magistro Radulfo de Kima,  7 et magistro Honorio  8 non  ratam habemus et confirmamus. Valete."

Eodem 9 anno, mense Julii, Philippus Dunelmensis electus ordinatus est in sacerdotem ab Henrico ep.
A.D. 1196.
June 15.
Ordination of Philip of Poictou.

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

Eodem anno Willelmus rex Scottorum, magno congregato exercitu, intravit Moreviam ad debellandum Haroldum Macmadi,
qui terram illam occupaverat. Sed antequam rex Cathaniae 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. Videns autem Haroldus quod rex terram suam ex toto devastaret, venit ad pedes regis, et posuit se in misericordia ejus, maxime quia tempestas sevievat in mari, etventus erat ei contrarius, volenti ad Orchadam insulam ire; et juravit regi quod adduceret illi omnes inimicos suos, cum rex alia vice rediret in Murreviam; et per illam conditionem permisit cum rex tenere medietatem Chathaniae, et aliam medietatem Cathaniae dedit rex Haroldo juniori,
nepoti Reginaldi quondam comitis de Orkeneia et de Cathania. Deinde reversus est rex in terram suam, et Haroldus in Orchadiam.

Deinde in autumno rediit rex Scottorum in Murreviam usque ad Ilvernarran, ut recipert ab Haroldo inimicos suos; quos cum Haroldus prodixisset usque ad portum de Locloy prope Dilvernarran, permisit eos abire; et sero, redeunte rege de venatu, venit ad eum Haroldus adducens secum duos pueros nepotes suos ad tradendum regi in obsides; et interrogatus ab rege ubi essent inimici ejus, quos tradere debuerat, et ubi esset scopo de Landaf, apud Dunelmum, in ecclesia Sancti Cuthberti, xvii kalendas Julii, Sabbato in hebdomada Pentecostes.

1 Haroldum Macmadi] Harald 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] Orkedam, B. L.
4 Haroldo juniori] Harald 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 Orchadiam] Orkeneiam, B. D. I.
6 Ilvernarran] Now Nairn.
7 Haroldo] Haraldo, D. I.
Torphinus filius ejus, quem obsidem dare promiserat, respondit, "Permisi eos abire, scies quod si tradidisset sem cos 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 rege fecit, non servaverat, judicatum est eum in captione regis remansurum, donec filius ejus veniret, et obses fieret. Et pro eo quod ipse permisit inimicos regis abire, judicatum est ipsum demersisse terram quam ille de rege tenebat. Et rex duxit secum Haroldum usque ad castellum Puellarum, et tenuit eum in vinculis, donec homines sui de Orchadiam adduxerunt filium suum Torphinum: et tradentes eum domino regi obsidem, liberaverunt Harol- dum de captione regis. Et Haroldus reversus est in Orchadiam, et ibi mansit in pace et quiete, donec Haroldus junior, accepta a Suero Birkebain, rege Nor- weæ, licentia calumniandi medietatem Orchadise, ad- duxit secum Siwardum Murd de Hegland, et alios multos bellatores, et Orchadiam invasit; et noluit Har- 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 congredi cum Haroldo seniore; sed Haroldus senior ante adventum Haroldi junioris in Man, per aliam viam ingressus est Orchadiam, cum navigio suo, et interfecit omnes quos in Orchadia invenit. Quo audito, Haroldus junior re- versus est in Cathenes apud Wic, et commisit pre- lium cum Haroldo seniore: et in prælio illo Haroldus junior et omnis exercitus ejus interfeci sunt. Inter- fecto itaque Haroldo juniori, Haroldus senior venit ad

A.D. 1196. He is taken and imprisoned at Edinburgh.

The men of Orkney seize his son and deliver him to the king in his father's place.

Defeat of the younger Harold.

1 ille] ipse, D. I.
2 rex duxit] reduxit, B. I.
3 manxit] manxit, A.
4 Suero] Swero, B. D. I.; Birka- bain, D.
5 Murd] Murt, I.; de Egland, G.
6 reversus est] om. D. I.
7 itaque] namque, D. I.
regem Scottorum per conductum Rogeri et Reginaldi, episcoporum Sancti Andrææ et Rosmarkin, et obtulit regi copiam auri et argenti pro Cathania, id est, Ca- tenes, rehabendo; cui rex respondit, quod terram illam sibi traderet, si uxorem suam filiam Malcolm Machaz 1 dimisisset, et priorem suam, sororem Dunecani comitis de Fif, resumpisset, et tradidisset ei in obsi-dem Laurentium clericum suum, et Honaver 2 filium Iggemundi; quod Haroldus facere noluit. Venit ergo Reginaldus, filius Sumerled, rex de Man, ad Willelum regem Scottorum, et emit ab eo Chathaniam, salvo regis redditu annuo.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Anglææ 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 Anglææ primas, et apostolice sedis legatus, et totius Anglææ summus justitiarius, sæpe et multum sol-licitavit per internuncios suos dominum suum Ricar-dum regem Anglææ, ut eum liberaret a regimine, ostendens ipsum non posse sufficere regimini ecclesiae et regni. Cum igitur rex, licet invitus, eo quod non erat inventus similis illi, qui conservaret leges et jura regni, precibus tamen illius inclinatus, illum a sollici-tudine regimini regni removere vellet, pœnituit eum tale fecisse regi mandatum, expertus, quod in custo-

1 Malcolm Machaz ] Malcolm MacHeth, 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. Robertson, 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 ] Albricarum, 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.
diendidis 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; subjingens, quod si servitium ejus videretur illi necessarium, non recusaret laborem, nec fatiscetem causaretur ætatem. O infeliciem¹ presulem! licet sensibus legisset “Neminem posse duobus domibus servire; aut enim unum odio habebit, et alterum diligit; aut unum sustinebit, et alterum contemnet;” præelegit tamen officium sacerdotale postponere, quam regi terreno non adhaerere: et sic accepta regni regiminis potestate, officii administrationem ecclesiasticī, cui professionis voto strīctus 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 permissum.


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

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

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

Eodem anno obiit Mauricius episcopus Parisiæ.³ The bishop of Paris dies.

¹ infeliciem] 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, quæ quondam exstiterat regina Angliæ, uxor Henrici regis junioris, acceptip crucem Jerosolimitæ profecionis, et in terra Jerosolimitana apud Accon in Dei servitio permansit,¹ usque ad consummationem vitae sua.

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

Eodem anno obiit Petrus de Ros,⁴ quo defuncto, Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Aimerico,⁵ nepoti Philippi Dunelmensis electi, archidiaconatuum Carleoli,⁶ et Philippus Dunelmensis electus dedit eidem Aimerico nepoti suo archidiaconatum de Dunelmo, et ecclesiæ de Acclet,⁷ quæ predictus Bucardus habuerat.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ⁸ 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 abīt ad summum pontificem.

Eodem anno facta congressione inter familiam regis Franciae et regis Angliæ, Hugo de Chaumunt, miles probus et dives, et valde familiaris regi Franciae, captus est, et regi Angliæ traditus; quem rex Angliæ 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,'Α.; she died in 1197. See p. 32 below.
² *Bucardus*] Burcardus, D.
³ *Eustachio*] Afterwards bishop of Ely.
⁴ *Petrus de Ros*] Archdeacon of Carlisle, 1180–1196.
⁵ *Aimerico*] Aimeric Thebert, archdeacon of Carlisle, 1196; also archdeacon of Durham as late as 1213.
⁶ *Carleoli*] Cardeoli, I.
⁷ *Acclet*] Atlech, C.; MS. G. omits the clause.
⁸ *Angliæ*] om. B. I.
⁹ *supra*] super, D. I.
caute custodiretur, per murum de nocte demissus est, permissione et consensu predicti Willelmi del Espinai. Unde rex Anglie iratus, eo quod Hugo de Chaumund sic manus suas evasit, cepit Robertum de Ros, et incarcерavit, et cepit de eo M. et CC. marcas argenti de redemptione, et Willelmu, del Espinai, proditor domini sui, suspensus est in patibulo.

Eodem anno Radulfus de Wigetot, clericus Gaufri, Eboracensis archiepiscopi, infirmabatur Romæ usque ad mortem, et coram domino papa Cælestino et universis cardinalibus confessus est, quod ipse multas litteras falsas in curia Romana adquisierat, tam de negotio domini sui Eboracensis archiepiscopi, quam de suo negotio proprio; et quod jam illas in Angliam præmiserat. Unde dominus papa in mandatis dedit Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ut si alique litteræ super negotio Eboracensis archiepiscopi inventæ fuissent continent, aliquid citra æquatatem et justitiam, retineantur. Unde factum est, quod Rogerus de Ripun, clericus, portitor harum, qui et toxicum portabat, tradiderat ea illi. Dicebat etiam quod toxicum illud tradiderat ei fuerat ad perdendum magistrum Simonem Eboracensis ecclesiae decanum, et quosdam alios ejusdem ecclesiae canonicos. Ad vocationem igitur Huberti Cantuariensi archiepiscopi, regis justitiarii, venit Lundoniæ predictus decanus Eboraci, et tradita sunt ei venenum illud, et annulæ aurei, et zona pulcherrima toxicata ad comburendum; quibus traditis, convenit multitudo maxima virorum et mulierum, in loco qui dicitur Totehil, ut testes fieren combustionis illorum; et sic igni tradita sunt, et redacta in cineres; portitor autem

A.D. 1196.
The crime charged against Geoffrey.
May 19.
John captures the bishop of Beauvais and William de Merlon.

illorum in carcere servabatur; et adversarii Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi omne crimen ei objiciunt.

Eodem anno Johannes comes Moretonii, frater regis, et Marchades princeps nefandæ gentis Bribacencorum, fecerunt xiv° kalendas Junii, feria secunda, equitatio-

nem ante civitatem de Bealvaiz; et dum intenderent praedæ capiendæ, Philippus Episcopus Belvacensis, et Willelmus de Merlou, una cum filio suo, et militibus multis et plebe armata, exierunt et ipsi armati; sed mox confecti sunt in prælio et capti praedictus Be-

vacensis episcopus, et Willelmus de Merlou, et filius ejus, et milites nonnulli, et ex plebe maxima pars in-

terfecta est. Et eodem die, post captionem illam, comes Johannes et Marchades processerunt usque Milli, castellum praediti Belvacensis episcopi, et per insultum ceperunt illud, et prostraverunt; et sic gloriosi trium-

phatores redierunt in Normanniam, et tradiderunt regi Angliæ Belvacensem episcopum, et Willelmum de Merlou et filium ejus, et alios captivos multos.

Octavus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo nonagesimo sep-
timo, qui est annus octavus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ, idem Ricardus fuit in Normannia apud Burum die Natalis Domini, quæ quarta feria evenit; plurimum confusus, eo quod Walterus Rothomagensis archiepisco-

pus noluit relaxare interdicti sententiam quam in Nor-

manniam tulerat. Corpora enim defunctorum insepsita jacebant per vicos et plateas civitatum Normanniæ. Misi ergo rex Willelmum Eliensem episcopum cancellarium suum, et ¹ ² Lexoviensem episcopum, et

 Normandy is still under interdict

1 Bealvaiz] Bealvez, Savile; Belavez, B. D. I.
2 cf] blank for name of bishop of

Dec. 25.
Richard keeps Christmas at Bur.
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 praesentia domini papæ Coelestini praefato Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et episcoypo 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 obterulat ei per internuncios suos, videlicet viros venerabiles et discretos,
episcopos et abbates, comites et barones, se in omnibus satisfacturum illi ad æstimationem 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 sibi perinde transitum faciebant in Normanniam, et sæpius eam devastabat; et ideo rex Anglie locum illum munierat 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 deliberationem, attendentes damna et inopportunitates quæ acciderent Normanniae, nisi locus ille de Andeli firmaretur, consuluerunt præfato Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, quod cum domino suo rege amicabiliter componeret, et ab eo sufficienter recompensationem aclaritorum recipieret, secundum proborum et sapientum virorum æstimationem; dicentes bene licere regi et cuilibet potenti infirmiora terræ sue munire, ne perinde damnun 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 papæ et cardinalium ordinata; idem rex, convocatis episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus Normanniae, dedit Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo et ejus successoribus, in recompensationem villæ suæ de Andeli, villam de Depe cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et vallem de Malauinai, 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, relieto rege Franciae, adhérerunt Ricardo regi Anglie; datis hinc inde obsidibus, quod non facerent concordiam neque pacem cum rege Franciae, nisi de communium illorum consilio. Rex enim Anglie illos, et fere omnes potentiores de regno Franciae, muneribus allexit: nam ejus prælarga manus donis caetera vincebat dona;

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1 Malauinai] altered to Malandai, in A. Savile has Malandai, MS. I. omits the word.
2 et vallem . . . suis] om. D. I.
3 frumentum] frumenta, D. I.

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A.D. 1197, Agreement between Richard and the archbishop of Rouen.
A.D. 1197.

Alliance with the Count of Flanders.

Surrender of Dangus to Richard; it is besieged by Philip.

Richard invades Anvergne and Philip takes Dangus.

The count of Flanders besieges Arras.

Philip attempting to relieve it, narrowly escapes capture.

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

Dedit itaque Baldewino comiti Flandrīae pro auxilio suo quinque millia marcarum argenti; et 1 obsides dedit quod ipse cum rege Franciæ pacem non faceret, nisi de consensu regis Angliæ; similiter fecit ei rex Angliæ.


Interim Baldewinus comes Flandriæ obsedit civitatem de Araz; quo audito, rex Franciæ venit illuc cum copioso exercitu; in cujus adventu comes Flandriæ, relicta obsidione, redivit in terram suam, et rex Franciæ secutus est eum: cunque rex Franciæ longius procesisset, comes Flandriæ fecit pontes diruere ante regem Franciæ et retro, ita quod neque victus neque exercitus ejus potuit ad eum accedere. Tunc rex Franciæ in arco positus supplicavit comiti Flandriæ, ne ipse 4 coronam Franciæ contaminaret, asserens quod ipse ea intentione Flandriam intraverat, ut cum illo amicabiliiter componeret; jurans quod ipse redderet illi totum jus suum, si dimisisset Richardum regem Angliæ extra

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1 et] ipse added as a correction in A.; ins. B. The treaty between Baldwin and Richard is given in the Fœdera, i. 67, 68, but without date.

2 Crespin] Crispin, B. D. G. I.

3 rex] Angliæ, ins. B. D. I.

4 ipse] ipsam, i.
pars posterior.


Et quia comes Flandriæ contra pactum quod cum rege Anglie fecerat venire noluit, cepit colloquium inter regem Franciae et regem Anglie, feria quarta post festum Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis, inter Gwaillium et Andeli; et sic rex Franciae liberatus a captione comitis Flandriæ rediit in Franciam, sed nullam conventionem, quam comiti Flandriæ fecit, tenere voluit.

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

Eodem anno Johanna soror Ricardi regis Anglie, 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 exstinguendam Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, regis justitiarius, fines Gwalliae adiit, et pacem inter illos fecit.

Interim Philipus Belvacensis episcopus, missus Aurelianensi episcopo fratre suo Romam, dum adhuc esset in captione regis Anglie, in hac forma scripsit Celestino summo pontifici;

Epistola Philippi Belvacensis episcopi ad Celestinum papam de captione sua.

"Venerabili domino et patri Celestino, summo pontifici, The letter."
"Philippus Belvacensis episcopus salutem, et obedientiam canonicam devotionem. Superne dignitatis favor & felicitatem vestram et multipes successus evexit in altum, ad me-

1 pactum] factum, B. D. I.
2 Gwaillium] Gwaillun, I.; Gwan- nun originally in A., corrected to Gwaillun, Gwaillun, B.
3 Eustachio] He was consecrated March 8, 1198, at Westminster. R. Dice. 701.
4 rex] A blank left for the name of the kingdom. C. supplies Wallia.
6 Epistola] This letter, with the answer of the pope, is regarded as certainly fictitious. They are in all the MSS.

He was prince of South Wales 1136–1197.
A.D. 1197.
Letter of the bishop of Beverwals to the pope complaining of his imprisonment.

moriam reducens illud legale, 'Insontes invitat ad culpam, qui sontes praterit impunitos.' Universis ecclesiis jam quasi notorium habetur, quam irreverenter, quamque inhumanitus in dominum suum regem Francorum rex Anglie jam priddem insurrexerit, similis homini, qui montem magnum fune circumligatum tentat dejicere: afferens igitur secum ignem et gladium, subnixus etiam apostaticis Brabantorum cohoribus, patriam nostram irruebat circum quaque depopulando. Quod cum videssem, illius legalis non immemor, 'Vim vi repellere licet,' et illius, 'Pugna pro patria,' militum et civium cuneis et aciei procerum im mixtus, 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 aliquid vel mitigationis mihi contulerunt. Taliter ergo rex Anglie in christum Domini more lupino saevire non formidavit, nec vestris auribus incognito existimavit. Quid ergo dissimulatis? Quis pater videret filium errare, et taceret? Quis 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 injecerunt, dicte sententiae can nonem inciderunt; injurias nobis et molestias enormiter illatas vestrae paternitati lacrymabiliter insinuans: lacrymis nostris et petitioni clementer descendatis. Indignum est siquidem subjectorum petitionem ad vos directam, vacuam reverti et innam, quae etiam humilitatem reddoet, et rationis subnixa est prasio. Nec immunis est a culpa, qui quod potest corrigere, 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 claustro dolor assiduus sepeliri. Valeat paternitas vestra.'

\[1\] caret: a, ins. D. I.
Rescriptum Coelestini papae ad Philippum Belvacensem episcopum.1

"Coelestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto fratri Philippo Belvacensi episcopo salutem, et ab exorbitatione reditum maturare. Sinistre licet tibi eveniret, nec mirum: Cunctorum enim mercetur odium, qui omnium se in com mune approbat inimicum. Praesulem namque pacificum exuens, militem bellicosum induisti: clypeum pro infusa, gladium pro stola, loricae pro alba, galeae pro mitra, lanceam pro baculo pastorali, ordinem rerum et seriem perturans, temerarius bajulasti; non vim, sicut allegas, sed virtutem vi repellere volens, non pro patria, sed contra patriam pugnans. De Gallia namque vestra jam publice declarare possimus: 'Oe terra cujus rex puér est.' Rex namque vester regi Anglorum sacramento corporaliter praestito tene- batur astrictus super indemnitate tam oppidorum quam terrarum suarum sibi fideliter observanda, saltem usque ad reditum ab inimico persecuturis suae. Sed contra fidem et sacramentum impudenter veniens, oppida praedicti regis violenter occupavit, terram suam hostili manu crudeliter vastavit: ab ergastulo rediens tandem regi vestro rex ille viriliter occurrit, non de multitudine, sed in Domino Deo spem ponens. Non enim virorum, vel virium, sed virtutum copia bella vincuntur. Pro rege quidem Anglie contra superbiam humilitas, contra injustam jus et aequitas; contra arrogantiam et intemperantiam, modus et modestia hucusque dimicaverunt. Numerosis enim virtutibus non viribus inmunes viri victoriam consequuntur. Injuriam armis irro-gatam armorum propulsare remodio leges et iura permittunt. Nunc vero tamen, licet sero, rex Anglie se suamque mani festavit animositatem; quoniam vix est, ut virtus clausa celari, ut animositatis ardor extingui, ut probitatis scintilla comprimi sebeat, et includi. Virtus enim claudi nescit: et ignis oppressus in flammam erumpit. Effrenem siquidem domini tuae vanitate non solum consiliarium, sed et comple- ytem te tam insipientem quam insolentem exhibuisti; qua se et invenisti; pulsasti, et pulsatus proccubuisti; in foveam quam fecisti, merito incidisti; ubi autem inventus, ibi judicatus. Sicut igitur ex litterarum tuarum nobis directarum tenore perpendimus; eccessus propios nobis impu-

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1 It is hardly necessary to remark that this letter is a fabrication. 2 patris, Savile.
A.D. 1197. Letter of the pope to the bishop of Beauvais.

Death of the bishop of Poictiers.

Truce for a year between Richard and Philip.

The count of Flanders visits Canterbury.

Baptism of Frederick of Sicily.

“tans, culpam tuam in nos retorquere labores, nos tepidos
asserens et dissimulatores. Quid ergo si ovis in pastorem,
in patrem filius insurgat? nec pastor, quem non pavisse; nec
pater erit, quem non poniteat educasse. Necos ergo in
homine telum est, simplicitatis imagine malignam astutiam
palliare. Regi tamen Anglorum pro te litteras dirigimus
supplicatorias. Qualitate namque captioniis tuæ medullitus
inspecta, in tali caso non possimus nec debemus imperare,
sed tantum supplicare. Victis¹ ergo sapienter vincendum²
'est, quia sic legisit, 'Sapientia vincit malitiam.' Nos autem
pro te supplicamus non importune, sed opportune. Argumentum
enim diffidentiae est importunæ,³ importuna precum
instantia. Debitum quoque facilius exsequitur patiens ex-
spectatio, quam exerctum importuna petitio. Interim vero⁴
vinculis et lamentis mancipatus, vincula tua lamentaque
leniter patiæterque sustineas, juxta illud poëtae,—

"Leniter ex merito quicquid patiare ferendum est:
"Quæ venit indigna poena dolenda venit.

"Et illud merito lamentis expiandum est, quod cum pudoris
"dispendio venter adquirit. Datum—:"

Eodem anno obit Willelmus⁵ Pictavensis episcopus;
et quamvis vita illius videretur hominibus valde reprehensibilis,
tamen ipse post obitum ejus claruit in miraculis.

Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciæ, et Ricardus rex
Angliæ, statuerunt inter se treugas a festo Sancti Hilarii
in unum annum; habentes in proposito, quod interim⁶
pacem et concordiam finalem inter se facerent.

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

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

¹ Victis] Victor, Savile.
² vincendum] vincendus, Savile.
³ importuna] om. Savile; inopportuna, B.
⁴ vero] ergo, B. D. I.
⁶ interim] iterum, Savile.
Eodem anno Jordanus de Curci, frater Johannis de Curci principis regni de Ulvestir in Hibernia, a quodam Hibernensese familiarii suo interfectus est. In cuius vindictam praedictus Johannes frater ejus commissit prelium cum Hibernensibus regulis; ex quibus partem fugavit, partem stravit, et terras eorum sibi subjugavit; quorum partem magnam dedit Dunecano filio Gilberti filii Fergus, qui eo tempore, quo praedictus Johannes preliatorus 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 Aurelianesis episcopus, qui pro liberatione Philippus fratris sui Romam profectus fuerat, obit apud Senes-la-veille.


1 Dunecano] Lord of Galloway. 2 Suero] Swero, B. I. 3 Aurelianesis] Aureliensi, A. Henry of Dreux: he died April 25, and was buried at Sienna; Gall. Chr. viii. 1456. B. calls Sienna Senes-la-Vielle; O. omits the sentence.

4 Magnutino] 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 Swthede] Perhaps Philip of Swabia; but C. and G. read Sweethe.

9 Baiveria] Lewis I. of Wittelsbach, 1183–1231.

10 Lamburg] Walraan 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 cæteri 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 Franciæ et Angliæ, et Templariorum et Hospitaliorum, præerat terre Jerosolimitanæ, exercitum Christianorum paravit ad obсидionem illam solvendam: et dum ipse nixus columnæ cujusdam fenestrae in thalamo superiore, 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 afferri propter metum paganorum. Exercitus autem imperatoris, qui de Alemannia et cæteris terris ejus iter Jerosolimitanum per mare susceperat, transitum fecit in 2 Normanniam et Angliam; et sic rectum cursum tenens usque in Hispaniam, eripuit civitatem Silvice de manu paganorum; quam penitus destruxerunt, non reliquentes lapidem super lapidem: timebant enim quod, si eam tradidissent regi Portugalensi, ipse eam amitteret, sicut prius fecerat.

De miraculo quod contigit in peregrinatione Alemannorum versus Jerusalem.

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

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1 Saxonie] de Saxonia, B. I.  
2 io] per, I.  
3 MS. D. has this paragraph as far as terrorem, and then omits down to egressus, p. 27.
irent in illa peregrinatione Jerosolimitana, in uno hospitalio 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 suae interfecit illum et pecuniam illius cepit; et imponens collo suo cadaver interficti, proiectus est ut illud in aquam projiceret; sed nullo modo potuit illud a se projicere; et in diluculo domum rediens cum cadavere collo suo inhaerente per tres dies in absconsu latuit; sed cum diutius sustinerem hoc non potuit, perexit ad pontificem suum, ut eum consuleret quid super hoc sibi esset agendum; et praecepit ei pontifex in virtute obedientiae, ut ipse cadaver illud secum in terram Jerosolimitanam ferret, ut sic expiatis sordibus, redderet animam suam coelorum sedibus: et sic pœnitentia ductus processit cum aliis peregrinis, portans in collo suo defunctum illum, ad laudem bonorum, et malorum terrorem.

Eodem anno Henricus Romanorum imperator cepit magnates Sicilie, ex quibus quosdam incarceravit, quosdam diversis pecinis afflictos morti tradidit; Margaritum etiam admiralem, cui ipse dederat ducatum de Duraz, et principatum de Tarente, et principatum maris, evulsion oculis et abscissis testiculis, excaecari et ementulari fecit. Constancia vero imperatrix videns mala quae imperator gesserat, cum gente sua fedus iniit contra imperatorem maritum suum; et Panornum pergens, cepit thesauros imperatoris, quos reges Sicilie a multo tempore thesaurizaverant; unde principes regni animosiores effecti injecerunt manus in Alemanos imperatoris, et interfecterunt eos. Imperator vero fugiens inclusit se in munitione forti, volens, si posset, repatriare; sed adversarii ejus ita vies ei pracluserant, quod nusquam securus illi patebat egressus.

1 Tarente] Tharente, I.
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 prævaluit exercitus Christianorum; et ceperunt in prælio illo Christiani duo filios Saladini, et plus quam sexaginta admirales; et Saphadinus frater Saladini lethaliter vulneratus vix evasit. Ceperunt etiam Christiani Sidonem civitatem, et Laliche, et magnum Gybel; et erat spes Christianorum quod filius Saladini tenens civitatem Jerosolimæ vellet Christianari; sic enim erat interlocutum per internuncios mediantes.

De captione de Barhud a Christianis.

Interim pagani qui erant in civitate de Barhud, timentes incursum Christianorum, muros civitatis prostraverunt, et traxerunt in castellum victus necessaria, et arma et lapides murorum ad defensionem castelli. Quadam autem die, dum ad hoc perficiendum diligentius instarent, relictis tantummodo in castello quinque captivis Christianis compeditis, et uno solo Saraceno janitore, repente supervenit ³ archiepiscopus Maguntinus, imperatoris Romanorum cancellarius, cum exercitu magno navali; et Aimericus ⁴ dominus insulae de Cipre, et præfati duces et principes Alemannorum venerunt cum equestri exercitu et pedestri. Quod videntes Christiani qui erant in castello, cucurrerunt, ut pote-rant, et clauaserunt portas castelli, et janitorem interfecerunt, et ascendentes in altum, clamaverunt alta voce signum Christianorum, videlicet, "Adjuvet nos ⁵ Chris-

PARS POSTERIOR.  

"tus Dei Filius, et sanctum sepulcrum Ejus." Ad hanc vocem pagani exterriti fugerunt ad montana, relicto castello et civitate, et victu et armis suis; et Christiani recepti sunt in civitate et castello cum gaudio. Deinde praefatus Maguntius archiepiscopus, consilio et voluntate principum Alemannicæ, tradidit Aimerico domino Cypri Acon et Tyrum et Barhud, et cæteras 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.


6 Valoniæ] Valoins, B. The exile of the archbishop is made amongst other things the ground of a severe remonstrance addressed by Innocent III. to John, dated Perugia, Sept. 18, 1198. Epp. Inn. III., ed. Baluze, i. 215.
A.D. 1197.  
Miracle in 
the cathe- 
dral of 
Dublin.

in qua imago Christi expressius erat incisa, quam omnes, tam Hybernenses quam caeteri, in maxima ve- 
neratione habeabant. Cum autem hæc imago Crucifixi 
esset humi prostrata et spinis circumsepta, feria sexta 
facta est in agone, et 1 apparuit facies ejus suffusa 
rubore vehementi, velut esset in camino ardenti; et 
sudor magnus exivit a facie ejus, et ab oculis 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 ecclesiae diligent 
colligentes, miserunt legationem post Johannem Cumin 
archiepiscopum suum, mandantes ei hujus rei eventum 
sub sigillorum venerabilium virorum testimonio, domino 
papæ insinuandum. Caeteri autem episcopi Hiberniae, 
liset sepius legissent,

"En tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,"
tamen clausis oculis transierunt damna et injurias, que 
ministri praefati Johannis comitis Moretonii coepiscopo 
suo fecerant, et facti veluti arietes non habentes cornua, 
cedebant a facie subsequentis. Johannes vero Dubli- 
nensis episcopus exulans venit ad Ricardum regem 
Angliae, et ad Johanne comitem Moretonii fratem 
ejus; sed nullam potuit habere justitiam, vel ablatorum 
restitutionem.

Henricus Romanorum imperator obit.

Eodem anno Henricus Romanorum imperator, facta 
reconciliatione cum uxore sua et magnatibus Sicilie, 
incepti ægrotare, et misit Savaricium Batoniensem 
episcopum, consanguineum et cancellarium suum de 
Burgundia, ad Ricardum regem Angliae, et obtulit ei 
recompensationem pecuniae quam de eo ceperat pro 
redemptione sua, sive in auro et argento, sive in terris. 
2 Dum autem predictus Savaricus iret in ista legatione,

1 facta . . . et] om. B. D. I.  
2 D. omits all that follows as far 
as pontifex, p. 33.
praedictus Romanorum imperator obiit in Sicilia apud Messanam, in vigilia Sancti Michaelis, excommunicatus a Coelestino papa propter captionem et redemptionem Ricardi regis Angliae; et ideo prohibit idem papa ne corpus illius sepeliretur, licet archiepiscopus Messanae pro eo multum orasset. Venit itaque praefatus archiepiscopus ad Coelestinum papam tribus causis. Prima, ut corpus imperatoris sepeliretur; secunda, ut Marchowaldus, summus imperatoris justitiarius, liberaretur ab obsidione Romanorum, qui eum obsederant in Marchia Guarneri, non permitentes eum inde exire; tertia, ut Fredericus praefati imperatoris filius coronaretur de regno Siciliae. Ad primam vero petitionem respondit dominus Coelestinus papa, quod non permitteret corpus imperatoris sepeliri, nisi de consensu regis Angliae, et nisi pecunia, quam ipsae de rege Angliae ceperat, reddereetur. Ad secundam petitionem respondit dominus papa, quod praedictus 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 praefati imperatoris filius coronaretur de regno Siciliae. Et factum est ita, datis domino pape mille marcis argenti ad opus ipsius, et mille marcis argenti ad opus cardinalium. Juravit etiam imperatrix, tactus sacrosanctis Evangelis, quod praedictus Fredericus natus fuit de legitimo matrimonio praedicti Henrici imperatoris et ipsius.

Eodem anno Rogerus, frater Roberti comitis Leicestriæ, electus episcopus Sancti Andreæ in Scotia, ordinem sacerdotes et pontificalem consecrationem suscepit a Mathæo episcopo de Abberden.

1 archiepiscopus Messanae] Be- rard, archbishop 1196–1233.
2 poterat] potuit, B. I. The word has been omitted and afterwards inserted in the margin, in A.
3 Rogerus] He had been elected to the see of S. Andrews in 1188; and was consecrated on the first Sunday in Lent, 1198. Chr. Mallros.
Eodem anno Margareta, quondam regina Angliae, et postea regina Hungariae, obiit apud Accen. Defuncto itaque Henrico Romanorum imperatore, magna pars Thusciae, quam idem imperator et predecessores sui abstulerant Romanis pontificibus, reddit a est domino Celestino summo pontifici; videlicet Ege-Pendant 1 et Sancta Christina, 2 et Mons-Flaseun et Redecok, et Saint Clerc, cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum; redditeque 3 sunt ei Sicilia, Calabria, Apulia, et omnes terre quae 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 ægrotare, 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 Sanctæ Priscae virginis, 4 ei succederet in papatu: de cujus sapientia, sanctitate, et justitia plurimum confidebat. Adeo enim ipsum præ caeteris diligebat, quod illum loco sui constituerat ad omne officium suum exsequendum, nisi in consecratione episcoporum, quod pertinebat ad officium episcopi Hostiensis cardinalis. Praeterea 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 conditionaliiter 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,

1 Ege-Pendant ] Written originally in A. Egke pendante; the k is marked for erasure. Egke-pendant, B.
2 Christina] Crispina, Savile.
3 que] om. I.
4 John of S. Paul, cardinal præs 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\textsuperscript{1} episcopus cardinalis, similiter dominus Jordanus de Fossa Nova, similiter dominus Gratianus,\textsuperscript{2} et cæteri 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,\textsuperscript{3} et quod nec latrones, nec robatores, nec utlagi, nec receptatores eorum erunt,\textsuperscript{4} nec in aliquo eis consentient,\textsuperscript{5} et quod cum hujusmodi malefactores scire poterunt,\textsuperscript{6} illos pro posse suo capient et destruent.\textsuperscript{7}

\textit{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 festo Sancti Ed- mundi apud Westmonasterium; anno vili\textsuperscript{8} regni Ricardi regis Angliae.}\textsuperscript{9}

\"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 libras et ceteræ 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 lani panni, ubicunque fiant, fiant\".

\textsuperscript{1} Portuensis\textsuperscript{1} Peter.\textsuperscript{10}
\textsuperscript{2} Gratian, cardinal deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian since 1173.\textsuperscript{11}
\textsuperscript{3} servabunt\textsuperscript{12} servarent, Savile.\textsuperscript{13}
\textsuperscript{4} erunt\textsuperscript{14} essent, Savile.\textsuperscript{15}
\textsuperscript{5} consentient\textsuperscript{16} consentirent, Savile.\textsuperscript{17}
\textsuperscript{6} poterunt\textsuperscript{18} potuerint, Savile.\textsuperscript{19}

\textit{Nov. 29, Assize of measures.}

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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 seldse sue rubros pan-

nos vel nigros, vel aliqua alia, per quae visus emptorum sepe decipiuntur ad bonum pannum eligendum. Prohibitum est etiam, quod nulla tinctura vendenda, nisi solummodo nigra, fiat alicubi in regno, nisi in civitatibus aut capitalibus burgis. Constitutum est etiam, ut in singulis civitatibus aut burgis, quatuor aut sex legales homines de ipsa villa, secundum quantitatem villae, similiter in vice-

comitatu, aut cum vicecomitis non fuerint, assignentur ad assisam custodiendum, sub hac forma; ut ipsi videant, et certi sint, quod omnia vendantur et emantur per eandem mensuram, et omnes mensurae sint ejusdem quantitatis secundum diversi-

tatem mercium. Et si aliquem invenerint, qui confessus vel convictus fuerit, quod per aliam quam per statutam mensuram vendiderit, corpus ipsius capiatur, et in prisonem mittatur, et omnia catalla sua in manu domini regis sa-
siantur, nec deliberentur, nisi per dominum regem aut capitalem ejus justitiam. De ipsis custodibus statutum est, quod si ipsi hanc custodiam ita neglligenter fecerint, quod per alios quam per eos attentientur coram justitiis domini regis, aliquam transcriptam assisam transire, vel de mensuris victualium vel aliarum mensurarum, vel latitudine pan-
norum, ipsi custodes de catallis suis in misericordia domini regis remaneant. Præceptum est etiam, ut post festum Puri-

ficationis Sanctæ Mariæ nullus in aliquo comitatu vendat aliquid nisi per scriptam mensuram, quæ ejusdem sit qua-

titatis; nec post faquam Mediae Quadragesimæ quæ erit apud "Stanford, vendat aliquem pannum minoris latitudinis quam "duarum ulnarum infra lisuras."
Nonus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ.

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


Deinde venit idem archiepiscopus ad Coventre, et per mandatum Coelestini summi pontificis introduxit monachos in ecclesiam ejusdem villæ cathedralem, quos Hugo de Nunant, ejusdem loci episcopus, ab eodem ecclesia vi et armata manu expulerat, et loco illorum in ea canonicos sæculares instituerat, et eos de bonis ecclesiae, quæ ad sustentationem monachorum ibidem Deo servientium collata fuerant, præbendaverat; sed canonicos inde expulsionis, bona ecclesiae redierunt in usus monachorum.

Litteræ apostolice pro monachis in Coventrensem ecclesiam restituendis.2

"Coelestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis, Papalitter. archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, episcopo Lincolnensi, et abbatibus Sancti Eadmundi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem."

1 Ludelaue ] Ludelawe, B. G.; Lodelawe, C.; Luddelaue, 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 praedecessoribus nostris provida fuerint deliberatione statuta, nullatenus irritari volumus vel infringi; sic quae per subreptionem ab eis obtenta sunt, in honestatis ecclesiasticae detrimentum, corrigi volumus, et in statum redigi meliorem. Cum enim, sicut acceperimus, immo sicut bene novimus, [in] Coventrensi ecclesia, fere a prima fidei Christianae fundatione in Anglia, ordo fuerit monasticus institutus, et in tantum in ea observantia servierunt regulari ut ab apostolica sede privilegiari, et ab inclyta recordationis regibus Anglie dotari meruerunt et ditari; dolemus plurimum, quod venerabilis frater noster Cestrensis episcopus, occasione quarundam litterarum, quas a bone memoriae Papa Clemente, praedecessore nostro, ad falsam suggestionem, sine conscientia nostra et fratrum nostrorum, sicut dicitur, et quod vix credere possimus, impetravit, dilectos filios, priorem et conventum, de eodem monasterio violenter ejectit, et canonicos in eo instituit seculares. Cum igitur id in monasticae religionis, et totius ecclesiasticae disciplinae redundant opprobrium; nec nostrae intentionis sit, quod praedictus praedecessor noster tanta irregularitati, nisi circumventus, auctoritatem praestiterit aut favorem; fraternitati vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus, et in virtute obedientiae districte praedictus, quatenus praedictis litteris, vel aliiis privilegiis confirmationis vel indulgentiae nequaquam obstantibus, amotis ad eodem monasterio secularius clericis, qui in eo fuerunt per suprascriptum episcopum instituti, sine aliquo questionis impedimento monasticum ibidem ordinem reformetis, monachos ejusdem exinde redeunte in illud, et tales in eo instituentes personas, qui Beati Benedicti regulam observare debenter et desiderent. Memoratum vero episcopum, et universos detentores honorum ejusdem ecclesiae, ad eorum restitutionem per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellantione 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. Innoc. III., ed. Balue, i. 129.)

1 meruerunt] meruerint, Savile.
2 quod] om. I.
3 quae] quæ, Savile.
Infra.1 Natale Domini venerunt Rothomagum nuncii archiepiscopi Coloniae,2 et nuncii archiepiscopi Maguntini,3 et nuncii4 aliorum magnatum Alemanniae, ad Ricardum regem Angiae, dicentes ei ex parte predictorum virorum, quod omnes magnates Alemanniae convenirent apud Coloniam octavo kalendas Martii, ad eligendum imperatorem; et præceperunt ei in vi sacramenti et fidei, quibus astringebatur imperator et imperio Romano, quod omni contradictione et occasione remota, veniret Coloniam ad prænominatum terminum, ut ipse, sicut precipuum membrum imperii, esset simul cum ills ad eligendum imperio idoneum, Deo auxiliante, imperatorem. Quibus auditis Ricardus rex Angiae, habito cum suis consilio, misit cum prædictis nuncius Alemannorum Philippum Dunelmensem episcopum, et Eustachium Eliensem electum, et Willelmum de Chimeli Andegavensem electum, et5 Ebroicensem electum; et Baldewinum de Betun comitem Albemarliæ, et Willelmu de Pratellis, et Willelmum de Lestang,6 et Bricium Camerarium, ut ipsi interessent electionis imperatoris loco ipsius. Ipse

1 Infra. Eodem anno infra, I. MS. D. omits all as far as “campanis,” p. 40.
2 Adolf of Altena, 1193–1205.
4 nuncii] om. B. I.
5 et] Blank in A. for the name of the elect of Evreux; Guarin de Cierrey, bishop, 1195–1201. It is not clear why he is here called electus; as he appears to sign charters of 1195 as bishop. The editors of the Gallia Christiana say, “Nescio cur annis, 1195, 1197, 1198, Guarinus dicatur electus.” Mr. Stapleton (Norman Rolls, II. lxiv.) suggests that the elect of Avranches, William Ptholomeus, is meant in this place.
6 de Lestang] del Estang, B. I.
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 illuc ire, et iterum incidere in manus eorum, nisi securitas daretur ei de salvo conductu eundi et redeundi. Nec mirum; ipse enim, quae promiserat magnatibus terrae se daturum pro deliberatione sua, non solverat, et quia corpus imperatoris propter eum inhumatum erat. Ipse vero rex Anglie modis omnibus nitebatur efficere, quod Henricus dux Saxoniae, nepos ejus, fieret imperator. Sed quia ipse nondum de peregrinatione sua redierat, et mora ad se periculum trahebat, praefatus rex Anglie effecit adversus archiepiscopos Coloniensem et Maguntinum, et adversus quosdam aliorum magnatum Alemanniae, quod ipsi elegerunt ¹ Othonem nepotem suum, fratrem predicti Henrici ducis Saxoniae, in imperatorem.

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

Qualiter procedendum est in electione Romanorum imperatoris.

Defuncto itaque imperatore, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, duces, comites, et omnes cæteri magnates Alemanniae in unum convenientes, debent duodecim viros eligere communiter, et eos presentare archiepiscopo Coloniensi, ² et archiepiscopo Maguntino, et duci de Saxonia, et comiti Palatino de Reno; et quemcunque illi quatuor elegerint de predictis duodecim electis erit rex Alemannorum, et coronabitur apud Hays capellam, ubi Karolus Magnus sepultus requiescit.

¹ elegerunt] om. I. ² Coloniensi] Colonie, I.
De coronatione Othonis regis Alemannorum.


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

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 Suavie] Swavia, B. I.
A.D. 1198.

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 substantiationem monachorum in Finchale¹ Deo servientium.

Servientes vero, qui missi fuerant ad prefatum dissaisinam faciendum, 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 populó civitatis, excommunicaverunt omnes hujus violentiae auctores, consiliarios, fatores, accessis caneditis, et pulsatis majoribus ecclesiae campanis.

¹ 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 annum² trecentos milites in servitio suo retinere, videlicet unicuique militi tres solidos Anglice monetae de liberatione in die; ad quod faciendum cum ceteri omnes proni essent, non audentes resistere voluntati regis; solus Hugo Lincolniiensis 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 ecclesia suæ detrimentum redundaret, tum quia successores sui dicerent, "Patres nostri "comederunt uvm acerbam, et dentes filiorum obstu¬"pescunt." Et conversus ad Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, admonet instanter

"... ut nil agat unde pudendum;
"Unde pudor frontem signet, mentemque reatus
"Torqueat,⁴ aut famae titulos infamia iedat."

Eodem anno Alienor regina, mater Ricardi regis Anglie, venit Rothomagum, et misit pro Hugone filio Ernisii de Nevilla,⁵ et pro aliis custodibus, qui custo-

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


De obitu Cælestini papae.

Eodem anno Cælestinus papa, senio et gravi morbo laborans, obiit Romae mense Januarii, vi° 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 arcius] acrius, I.  
3 papa] om. I.
suam in hac forma scripsit universis archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ et Scotiæ;

Epistola Innocentii papæ ad archiepiscopos et episcopos Angliæ et Scotiæ de eleccione sua.¹

"Innocentius, apostoliceæ 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 previdit, per labentium temporum vices mirabili quodam 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 propriisque ratione disponat, imperfectum tarn enim conditionis humanæ non solum in causis operum deficit per scrutinandis, verum etiam in ipsis causarum operibus vix sufficit admirari. Quod utique considerans apostolus, exclamabat, 'O altitudo divitiarum sapientise et scientiae Dei! Rom. xi. 33. quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia Ejus, et investigabiles 'vie Ejus!' Quamvis enim, 'Universæ vie Domini misere- Ps. xlv. 17. ricordia et veritas, et omnia opera Ejus judicia sunt,' Deut. xxxii. testante prophetæ, usque adeo tamen successus hominum, et humilationem et exaltationem eorum dextera Domini, licet justa, occultæ tamen ratione procurat, ut causa nobis non modici stuporis existat, quod in regimine potestatis junciæs quandoque senioribus anteposìt; ut juxta prophetam, 'Filii nascantur pro patribus,' qui super omnem terram Ps. clvii. 23. constitutâ, Dominici nominis recordentur; sicut de nobis ipsis, 'a Domino factum est, et est mirabile in oculis nostris,' Ps. cl. 17. Sane felicis memoriae Coelestino, patre ac praecedessore nostro, sexto idus Januarii viam universæ carnis ingresso, et in Lateranensi basilica, sicut moris est, honorifice tumulato; fratres nostri, videlicet episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi cardinales, et nos ipsis cum eis, simul in unum secessimus;³ ut tanto licentius et tutius de substitutione pontificis tractaremus, quanto tractatus ipse majorem deliberandi copiam

¹ This letter is given in the Epistole Cantuarienses, p. 385. It is the first of the letters of Innocent III. in the edition of Baluze, Paris, 1682.
² omnia quæ omnia cum, Savile.
³ secessimus successimus, Savile.
et amplioris circumspexitio nis consilium requirebat. Cumque missarum solemnibus in honore Sancti Spiritus celebratis, requisitae fuissent omnium voluntates, ad insufficieniam nostram oculos extenderunt, humano forsitan existimantes arbitrio, in sacculo Benjamin ciphum argentum invenire; licet plures ex ipsis aetatis, ordinis, et meriti ratione posissent ad apicem tantae dignitatis dignius evocari. Cujus situdinem dignitatis onus cum insufficientia nostra veniet recusaret, utpote nostris debilibus humeris importabile; sub illius tamen confidentia et exemplo, Qui in firmitatem Beatit Petri tertia prius negatione probatam, post trinae confessionis vocem, in gubernationem Suarum ovium confirmavit; quod per sona nostrae multiplex imperfectio denegat, in Ipsius contulimus voluntatem, fratrum nostrorum acquiescentes instantiae, ne reluctacio diuturna discidii paceret detrimentum, aut dispositioni Divinae videretur aliquatenus obviare; sperantes quod Ipse, 'Qui dat omnibus affluenter, et non imp' properat, Qui novissimum fratrum, virum itaque secundum cor Suum, in regem de post fvaentes assumpsit,' de lapidibus suscitabit filium Abrahae, vocans ea quae non sunt tanquam ea quae sunt; ut insinuas eligens queque fortiora confundat. Nos igitur ecclesiasticæ provisionis sollicitudinem assumset, et non modicum confidentes de vobis quos Designavit, nosque ad tantae difficultatis onus levius perferentium, sollicitudinis nostrae voluit esse participes; universitatem vestram rogamus, monemus, et exhortamur in Domino, quatenus insufficientiam nostram vestris orationibus apud Dominum adjuvetis, et circa commissam nobis et vobis Dominici gregis custodiam diligenter et utiliter vigilantes, defectum nostrum suppleris velitis, et injunctam nobis ecclesiasticis oneri gravitatem vigilanti studio comportare. Nos enim vos, tanquam specialia membra ecclesiae, honorare intendimus, et in necessitatibus vestris, quantum Dominus permiserit, adjuvare. Datum Laterani, quinto idus Januarii.'

S. James i. 15. 1 Sam. xiii. 14. Ps. lxviii. 72. S. Matt. iii. 9. 1 Cor. i. 27.

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

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

March 11.

Eodem anno, quinto idus Martii, obiit Maria comitissa Campaniae, mater comitis Henrici de Campania, qui fuit dominus Accaron. Hec eadem comitissa fuit soror Philippri regis Franciae ex parte patris, et soror Ricardi regis Angliae ex parte matris.

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

Eodem anno Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus venit in Normanniam per mandatum Ricardi regis Angliae fratri sui, in spe pacis faciendae cum rege. Rex namque misit pro decano et canoniciis Eboraci, ut venirent ad eum in Normanniam, 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 clerico et officiali predicti archiepiscopi Eboraci, ad interesse predictæ restitutioni. Archiepiscopus autem ille dedit magistro Honorio archidiaconatum de Richemund. Promiserat enim rex archiepiscopo, quod de cetero non impediret donationes suas. 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.
responsalem, archiepiscopus, accepta a rege licentia, a curia recessit, Romam iturus tam pro negotiis regis quam pro suis. Tertia vero die sequenti, venerunt ad regem decanus et canonici Eboracenses, et fecerunt adversum eum, quod restituto, quam ipse fieri praeciperat archiepiscopo, dilationem caperet usque ad reditum archiepiscopi; et sic impedito archiepiscopi negotio, decanus et canonici Eboracum redierunt, plurimum jacentes de familiaritate regis, dicentes se habere cartam regis, quod rex non componeret ad plenum cum archiepiscopo, nisi ipsi fuerint infra pacem illam.

De consecratione Innocentii papæ.


Eodem anno, mense Martio, Hugo de Nunnant,² Coventrensis episcopus, obiit in Normannia apud Bec Herleuin,³ 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 Angliae, et consecratus est Cantuariæ ab Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

¹ Octoviano] Octaviano, I.  
² Nunnant] Nunant, B. G. I.  
³ Bec Herleuin] Becherlewin, B.  

A.D. 1198.  
and disturb the arrangement.  
They return in triumph to York.  

De consecratione Innocentii papæ.  


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Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ, et comes de Sancto Egidio, et Johanna uxor ejus, quondam regina Siciliæ, 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 Angliæ² unum clericum et unum³ 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 homínibus villæ, sive liberis sive rusticis, et duos milites legales de hundredo, qui juraverunt quod fideliter et sine fraude dicerent, quot carucarum wannagiam⁴ fuerint in singulis villis; quot scilicet in domi-nico, quot in vilenagia, quot in eleemosynis viris religiosis collatis, quas ipsi donatores vel eorum heredes tenentur warentizare vel adquietare, vel unde viri religiosi debent servitium facere; et super singula carucarum 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. Hæc pecunia recipiebatur per manus duoro-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-

¹ Eodem . . . evenit] om. D. G. ⁴ wannagia ] altered in A. to wainagia ; D. has wanagia.
torum, qui aliquid contra juramentum suum celaverint in hoc negotio, statutum erat,\(^1\) quod quicunque rusticus convictus fuisset de perjurio, daret domino meliorem bovem de carucu sua, et insuper responderet de proprio, ad opus domini regis, tantum pecuniae quantum fuisset declaratum per perjurium fuisset\(^2\) celatum; si vero liber homo convictus fuisset, 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 distinctiones super homines suos; et si per defectum baronum distinctiones factae non fuissent, caperetur de dominico baronum, quod super homines suos restaret reddendum, et ipsi barones ad homines suos inde caperent: et libera feoda ecclesiariarum parochialium de hoc tallagio excipiebantur; et omnes excaetae baronum, quae fuerunt in manu domini regis, communica- verunt. Serganteria vero domini regis, quae non erant de feodis militum, excipiebantur; sed tamen imbrevis- abantur et numerus carucatarum terre, et valentiae terrarum, et nomina servientum; et omnes servientes illi summonebantur esse apud Lundonias in octavis clausi Pentecostes, audituri et facturi præceptum domini regis. Ipsi vero qui electi fuerant et constituti ad hoc negotium regis faciendum, statuerunt, per aësti- mationem legalium hominum, ad uniuscujusque carucæ wanagiïum\(^3\) 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 secularibus negotiis implicitum,

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\(^1\) erat] est, I.
\(^2\) fuisset] fuisse, A. B.
\(^3\) wanagium] corrected in A. to wainagium in an early hand;
A.D. 1198. quod minime sufficere possit ecclesiasticis causis regendis, cum a sapiente dictum sit:

"Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula sensus."

Accusabant etiam eum dicentes, quod ex praecipeto illius violata fuit pax ecclesiae Sanctae Marie del Arche Londoniiis, 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 Anglie, ut pro salute animae suae non permitteret prelatum archiepiscopum diutius fungi administratione seculari, neque de cetero ipsum, vel alium episcopum sive sacerdotem, in administratione seculari admittaret; praecipit etiam in virtute obedientiae universis ecclesiis prelatis, ne ipsi ausu temerario seculares administrationes susciperent. Et sic Cantuariensi archiepiscopo a regimine regni deposito,¹ Gaufridus filius Petri successit ei in regimine regni. Accusabant etiam eum dicentes, quod ipse in prejudicium matricis ² ecclesie Cantuariæ capellam novam construxerat apud Lamee,³ et in ea canonicos seculares, de bonis et redditus monachorum Cantuariensium ditatos, constituerat, et in ea, contra consuetudinem et dignitatem Cantuariensis ecclesie episcopos consecraverat: et nisi celerius remedium adhiberetur, timuerunt quod dignitas Cantuariensis ecclesie minueretur, et ad capellam illam apostatricem transferri videretur. Unde dominus papa plurimum commotus, in hac forma scriptum Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo;


The complaint about the church at Lambeth.

The pope desires the king to dismiss him from the office of justiciar.

Geoffrey Fitz-Peter succeeds him.
Epistola Innocentii pape ad Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, de prostratione capellæ de Lamee.¹

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto fratri Huberto, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam the benedictioiiem. Quanto personam tuam sinceriiori caritate diligentius, tanto majori dolore turbamur quoties ea de tuis audimus operibus quaé pontificæi derogant honestati. Cum enim Cantuariensis ecclesia, cui præsse dinoce ris, inter Anglicanas ecclesias celebris habeatur, et religione inter alias consuueerit flore; nos et fratres nostri grave gerimus, et molestum, quod, siout dilecti filii nostri, prior et conventus, humili conquestione monstraverunt, tu ad ipsius desolationem ecclesie satagis multiplexer, et laboras in constructionem capellæ de Lamee, contra prohibitiones fœlicis memoriae Urbani et Clementis, Romanorum pontificum, bonas memoriam Baldewino prædecessori tuo factas, post appellationes multiplices ad sedem apostolicam interpositas, in magnum ecclesie Cantuariensis praefulciæum, propria tementiate processeris, et de bonis ejusdem ecclesiae canonicis² institueas in eadem a: a cujus siquidem constructione capellæ, si eam quam debes Romane ecclesie reverentiam et obedientiam exhiberes, et commisœ tibi ecclesiae pro-visionem et sollicitudinem quæreres et gereres, quam tene ris; tibi et honorì tuo melius consulens, penitus desti-tisses, nec super eo procedere studuisses, quod prædecessori tuo sic districte cognosceres a sede Apostolica fuisse interdictum. Cum igitur diminutionem Cantuariensis ecclesie, sicut nec debemus, nec volumus aliquatenus sustinere, predicorum prædecessorum nostrorum vestigiiis inherentes, de fratrum nostrorum consilio, frateruitatì tua per apostolica scripta mandamus, et districte præcipimus, quatenus, omni mora et occasione postpositis, si etiam ab ecclesia tua absens fueris, aliquatenus non obstante, quicquid post appellationes, tam tempore prædecessoris tui quam tui, 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 "canonicos" canonichos, A. ²cædom] ea, B.
He orders the destruction of the church, the dissolution of the new foundation, and the annulment of all acts in its favour.

He threatens suspension in case of disobedience.


"sorum nostrorum in opere actum capella noscitur memora
rate, infra triginta dies post suspensionem praesentium, tuis
expenstis non differas demoliri, in irritum prorsus revocans
et deducens quicquid de instituendis canonici et aliiis
circa capellam prædictam factum est, vel enormiter inno
vatum. Clericos præterea, qui in capella illa post inhibi
tiones apostolicas Divina officia celebrarunt, tamdiab ab
officio et beneficio teneas pro suspensis, donec super hoc
satis fecerint competenter, universis operibus demrolitis
que apud candel capellam facere præsumpserunt; et uni
versa que post appellationes in corum sunt attentata
gravamina, exeniorum, velidicet, et ecclesiærum, et
aliorum invasione, que ante appellationem habuerunt, in
statum pristinum, appellatione remota, deducas; sententias
excommunicationis vel interdicti, quas in quosdam ipsorum
fratrum temere diceris promulgasse, publice nuncies non
tenere; ac de caetero circa statum ipsius monasterii, contra
prohibitionem nostram, hujus occasione negotii non præsumas
aliquid innovare; illicitos invasores villarum, possessionum,
redituum prædictorum fratrum, usque ad satisfactionem
idoneam vinculo anathematis astringas. Si vero, quod non
credimus, mandatum nostrum infra statutum terminum ne
-glexeris, vel distuleris adimplere, quia justum est ut ei
obedientia subtrabatur, qui sedi apostolicae negligit obedire,
venerabilibus fratribus nostris sufraganeis tuis per scripta
nostra mandamus, quatenus tibi obedientiam et reverentiam
non impeendant. Quod si forte ab eis, vel alio corum, contra
prohibitionem nostram tibi feceris aliquam obedientiam et
reverentiam exhiberi, scias te ex tunc ab episcopali digni
tate suspensum, et tamdiab ipsi sententiae subjacere, donec
satisfacturus de contemptu, nostro te conspectui representa
entes: non autem distinguimus utrum in loco a prædesces
soribus nostris interdicto, vel alio, in praedictæ capellæ
constructione, et canonicoorum institutione processeris, in
ecclesiæ Cantuariensis præjudicium et gravamen, cadem
contradictionis causa durante; nisi quod ex hoc magis cre
dimus eadem ecclesiæ derogari, quod in remotioni loco
fabrica illa est translata. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum
Petrum, viii. Idus Maii, pontificatus nostri anno primo."

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

Præterea idem papa Innocentius significavit per litteras \(^1\) suas universis suffraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiae, quod ipse in mandatis dederat Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, quod infra triginta dies post litterarum suarum susceptionem suis propriis expensis non differret demoliri capellam de Lame, et in irritum revocare quicquid de instituendis canonicalis et aliis circa predictam capellam factum est, et eætera, quæ in litteris suis continentur; praecipitque predictis suffraganeis, quod si archiepiscopus suus Cantuariensis ecclesiae quicquam illorum, quæ in litteris suis continentur, facere differret, illi ei de eætero nullam impendam obedientiam vel reverentiam. Sed præfatus archiepiscopus regio munimine septus, sperans se ab adversariis non posse superari, universos monachorum redditus, et obligationes tumæ beati martyris Tomæ, fecit saisiri in manu regis, et mandata summi pontificis parvi pendent, non permisit monachos Sanctæ Trinitatis septa templi exire. Tandem\(^2\) tamen, consilio suorum, demolitus est capellam de Lame propriis sumptibus.

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

Eodem anno Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo et Simone decano, una cum canonicis Eboracii 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 Eborac-

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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.
The canons refuse to submit to arbitration.

Roger of S. Edmund made archdeacon of Richmond by the king, in opposition to Honorius. The Dean installs him and the clergy submit to him in spite of Honorius’s appeal to Rome.

censes se subjicereunt de supraddictis controversiis examini domini Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, et dominorum Wintoniensis et Wigornensis episcoporum; et cum præfatus Eboracensis archiepiscopus in hoc voluntati regis consentiret; decanus et canonici Eboracenses responderunt, quod non ponerent se in judicio alicujus, nisi in judicio canonicorum 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 prædicti archidiaconatus recepisset per mandatum archiepiscopi, et quamvis idem archiepiscopus litteris suis mandasset universaliter universo capitulo Eboraci, præcipiendo in vi obedientiae, ut præfatum Honorium recepisset et in stallum mittenter, 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 præfatus decanus, turbator pacis, et immemor professionis, quam prædicto 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 prædicti Simonis Apuli violentam coercionem, et propter regis ferialia mandata, fidelitates fecerunt ipsi Rogero de Sancto Edmundo, contra canonicam obedientiam quam prius fecerant magistro Honorio. Deinde convenientibus in capitulo Eboraci Simone decano et ceteris canonici

ejusdem ecclesie, praefatus decanus in impetu irae sua non deferens appellationi ad summum pontificem factae, excommunicavit Hughonem Murdac, concanonicum suum, eo quod ipse noluit consentire eis, nec aliquid de suo mittere in conspiratione facta contra archiepiscopum suum. Dicebat enim, "Vehementer emungit, qui san¬guinem ejicit." Eodem die cum idem Hugo ad vep¬peras audiendas intraret chorum, præcepit ei decanus ut exiret, tanquam excommunicatus; sed quia exire noluit, decanus fecit candelas exstingui, et exivit a choro.¹

_Pugna inter Anglos et Walenses apud castellum Matildis._

Eodem anno Gaufridus Filius Petri, justitiarius Ang¬gliae, magno congregato exercitu, profectus est in Gualliam² ad succurrendum hominibus Willelmi de Brause, quos Venhunwin³ frater Chadwalani obsederat in castello Matillis;⁴ quo cum venisset, commisit præ¬lium campestre cum predicto Venhunwin et suis; et licet plurimi Walanorum armati essent, tamen non valentes resistere exercitui Anglorum, versi sunt in fugam, et projicientes arma sua, ut levius citiusque fugerent, oc¬cisi sunt ex illis plusquam tria millia et septicenti, exceptis retentis, et illis qui lethaliter vulnerati evase¬runt a campo. Ex parte autem Anglorum unus solus, ex inopinato iactu sagitta ad quodam socio suo incaute directae vulneratus, interiit.

¹ et... chorο] om. I.
² [Gualliam] Gauuliam, A.; Wal¬liam, B. D.
³ [Venhunwin] Venhunwin, B.
⁴ D. Gwenwynwyn, son of Owain Cyfeiliog, prince of Powys.

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The dean excommunicates Hugh Murdac.

A.D. 1128.

¹ 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.
A.D. 1198. August.

De nativitate Alexandri filii Willelmi regis Scotorum.

Eodem anno, mense Augusti, Ermengard regina Scotorum peperit filium suum primogenitum, et vocatum est nomen ejus Alexander; 1 quem Jocelinus venerabilis ecclesie Glascuensis episcopus baptizavit.

Eodem anno, finitis treugis quas rex Franciae et rex Angliæ statuerant inter se, donec segetes hinc et inde colligerentur; statim exarsit eorum nefanda rabies, et postpositis omnibus colloquis hostiliter intravit uterque alterius regnum, et depopulando terras eorum prædas abduxerunt, 2 homines ceperunt, villas combusserunt. Rex autem Franciae novum genus grassandi in populo reperiens, fecit quamplures de hominibus regis Angliæ, quos captivos tenebat, excsecare; et sic provocabat regem Angliæ, licet invitatum, ad consimile impietatis opus.

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

1 Alexander] Afterwards Alexander II., king of Scots, 1214–1249. MS. D. omits all from this point to page 61.
2 abduxerunt] adduxerunt, A.
4 comites de Brene ] Erard II., count of Brienne. (Walter; Bouquet, xvii. 588.)
5 comites Flandriae ] Baldwin IX.
6 comites de Gynes ] Baldwin II., 1169–1206: or Arnold (Bouquet, xvii. 588).
7 comites Bolonia ] Reginald of Dammartin.
9 comites de Sancto Egidio ] Raymond VI.
10 comites de Blais ] Lewis, 1191–1205.
11 vero] om. B. I.
villam de Sancto Odmaro, et per vim cepit eam; similiter Ary, et alias quamplures villas regis Franciae.

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

De prælio campestri habito 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, amisit viginti de militibus suis, et plusquam LX. servientes, equites, et pedites multos; et rex Angliae secutus est regem Franciae in ore gladii, donec se inclusit in castello suo de Vernun.


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

et in crastino captioneis castellorum illorum, videlicet, ivto. kalendas Octobris, feria iiæ., vigilia Sancti Michaelis, Philippus rex Franciæ magno congregato exercitu mili-
tum\textsuperscript{1} et communarum suarum, exiens de Mantua pro-
fectus est versus Curceles. Quo audito, rex Angliæ venit obviam ei, et commisit cum eo prælium campes-
tre, inter Curceles et Gysorcium;\textsuperscript{2} in quo prælio rex 
Franciæ confectus fugit ad castellum de Gisors; et cum 
ascendisset pontem villæ de Gysorz, fractus est pons 
præ multitudine intrantium, et ipse rex Franciæ ce-
cidit in rivera de Ethe, et bibit ex ea, et nisi celerius 
extraheretur, submersus in ea fuisset. In prælio autem 
illo Ricardus rex Angliæ tres milites una lancea 
prostravit.

Nomina militum qui capti fuerunt in prælio illo de 
gente regis Franciæ.

Et in prælio illo capti sunt ex militibus regis Franciæ 
viri famosi quorum nomina hæc sunt:—

- Galis\textsuperscript{3} de Porta.
- Matthæus de Mummorenci,\textsuperscript{4}
- Alanus de Roci,\textsuperscript{5}
- Girardus de Chori.
- Philippus de Nantuil.
- Petrus Lieschans.
- Robertus de Sancto Dionisio.
- Theobaldus de Walangugardun.
- Chedunald\textsuperscript{6} de Trie.
- Rogerus de Molent,\textsuperscript{7}
- Aimer Thiers.

\textsuperscript{1} militum] litum, I.  
\textsuperscript{2} Gisorciun] Gisorz, I.  
\textsuperscript{3} Galis] Acalis, I.  
\textsuperscript{4} Mummorenci] Mummoreti, I.  
\textsuperscript{5} Alanus de Roci] Alanus de Boci, I.  
\textsuperscript{6} Chedunald] Chedulad, B. I.  
\textsuperscript{7} Molent] Modlend, I.; and 
 altered in A. to Modlent, which is 
the reading of B. and G.
Reinaldus de Ascy.
Baldewinus de Lenni.
Tomas de Asgent.
Ferri de Paris.
Petrus de la Truie.
Gwido de Levers.
Furmentin.
Terricus 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 Punci.¹
Dembertus.²
Puncardus de castello Empurcam.⁵
Willelmus de Merlou.
Johannes de Grangia.
Teodaldus ⁴ de Breun.
Robertus de Beauburc.
Gafridus de Borhai.⁵
Petrus de Maidnili.⁶
Fulco de Gilerval.
Johannes de Serni de Loenais.⁷
Radulfus de Valuel.
Ferri de Brunai.
Toma del Castel.⁸
Willelmus de Rochemunt.⁹
Teodaldus ⁴ de Misci.

¹ Ponic] Punci, I.  
² Dembertus] Debertus, I.  
³ Empurcam] Empurtam, I.  
⁴ Teodaldus] 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.
Epistola Ricardi regis Anglia ad Philippum Dunelmensem episcopum de supradicta victoria.

"Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliae, dux Normanniae et Aquitannie, et comes Andegaviae, dilecto et fidei suo Philippo,
eadem gratia Dunelmensi episcofo, salutem.


Nos autem ibi cum una lancea prostravimus Matheum de Montemorenci, et Alamum de Rusci, et Fulconem de Gilerval, et captos detinuimus; et bene capti sunt de gente sua usque ad centum milites, quorum nomina majorterum vobis, et aliorum milites usque ecos visderimus, quia Marchadeus habuit usque ad xxx. quos non vidimus. Servientes, equites et pedites capti sunt, quorum non est numerus, et dextrarii ducenti capti sunt, quorum septies viginti cooptati sunt de ferro. Ita devicimus regem Franciae apud Gysorcium;
"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. Hæc vobis significamus ut super hoc nobiscum gaudeatis. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Dantu, 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 ipse secutus est Francos post tergum cum paucis suorum, donec ad mandatum suum convenuerunt 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 praeter octos. Quod factum est versus Vernum; non enim per viam qua venerant abierunt, id est per vadum de Dantu; sed timore conversi sunt versus Vernum: ita quod prœrum adhuc est inter Francos, quod rex illorum, relictis illis, praefugerit 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 Dantu, et cepit, ut supra dictum est, Burriz et Curceles, et aliud castellum; hominesque sui duobus diebus continuus rapinis et incenditis Vogesin Gallicum devastaverunt: et cum rex Angliæ subvertit 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 suæ, et persecutus est eum rex Angliæ cum exercitu suo, et comprehendit de militibus regis Franciae ad minus octoginta tres, praeter servientes alabastos, et praeter

\[1\] Philippus
\[2\] Marchadeus
\[3\] habuit
\[4\] Gallicum
\[5\] Anglia

\[A.D. 1198. Sept. 25.\]
A.D. 1198. September. Recapitulation of the campaign.

suffocatos in fluvio de 1 Ethe: præ nīmia enim fuga Francorum pons Ethe ante Gyssortium 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 Milo 2 de Puteaco, comes de Bar, et Johannes frater Willelmi des Barres, miles probus, suffocati sunt in fluvio Ethe. Willelmus autem castellanus et dominus de Curceles, statim post captionem suam mortuus est.

Postea rex Franciæ congregato exercitu intravit Normanniam, et combussit Ebricaes 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 multi.


Postea Robertus comes Leicestriæ venit cum xl. militibus et paucis servientibus ante castellum de Pasci, quod suum fuerat; et milites castelli exierunt, cum multis servientibus et communa vila, ut eum et suos comprehendenter; sed ipse non valens eis resistere, vix evasit, et amisit de militibus sui quatuor. In crastino autem iterum idem comes, associatis sibi pluribus de familia regis Angliæ militibus, venit ante castellum de Pasci, dispositis prius militibus, et servientibus multis per diversa loca ad insidias parandas hominibus castelli. 5 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.

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Interim Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus transfretavit 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 quæ occupaverat, excepto castello de Gysorcio, de quo ille poneret se in judicio sex baronum Normanniae, quos ipse eligeret, et sex baronum Gal- liae, quos rex Angliae sibi eligeret, quis eorum majus jus haberet in castello illo habendo; noluit rex Angliae, nisi comes Flandriae, et cæteri omnes, qui relictio rege Franciae ei adhaerentur, fuissent infra pacem.

Eodem anno Hugo Bardulfi,¹ et magister Rogerus Arundel,² et Gaufridus Hachet, quibus commissœ fuerant Lincolnesire, Notinchamsire,³ Derebisisire, Everwicshire,⁴ Norhumberland, Westmeriland, Cumberland, Loncastre,⁵ itinerantes placitaverunt placita corona regis.⁶

*Item de placitis corona regis.*

I. De placitis coronaæ novis et veteribus, quæ non sunt finita coram justitiis domini regis.

II. De omnibus assisis.

III. De morte antecessorum.

IV. De nova dissaisina.

V. De magnis assisis usque ad x. libratas terræ, et infra.

VI. Et de advocationibus ecclesiariis: et capienbur coram eas electiones magnæ assisæ per mandatum domini regis, vel eijus capitalis justitiae.

VII. De ecclesiis vacantibus, vel non vacantibus, quæ fuerunt de donatione domini regis, quis eis donaverit, vel quis eis habeat, et per quem, et quantum valent.

¹ Bardulfi] Bardulphi, B.; Bardolfi, I.
² Arundel] Harundel, B. I.
³ Lincolnesire, Notinchamsire]
⁴ Derebisisire, Everwicshire, Norhumberland, Westmeriland, Cumberland, Loncastre, itinerantes placitaverunt placita coronaæ regis.
⁵ List of agenda of the interim justices.
⁶ The initial E is erased in G. but C. has Everwickschyre.
⁷ Lancastre] Lancaster, I.
⁸ corona regis] quorum capitula have sunt, ins. B. I. The words have been written in A., and marked for erasure.
A.D. 1138.
Agenda of the itinerant justices.

Weights and measures.

Inquiry into the conduct of officials.

Visitiation of the forests.

"VIII. De exactis domini regis, et eorum valentiis, et quis eos habeat, et per quem.

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

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

"XI. De sergentariis¹ domini regis, quis eas habeat, et per quem, 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 misericordia² regis, et non ad merciati.

"XIV. De purpustaris domini regis.

"XV. De viis domini regis estreciatis.

"XVI. De thesauris inventis.

"XVII. De malefactoribus, et eorum receptoribus.

"XVIII. De fugitivis retatis reversis post ultimam assisam.

"XIX. De omnibus ponderibus et mensuris et ulnis renovatis, et si iv. homines, qui sunt attornati ad hæc custo-
dienda in unaquaque villa, fecerint quod inde statutum est, et si attachiaverunt transgressores illius assisæ;³ et si non attachiaverunt, prout deberent, puniantur sicut ipsi transgressores. Totum vinum illius qui vendidit contra assisam, capiatur ad opus domini regis, et praterea dominus vini, et venditores sint in misericordia.⁴

"XX. Inquirendum est per omnes comitatus de hidas et carucatis, et si justitiarii, qui ad hæc attornati fuerunt, se bene habuerunt, et si de omnibus receperunt, et si aliquam conceleaverunt. De custodibus portuum maris, si quid receperunt quod non reddiderunt, et si mercedem aliquam receperunt pro jure regis retinendo, et si quis aliquid receperit, qui non fuerit ad hoc attornatus. Inquirendum est, si omnes venerint ad summioniones 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 injuste, tota Anglia a mari usque ad mare redacta est ad inopiam. Sed his nondum finitis supervenit alius genus

¹ sergentariis] serjanteris, B.;
sergantariis, I.

² misericordia] domini, ins. I.

³ et si . . . assisæ] om. I.

⁴ misericordia] regis, add. B. G.
tormenti ad confusionem hominum regni, per justitiarios forestarum, videlicet per Hugonem Nevilla, summum justitiarium omnium forestarum regis in Anglia, qui cognominatus est Cuelu, et per Hugonem Wac, et per Ernisium 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 forestse archiepiscopi, episcopi, comites et barones, et omnes libere tenentes, et de unaquaque villa praepositus et iv. homines, ad audienda præcepta regis.

**Hoc est assisa domini regis, et hoc 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 aliiquis 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 eorum catalla, hucusque, qui ei foris facerent de venatione sua, et de forestis suis. Nam si qui a modo ei foris facerent inde, et inde convicti fuerint, plenariam vult de illis justitiarum fieri, quals facta fuit 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 vel aliquem alium qui eum possit inde 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 necesse cies fuerit sine vasto, et hoc per visum forestarii sui et viridariorum suorum.

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1 Cuelu] Euellu, Savile. MS. G. 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. clx.; Hoveden, ii. 245.
3 catala] catella, I.
4 facta fuit] fuerit, I.
5 warantum] suum, add. Savile.
6 inde] om. I.
A.D. 1198. Assise of the forest.

"(IV.) Item praecipit, quod omnes illi qui boscos habent infra metas forestae domini regis, quod ponant idoneos forestarios in boscis suis, de quibus forestaris ipsi, quorum boeci fuerint, sint plogii, vel tales inveniant plogios idoneos, qui possint emendare, si forestarii in aliquo foris fecerint quod domino regi pertineat.

"(V.) Item praecipit, quod sui forestarii curam capiant super forestarios militum et aliorum, qui boscos habent infra metas forestae domini regis, quod bosci non destruantur. Nam si super hoc bosci eorum destructi fuerint, sciant bene illi, quorum bosci fuerint, quod de ipsismet vel de eorum terris capietur emendatio, et non de alio.

"(VI.) Item praecipit rex, quod sui forestarii jurent, quod secundum omne posse suum tenebunt ejus assisam, 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, ponant xii. milites ad custodiendum venationem suam et viride in forestis suis, et quod iv. milites ponantur ad 1 adgistantos boscos suos, et ad recipiendum pannagium suum, et custodiendum, et defendendum.

"(VIII.) Item praecipit quod nullus adgistet boscos suos infra metas forestae sua, antequam bosci eorum adgistentur; 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 destruavint, nihil aliud capiatur de forestarioillo, nisi proprium corpus suum.

"(X.) Item praecipit, quod nullus clericus ei foris faciat de venatione sua, neque de forestis suis: et praecipit bene forestaris suis, quod si invenirent eos forisfacientes, non dubitet in eos manus imponere, ad eos resistendos et capiendos; ipse enim illos inde warentizabit.

"(XI.) Item rex praecipit, quod omnia essartae videantur in quolibet tertio anno, tam nova quam vetera, infra reguardum, et omnes purpresturas similiter, et omnia vasta boscorum, et quod quodlibet illorum per se imbrevietur.

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

(XIII.) Prohibendum est etiam de placita forestae, ne aliqui careta excet chimium in foresta regis, neque porci sint in foresta regis tempore de foinesun, siculicet xv. diebus ante Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistae, et xv. diebus post idem festum.

(XIV.) Est antem scien dum, qui foris fecerit in foresta regis de venatione sua, et inde attaintus fuerit, erit in misericordia regis ad oculos et testiculos perdendos. Qui antem foris fecerit in foresta regis de viridi, sive per colpaturam, sive per esscrionem morae, sive per colpationem de subnemore, sive per essartum, sive per novam purpcrestaram per seepem vel fossatum, vel per remotionem molendini, vel cursus aequum, vel bercariae, vel aliarum domorum, vel per fenum calcanum extra sepes vel extra fossata, erit in misericordia regis de pecunia sua, nisi habeat viridarios vel forestarios regis ad warantum. Similiter qui arcus vel sagittas portaverit, vel canes duexerit sine copula, per forestam regis, et inde attaintus fuerit, erit in misericordia regis.

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

(XVI.) In rewordo antem forestae hæc supradicta videnda sunt. Et videnda sunt in rewordo nova essarta, et vetera inbladata post ultimum rewardum, et quo blado vel legumine inbladata sint. Nova antem sarta erunt in manu regis; si vetera sarta inbladata sunt de frumento vel siligine, una quaque acra dabit regi xii. denarios de illa vestitura; et si inbladata fuerint de avena vel hordeo, vel fabis vel pisis, vel alio legumine, unaquaque acra dabit regi vii. denarios de illa vestitura.

(XVII.) Et est scien dum, quod tempore Henrici regis, filii Matildis imperatricis, permissem erat intra metas forestae fossata fieri loco sepium. Et idem rex Henricus statuit apud Wudestoke, quod quicunque foris fecerit ei de foresta sua semel de venatione sua, de seipso salvi plegii capiantur; et si iterum foris fecerit similiter capiantur de ipso salvi plegii.
The king exacts the payment of the carucage by the regular clergy.

All charters are to be confirmed by the new seal.

The pope intercedes with Richard for archbishop Geoffrey.

He sends several bishops to propose terms.

Geoffrey asks their opinion of the case in writing, under seal.

Eodem anno, quia viri religiosi noluerunt dare regi v. solidos de wanagio caruce,\(^1\) sicut caeteri homines regni faciebant, exiit edictum a rege, ut quicunque in regno suo foris fecisset clerico, aut alii viri religiosi, non cogetur satisfacere illi; sed si clericus aut alius vir religiosus foris fecisset alicui laico, statim compelleretur ad satisfaciendum illi: unde factum est, quod viri religiosi ad redemptionem coacti sunt.

Præterea præcepit 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.


\(^1\) *carucae*
"vestra sit : ætatem habetis, pro vobis ipsis loquamini :" et his dictis, qui missi fuerant redierunt ad regem cum responso archiepiscopi. Et archiepiscopus Romam pro-
flectus est; et rex Angliae contra eum nuncios suos Romam misit, qui in hac forma scripserunt ei; "Do-
minus papa scribit vobis 1 cum multa supplicatione, ut restituatis archiepiscopo Eboracensi archiepisco-
"patum sum in integrum, cum fructibus de archi-
episcopatu perceptis. Ita tamen, quod de pecunia, in qua cum vobis tenere proposuimus, vobis plene
et integre satisfaciat: scribit etiam domino cardinali,
et aliis quibusdam, ut ad faciendum vos moneant et
inducant: vel si 2 omnino nolueritis, primo per inter-
dictum Eboracensis provinciae, deinde per totius regni
interdictum, appellatione remota, compellant. Clerici
vero vestri per cardinalem, commotione præmissa,
ad resignandos redditus, quos interim perceperunt,
cum districione cogerunt, nisi aut auctoritate Ro-
manæ ecclesiæ, aut decursione sex mensium, juxta
Lateranense concilium excepto tempore suspensionis,
poterint se tueri. Canonici Eboracensis ecclesiæ debent
moneri ad concordiam, et si aliquid novum emerserit,
iterum utraque pars domini pape se presentabit
obtutibus, privilegio canonicorum vigorem solitum
obtintente."

Eodem anno in æstate contigit intra 3 fines Italie, in quadam civitate non longe a Januis, res digna
memoria. In hac civitate primo quidam civis, exi-
gentibus peccatis 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,

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1 scribeb vobis = scripsit nobis, I. A letter to this effect is in the register of Innocent III., dated Apr. 28, 1199; that is, after Richard's death. Epp. Innoc. III., ed. Baluze, i. 369.
2 si = om. I.
3 intra = ultra, B. D. I.

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Eodem anno Aimericus ³ de Lezinant, ⁴ rex de Barhud, ⁵ et Accaron, princeps insulae Cypræ, et caeteri Christiani de terra Suliae, et pagani qui in eadem terra sunt, ceperunt inter se treugas a festo Nativitatis Sancti Jo hannis 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 Turneham, concessit ei coram rege recognitionem xii. legalum hominum de visneto

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1 Luceio] possibly Lucedæ.
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.
PARS POSTERIOR.

69
de Clif, quis illorum magus jus habebat in manerio illo
de Clif: videlicet utrum ipse Robertus debet ma-
erium illud tenere de episcopo Dunelmensi, et inde
homo suus esse; vel episcopus illud debere in
demenio. Per sacramentum igitur xii. hominum re-
cognitum, manerium illud esse jus hereditarium
uxoris predicti Roberti, filiae Willelmi Fossard, et sic
prefatus episcopus amissit manerium illud de Clif, quod
prædecessores sui multo tempore pacifice et inconcusse
possederant. Facta autem sunt hæc coram Hugone Bard-
dulfi, et magistro Rogero Harundel, et Gaufrido Haget,
tunc temporis placitorum corone regis apud Eboracum
justitianis.

Eodem anno, defuncto magistro Ricardo de Colding-
ham, Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus, et Bertrannus
Dunelmensis ecclesiae prior, dissenserunt in donatione
ecclesiarii predicti Ricardi. Dicebat enim episcopus
donationem ad eum pertinere, tanquam ad episcopum
et abbatem Dunelmensis ecclesiae. Hæc contra prior
respondit, quod ad eum pertinebat donatio, quia præ-
decessores sui et ipse sine alicujus contradictione eas
dererant, sicut 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 pontificem confirmatione. Sed non sic
quievit controversia illa, immo in tantum excrevit, quod
ex precepto episcopi Aimericus Dunelmensis archidia-
conus obsedit 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
feicit ignem apponi ostio ecclesiae, ut sic per fumum et
vaporem ignis monachos ejiceret. Semiusto igitur ostio,
funesti satellites intraverunt ecclesiam, et vi et armata manu ejecerunt monachos. Sed Deus mutavit sententiam episcopi in melius, qui, propter reverentiam beatissimi Cuthberti, eandem ecclesiam in proprios usus monachorum contulit, et carta sua confirmavit: ¹ concessit etiam illis liberam ecclesiarum suarum dispositionem, cum illius tamen ² moderato assensu.

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

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Epistola Innocentii papæ de subvectione facienda terræ Jerosolimitana.⁴

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

¹ Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus, Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et suffraganeis ejus, et dilectis filiis abbatibus, prioribus, et aliis ecclesiariis prelatis, comitibus et baronibus, et universo populo in Eboracensi provincia constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Post miserabile Jerusolimitanae regionis excidium, post lacrymabilem stragem, populi Christiani; post deplorandum invasionem illius terræ in qua pedes Christi steterunt, et ubi Deus rex noster salutem in medio terræ dignatus est operari; post ignominiosam nobis vivificæ crucis translationem, in qua Salus mundi pependit, et delevit chirographum mortis antiquæ; apostolica sedes super tantæ calamitatis infortunio turbata laboravit, clamans et plorans, ita quod praæ cessante clamore raucæ factæ sunt fauces ejus, et ex vehementi ploratu pene ⁵ ipsius oculi defecerunt.

² Verum si, secundum prophetam, Jerusalem oblitii fuerimus, oblisiviscatur nos dextra nostra: adhaerat lingua nostra ⁶ faucibus nostris, si non meminerimus ejus.' Clamat adhuc apostolica sedes, et quasi tuba vocem exaltat, excitare cupiens

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¹ confirmavit] et, ins. I.
² tamen] om. I.
³ Eodem . . . scripsit] omitted in MSS. B. D. I. with the following letter.
⁴ This is a circular letter issued by Innocent III. to several archbishops 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, "xviii. kal Septembris," vol. i. pp. 192-194; and is less perfect than the copy in the text.
⁵ pene] om. Savile.
"populos Christianos ad praelium Christi bellandum, et vindicare omnem iniam Crucifixi, usa Ipsius verbo dictentis: '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 devenerunt, vide Syon lugent, eo quod non sint qui veniant ad solummitatem; facti sunt inimici ejus in capite. Sepulcrum Domini, quod propheta gloriosum fore praedixit, profanatum ab impis inglorius est effectum. Gloria nostra, de qua dicit apostolus: 'Mihi autem abisit gloriari nisi cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi,' sub manu tenetur hostili; et Ipse Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui captivitatem nostram pro nobis moriens captivavit, quasi captivus ab impis ab hereditate sua cogitare exulare. Existentem quondam in castris area Domini Sabaoth, Urias domum sanctam ingredi reu- saviat, a licto uxoris se compescens amplexu. Nunc vero principes nostri, gloria Israel de loco suo in injuriam nostri translatæ, vacant adulterinis amplexibus, deliciis et divitiis abutentes; et dum se invicem inexorabili odio persequentur, dum unus in alium suas nüitur injurias vindicare, non est quem moveat injuria Crucifixi: non attendentibus ipsis, quod jam insulentam inimici nostri, dicentes: 'Ubi est Deus vester, Qui nec Se potest, nec vos, de manibus nostri tres liberare? Ecce, jam profanavimus sancta vestra; ecce, jam ad desiderabilia vestra manum extendimus, et ea loca impetu primo violabili invasimus, et ea vobis tenemus invitatis, in quibus superstitionem vestram principium fingitis suscepisse. Jam infirmarium et confregimus hastas Gallorum, Anglorum conatus clusimus, Teutonicorum vives compressimus, nunc secundo Hispanos domiwm animosos, et cum omnis virtutes vestras in nos duxeritis concitandas, vix adhuc in aliquo profacis. Ubi est ergo Deus vester? exsurget nunc et adjuvet vos, et latif vobis et Sibi protector. Theutonici siquidem, qui se presumebant inauditum de nobis reportare triumphum, ad nos vehementi spiritu transfretaverunt; et cum solum castrum Baruth, nullo defendente, cepissent, nisi eos sicut et alios principes vestros fugre beneficium liberasset, in se poteniam nostram graviter fuissent experti, et eorum stragem ipsorum soboles perpetuo ploraret. Reges enim et principes vestri, quos dudum fugavimus de terra Orientis, ut terrem suam audendo dissipulent, ad suas latebras, ne dicamus regna, reversi, malunt se invicem expugnare.

1 clusimus] clusimus, Savile.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1198.
Aug. 13.

Their re-
proaches are unanswer-
able.

The German Crusaders have taken Beirut, but gone home again.

Exhortation
to a new
Crusade.

"quam denuo vires nostras et potentiam experiri. Quid
imperio superest, nisi ut his, quos fugientes in excussionem
terrae custodiam dimisisit, gladio ulteror per-
emptis, in terram vestram impetum faciamus, nomen ves-
'trum et memoriam perdituri? Qual iter ergo, fratres et
fili, opprobria exprobrantium repellemus, qualiter eis pote-
rimus respondere? cum eos pro parte verum prosequi videa-
mus? sicut nuper ad audientiam nostram certa significacione
pervenit. Receptimus enim litteras de partibus ultramarinis,
quod, cum Teuthonici Accon navigio pervenissent, castrum
de Baruth obtinuerunt, nemine defendente. Saraceni vero in
Jopen facientes impetum ex adverso, eam per violentiam
occupaverunt, et caesis multis Christianorum millibus eam
funditus destruxerunt. Verum Teuthonicorum rumoribus de
morte imperatoris acceptis, non expectato passagii temp-
ore, naves reduces ascenderunt. Unde Saracenii, qui ad
resistendum eis exercitum paraverant copiosum, in terram
Christianorum adeo debacchantur, ut Christianis nec sine
periculo civitates egredi liceat, nec in ipsis sine formidine
remanere: immo gladius eis foris imminet, metus intus. As-
sumite igitur, filii, spiritum fortitudinis, scatum 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 confidentes, ei Ei, per Quem estis, vivitis, et ha-
betis, secundum facultates proprias subvenite. Ipsae quidem
pro vobis 'Semetipsam exinanivit, formam servi accipiens, Phil. ii. 7.
in similitudinem hominum factus; et habitu inventus est
ut homo, factus obedienti usque ad mortem, mortem autem
crucis;' et vos Eo pauperes abundatis, Ipso fugato, quies-
citis, et nec inopii nec exuli subvenitis? Quisquis igitur in
tanta necessitatibus articulum suo negaverit obsequium Jesu
Christo, cum ante tribunal Eius saatierit judicandus, quid
ad suam excussionem Ei poterit respondere? Si Deus sub-
 jit mortem pro homine, dubitabit homo mortem subire pro
Deo? 'Cum non sint condignae passiones hujus temporis Rom. viii. 18.
ad futuram gloriam, quae revelabitur in nobis.' Negabit
ergo servus Domino divitias temporales, cum Dominus servo
divitas largiatur aernae, 'Quas nec occlus vidit, nec auris 1 Cor. ii. 9.
audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit?' 'Thesaurizet' igitur
homo 'thesauros in caelis, ubi fures non essent nec furan-
tur; ubi nec aergo nec tinea demolitur.' Omnes et S. Matt. vi.
singuli accingantur, ita quod in proximo sequenti Martio, 20.
quellibet urbes per se, similiter et comites et barones juxta
facultates proprias, ad defensionem terrae natiivitatis Domi-
nice, certis in expensis dirigant numerum bellatorum, illic
"saltem per biennium moraturum. Licet autem instantia nostra sit quotidiana sollicitudo ecclesiarum omnia, modo tamen hanc quasi praecipuam inter alias sollicitudines reputamus, per quam terrae Orientali totis desideramus affectibus subvenire, ne, si forte fuerit dilata subventio, 1 residaum locustae comedat bruchus, et fiant novissima deteriora prioribus.

"Verum ne nos aliius onera et importabilia videamur imponere, digito autem nostrae ea movere nolimus, dicentes tantum, et aut nihil aut minimum facientes, cum qui fecerit et docuerit magnus vocetur in regno coelorum; Ejus exemplo, Qui copit facere et docere, ut et nos, qui, licet im- meriti, vicem Ejus exercemus in terris, bonum alius praebemus exemplum, in personis pariter et in rebus Terrae Sanctae decrevimus subvenire; diletis filiis nostris, Stephano titulo Sanctae Praxedis presbytero, et Petro titulo Sanctae Maria in Via Lata diacono, cardinalibus, apostolicae sedis legatis, viris utique timoratis, scientia et honestate precaelis, potentibus in opere et sermone, quos inter alios fratres nostros speciali caritate diligimus, manu propria crucis signaculum imponentes, quos exercitum Domini humiliter et devote praecedant, et non mendicatis suffragiis, sed nostri et fratum nostrorum sumptibus sustentetur: per quos etiam alius competens subsidium eidem terrae disposimus destinare.


1 subventio] correction for subj. vectio, A. 2 frater archiepiscopo] fratribus archiepiscopis, Savile.

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

"necessarie presumpserit obviare, sicut sacrorum canonum trangressorem decrevimus puniendum, et usque ad satisfactionem congruam ab officio censumus manere suspensum.

"De Dei ergo misericordia, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, et illa quam Deus nobis, licet indignis, ligandi et solvendi contulit potestate, omnibus qui laborem hujus itineris in personis propriis subierint et expensis, plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus oris et cordis egerint ponentiam, veniam indulgenus, et in retributione justorum salutis eternea pollicemur augmentum. Eis autem, qui non in propriis personis illuc accesserint, sed in suis tantum expensis, juxta facultatem et qualitatem suam, viros idoneos destinaverint, illic saltem per biennium moraturos; et illis similiter qui, licet in alienis expensis, in propriis tamen personis assumptae peregrinationis laborem impleverint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum. Hujus ergo remissionis volumus esse participes juxta quantitatem subsidii, ac precipue secundum devotionis affectum, qui ad subvectionem 1 illius terrae de bonis suis congrue ministra-bunt. Ut autem expeditius et securius ad subvectionem terrae nativitatis Dominicae quilibet accingantur, bona ipse-rum, ex quo crucem susceperint, sub Beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus; nec non sub archiepiscoporum et episcoporum et aliorum praefatorum ecclesiae Dei defensione consistant; statuentes ut, donec de ipsorum obitu vel reditu certissime cognoscatur, integra maneant, et quieta consistant. Quod si quisquam contra presumpserit, 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, quantumcunque 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 eum magiores forsitam, et dixissent: 'Manus nostra excelsa, et non Dominus fecit haec Deut. xxxii. 30. omnia;' et sibi, non Domino, gloriam victoriam ascripsissent. Speramus enim quod non in ira misericordias continebit. Qui, cum iratus est, non obliviscitur miseri, nos admonens et exhortans: "Convertimini ad Me, et Ego convertar ad vos.' Credimus etiam quod, si ambulaveritis in lege

1 subvectionem] altered to subventionem, A.
Domini, non corum sequentes vestigia, qui vani facti sunt post vanitatem cunctes, qui commotionibus et erictatibus voluptuose vacabant, et ea exercabant in partibus transmarinis, quae in terra nativitatis proprie sine multa infamia et detractione plurima non auderent; sed si spem vestram in Eu solummodo posceritis, Qui non deserit sperantes in Se, non tantiab ab illicitis, sed quibusdam etiam licitis abstinentes, Is Qui currum et exercitum Pharaonis pro- jecit in mare, arcum fortium infirmabit, et inimicos crucis Christi, ut lutum platearum, a facie vestra delebit; non autem nobis, aut vobis, sed Nomini Suo dans gloriam, Qui est gloriosus in sanctis, mirabilis in majestate, faciens prodigia, et, post lacrymationem et fletum, gaudium et exulta- tionem inducens. Si qui praeterea proficiscium illuc ad praestandas usuras juramento tenentur astricti, creditorum corum per vos, frater archiepiscopé 1 et episcopi, in dioecesi- bus vestris ecclesiastica distictione, sublato appellationis obstaculo, compelli mandamus, ut eos a sacramento penitus absolventes, ab usuarum ulterius excitazione desint. Si quis vero creditorum eos ad solutionem coegerit usurarum, ad restitutionem earum, sublato appellationis ostaculo, per vos similie distictione cogatur. Judæos 2 vero ad remittendas illis usuras per vos, filii principes, et per secularem com- pelli praecipimus potestatem: et donec eis remiscent, ab universis Christi fidelistibus, tam in mercionis quam aliiis, per excommunicationis sententiam, communionem eis jube- mus omnimodam denegari. Ad hac autem expeditius et melius exsequenda in provincia vestra, vos filii prior de Thurgartun, et magister Vacaru, 3 duximus deputandos, qui verbum Domini cæteris proponat, et ad implendum man- datum apostolicum venerabiles fratres nostros archiepiscopum vestrum, et ejus suffraganeos, et alios invitantes, taliter ex- sequamini causam Domini, quod et vos hujus sitis remis- sionis participes, et in hoc devotio vestra plenius elucescat. Ad quod etiam laudabilius exsequendum, vobis unum de fratribus militiae Templici, alterum vero de fratribus Jerosol- mitanis Hospitalis, viros honestos et providos, assumatis. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, idus Augusti, pontifi- catus nostri anno primo. 4


If the Cru- saders will temperate and pious, they will be successful.

Debts not to be exacted of crusaders.

The Jews to be compelled by the secu- lar power to agree to this.

Provisions for carrying out this mandate.

1 frater archiepiscopé] fratres archiepiscopi, Savile.
2 Judæos] Judei, A.
3 The name of the prior of Thur- garton is not known. Master Va- caru 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 1260. MS. G. has Vacarium.
Eodem anno\(^1\) erat in Gallia quidam sacerdos nomine Fulco,\(^2\) quem magnificavit Dominus in conspectu regum: deditque ei potestatem caecos illuminare, claudos, mutos, et alios diversis languoribus oppressos curare, daemones effugare: hic autem meretrices, relicto impudicitiae fræno, ad Dominum convertit; usurarios etiam ad coelestem thesaurum invitans, quem nee aerugo nee tinea daemonit, nee fures furantur, fecit omnem substantiam, quam usura et foenus devoraverant, in usus pauperum distri-ebuere. Ipse quidem preedixit regibus Franciae et Anglise, quod unus illorum mala morte in proximo interiret, nisi celerius ab hostilitate cessassent. Et quia in illo tempore messis quidem erat multa, et pauci rarii, consinxit ei Dominus viros sapientes qui verbum eius prædicarent 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 ubi-que, Domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis. Preedictus autem Fulco quadam die\(^6\) visitat ad Ricardum regem Anglise, et ait illi: "Dico to Richard: ut tres habes filias, provide for...". His helpers he bids him provide for his three daughters. Quas habes pessimas, citius marites, ne aliquid det-erius tibi contingat."

O, digito compece 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\] Fulk of Neuilly.
\(^3\) Dominus\] Deus, I.
\(^4\) qui . . . populo\] verba salutis aeternae prædicantes, 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 vitiis nascitur; beatus qui "minimus urgetur: et alibi, Nemo "sine crimine 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 cachinnun.1

Itaque praedictus Fulco, relictó rege, abit praedicans
verbum Dei, de civitate in civitate. Cunque, praedicando verbum Dei, civitatem Lexoviensem esset ingressus, clericí 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 carcereseum tenere potuerunt: et sic permisssus abire, venit Cadamum,3 praedicans præceptum Domini; et in conspectu plebis multa signa faciebat. Custodes autem castelli existimantes quod placeret regi, injecerunt manu-nus in eum, et victum miserunt in carcerem; et ruptis carcere et vinculis, exivit ille sus, et ibat gaudens, quo-niam dignus habitus est contemptium pati pro nomine Christi; et exiens a castello, excussit pulvem pedum suorum in testimonium supra illos.

Eodem anno,4 idus Octobris, die Dominica, prece offi-cialium Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus apud Hoveden benedixit Adam in abbatem de Sallaie, et Hamonem in abbatem de Beiland, facta professione et canonicà obedientiá eccle-siae Eboracensi, et ejus vicaris, salvo ordine suo.

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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.

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

Eodem anno obierunt Ricardus Lundoniensis episcopus, Johannes Wigornensis episcopus, et Willelmuus de Ver Herefordensis episcopus, et \(^2\) episcopus Menevensis, et Amfridus\(^3\) del Turun, primus maritus predictæ Milisent,\(^4\) uxoris Gwidonis quondam regis de Jerusalem.

Eodem anno obit in Sicilia apud Pannormum Constantia quondam Romanorum imperatrix, uxor Henrici imperatoris; cujus filium Innocentius papa recepit in custodia cum regno Sicilise, et ducatu Apulise, et principatu Capuae.

Eodem anno Philippus Belvacensis episcopus obtulit Ricardus regi Angliæ x. millia marcarum argenti pro liberatione sua.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ firmavit castellum in quadam insula Secane, quod appellavit Butteavant: et rex Franciæ firmavit castellum ex opposto illi, quod appellavit Guletut.\(^5\)

Eodem\(^6\) anno Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit magistro Malgero clerico suo episcopatum Wigorniensem.

Defuncto autem papa Celestino, Innocentius papa tertius substitutus, iterum suspendit Aldefonsum\(^7\) 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.  
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 evenit; et Philippus rex Franciae fuit codem die in Normannia apud Vernun; et Otho rex Alemannorum, nepos Ricardi regis Angliae, fuit codem die apud Westle in Alemannia, quae distat a Colonia per novem dietas; quas ipse Otho potenti virtute adquisierat super Philippum ducem de Suave, filium Fredericium quondam Romanorum imperatoris. Et statim post Natale Domini prædictus Otho divisit exercitum suum in duas partes, et duas civitates præfati Philippi obseredit. 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 Secanum 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] Ottho, I.
2 Westle] Altered to Westfale in A.; Westfale, G. D. I. MS. B. has Westfale over an erasure. Perhaps Wetzlar is the place referred to.
3 de] om. I.; Swave, B. D.
4 præfati] prædicti, Savile.
A.D. 1199.
January.
A truce for five years between Richard and Philip.

Angliae ore ad os: et alium statuerunt sibi diem colloquii, ubi in majori suorum audientia, mediante domino Petro de Capua, Sancte Marie in Via Lata diacono cardinali, et apostolica 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 temenitis sic se habentibus ex utraque parte, ut tunc erat; et his factis, sacramentoque confirmatis, unusquisque reversus est 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 transitus erat, occurrerunt ei in manu hostili, et confecerunt eum, et multos de suos interfecerunt. Sed rex Franciae factum illud devovit, jurans quod per illum factum non fuit. Deinde dum rex Angliae, spe pacis et supradictae conventionis intuitu, versus Pictaviam iret, rex Franciae firmavit quoddam castellum novum inter Butavant et Guailun, et forestam regis Angliae circa locum illum extirpatavit. Quod cum rex Angliae audisset, reversus est in Normanniam, et mandavit regi Franciae per Eustachium Eliensem episcopum, cancellarium suum, treugas disolutas, nisi ipse castellum illud novum demoliri faceret. Legatus autem consuluit regi Franciae, ut castellum illud demoli-retur, ne propter hoc treuge tam solemniter confirmate rumperentur: ad cujus instantiam rex Franciae promisit se in proximo castellum illud demoliturum. Sed Ricardus rex Angliae minime his contentus, volebat ut ad plenum inter eos compone-retur, vel nulla pax inter eos esset. Unde facta est inter eos talis forma pacis, quod rex Franciae red-

Marchadeus surprised by the French.

Philip fortifies a new castle during Richard’s absence.

Richard declares the truce broken.

Philip offers to destroy the castle.

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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.; Gwal-lien, 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\(^1\) ipsi Ricardo regi Angliæ donationem archiepiscopatus Turonis: et quod Lodowicus filius regis Franciae duceret in uxorem, filiam regis Castelle, 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 peace delayed until Richard's return.

Peace delayed until Richard's return.

Proposed terms of Peace between the two kings.

Philippus vero rex Franciae, seminotor 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 fratem sui um odio habuit, adeo quod fecit illum dissaisiri de terris suis eismarinis et transmarinis. Cum autem predictus Johannes quæreret causam hujus indignationis et odii, dictum est ei quod rex Franciae supradicta 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 immunem 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
A.D. 1190.

The Viscount of Limoges discovers a treasure.

April. Richard comes to claim it, and besieges Chaluz.

Interim Widomarus vicecomes of Limoges, invento magno thesauro auri et argenti in fundo suo, misit inde Ricardo regi Anglie, domino suo, partem non modicum; sed rex\(^2\) eam refutavit, dicens se debere totum illum thesaurum habere de jure dominationis\(^3\) suae; quod prædictus vicecomes nullo modo concedere voluit. Venit ergo rex Anglie cum exercitu magno in partes illas ad prædictam vicecomitatem debellandum: obseditque castellum suum, quod dicitur Chaluz,\(^4\) 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.

Richardus rex Anglie vulneratur plaga insanabili apud Chaluz.\(^5\)

Eodem die, cum rex Anglie et Marchadeus circuirent castellum hine et inde, explorantes in quo loco esset commodius insulatum facere, quidam arcubalistae 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 exercitu suo universo, ut insulatum facerent indesinenter in castellum donec caperetur; et factum est ita.

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1 Glastinbiri] Glastingebiri, B. I.
2 rex] om. B. D. I.
3 dominationis] donationis, Savile.
4 Chaluz] Caluz, B. I.
5 Chaluz] Another hand has added in rubric “Cheyerel,” A. The place is Chalus-Chabrol.
Quo capto, præcepit rex omnes suspendi, excepto illo solo qui eum vulneraverat, quem, ut fas est credere, turpissima morte damnaret, si convaluisset.

Deinde rex commisit se manibus cujusdam medici Marchadii, qui, cum comaretur ferrum extrahere, solum lignum extraxit, et sagitta remansit in carne; et cum carnifex ille circumquaque brachium regis minus caute incideret, tandem sagittam extraxit. Cum autem rex de vita desperaret, divisit Johanni fratri suo regnum Anglie, et omnes alias terras suas; et fecit fieri prædicto Johanni fidelitates ab illis qui adherant, et præcepit ut traderentur ei castella sua, et tres partes thesauri sui, et omnia baubella\(^1\) sua divisit\(^3\) Othoni nepoti suo, regi Alemannorum; et quartam partem thesauri sui præcepit servientibus suis et pau-peribus distribui. Deinde fecit coram se venire Ber-trannum de Gurdun, qui eum vulneraverat, et dixit ei, "Quid mali tibi feci, quare me interemisti?" Cui ille respondit, "Tu interemisti patrem meum, et duos fratres meos manu tua, et me nunc interimere veluisti. Sume ergo de me vindictam, quamcunque volueris: libenter enim patiar, quacunque exco-\(^1\) taveris majora tormenta, dummodo tu interficiaris, "qui tot et tanta mala contulisti mundo." Tunc præcepit eum rex solvi, et dixit: "Remitto tibi mortem meam." At juvenis, Constitit ante pedes regis, vultuque minaci, Nobilitas recta ferrum cervice poposcit; Sensit rex pænamque peti, veniamque timeri: "Vive, licet nolis, et nostro munere," dixit, "Cerne diem, victis jam spes bona partibus esto, "Exemplumque mei." Et sic laxatis vinculis permissus est abire, et præcepit rex ei dari centum solidos Anglica\(n\)e monetae. Sed He declares John his successor: leaves his jewels to Otho.

\(^1\) sagitta\] ferrum, Savile. \(^3\) divisit\] om. B. I.
\(^2\) baubella\] jocalia, C.

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F 2
Marchadeus, rege nesciente, injecit manus in eum, et tenuit, et, post obitum regis, excoriatum suspendit.

Deinde præcepit 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 Angliæ obiit.**

Decessit autem viii. idus Aprilis, feria tertia ante Dominicum in Ramis Palmarum, xi. die postquam percussus fuerat; et sibi 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,"

"Fœda fames, atroc elatio, cæca cupidio"

"Annis regnarunt bis quinix: arcubalista"

"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, ingeniinat, meus est?"

"Longa manus morti; mors fortior Hectori fortī;"

"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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1 In hujus ] corrected in A. to Istius in. B. G. D. have Istius in. | 2 Hujus ... laborum ] om. B. D. I. G. reads cujus.
"Non strepitus, non ira maris, non vallis abyssus,
"Non juga, non celsi praeceps audacia montis,
"Asperitasque vie saxis callosa, nec ipsae
"Limitis ambages, desertaque nescia gressus,
"Non rabies venti, non imbribus ebria nubes,
"Non tonitus horrenda lues, non nubilus aer:
Quin experiretur, 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, Savarius Bathoniensis episcopus statim suscitavit litem adversus magistrum Willelmum la Pie, abbatem Glastonii, protestans jus suum coram domino papa Innocentio in presentia universorum cardinalium, dicendo quod Ricardus rex Anglie dederat ei abbatiam Glastonise in vita sua habendam, et postea, pravo usus consilio, eam abstulerat ab eo injuste; asserebat etiam constanter, paratus modis omnibus probare, quod antiquitus fuit apud Glastoniam sedes episcopalis, quae nunc est apud Baa: et petebat sibi inde fieri restitutionem, et ut lice-ret ei transferre illae sedem episcopalem, quae est apud Baa.

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

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

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

1 Eodem anno . . . sepultus est] om. B. D. I.
de Philippo rege Franciae, qui Botildam sponsam suam, sororem illius, injuste reliquerat, et aliam loco ejus in uxorem duxerat: conquestus est etiam domino papa de Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo, et de aliis episcopis, et comitibus et baronibus Franciae, per quos divortium factum fuit. inter ipsum regem Franciae et Botildam reginam, post appellacionem ab ipsa ad dominum papam factam. Ad instantiam igitur Cnut regis Dacorum, dominus papa Innocentius dedit in mandatis Petro de Capua, cardinali et apostolicae sedis legato, ut ipse modis omnibus induceret Philippum regem Franciae 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 Willelhum Marescallum comitem de Striguil, ad pacem Angliae servandam, una 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 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 in unum principes Andegaviae et Cenomanniae, et Turonie, et adhæserunt Arturo duci Britanniae, sicut ligio domino suo; dicentes, judicium et consuetudinem ter-

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1. *ipse* om. B. D. I.
2. *Franciae* om. B. D. I.
rarum illarum esse, quod filius fratis senioris debet ei succeedere in patrimonio sibi debito, videlicet in hære-ditate 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 vero mater Arturi, comitissa Britanniae, venit Turonim, et tradidit Philippo regi Franciae Arturum filium suum; quem rex Franciae statim misit Parisius 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 fidelitatem quam ei fecerant, receperunt Arturum in domi-num. Johannes autem comes Moretonii fuit in Andegavia apud Baufort die Pascha, quae xiv. kalendas Maii evenit.

Deinde idem comes venit Rothomagum; et die Dominica in octavis Paschae, videlicet vii. kalendâ Maii, festo Sancti Marci evangelistae, accinctus est gladio ducatus Normanniae in matrici ecclesia per manum Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi. Et prædictus archiepiscopus posuit in capite ducis circulum aureum habentem in summitate per circuitum rosas aureas: et ipse dux coram clero et populo juravit super reliquias sanctorum, et super sacrosancta evangelii, quod ipse sanctam ecclesiam, et dignitates illius, bona fide et sine malo ingenio servabit illæsas, et

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1 Constantia] inserted in a later hand in A.
2 prædictus] præfatus, B. D. I.
3 In margin of A. in cursive hand:
4 Eodem die Johannes dux Normanniae fecit [Henricum] fratrem [Philippi] comitis Flandriæ 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.
rectam justitiam exercet, et leges iniquas destruere, et bonas instituer.

Interim regina Alenior, mater prædicti ducis, et Marchadeus cum 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 misi 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 archbishop and William Marshall obtain the fealty of the English to John.

The king of Scots demands Northumberland and Cumberland.

callus, et Gaufridus Filius Petri non permiserunt nuncius regis Scotiae transfretare ad ducem; sed manda-
verunt ei per comitem David, fratrem suum, quod ipse patienter sustineret, donec dux venisset\(^1\) in Angliam.

Similiter Johannes dux Normanniae mandavit Wilhelmus regis Scottorum per Eustachium de Vesci, generum suum, quod in reditu suo in Angliam satisfeceret ei de omnibus petitionibus suis, si ei interim pacem servaverit.

Interim magister Honorius, qui regia potestate, et decani et capituli Eboraci malignitate fuerat dejectus ab archidiaconatu de Richemund,\(^2\) quern Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus ei dederat, 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 excommunicaverunt predictum Honorium, et ejus receptores, propter istam presumptionem; et dux Normanniae precepit, ut omnia iura Eboracensis ecclesiae essent in eo statu, quo fuerunt die qua Ricardus frater ejus, rex Anglie, fuit vivus et mortuus.

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

Congregatis igitur apud Lundonias, in adventu praedicti 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.

Prima coronatio Johannis regis Angliae.

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


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

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1 Landaf Landa, I.
2 de Essex 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 coronationis suæ idem rex Angliae 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 Columbae, et Willelmus de Haia, missi
ex parte Willelmi regis Scotiae, 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, adquiret. 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 alii
petitionibus sui."

Deinde Johannes rex Angliæ misit Philippum Dun-
elmensem episcopum obviam regi Scottorum, sperans
quo 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
Scotiae. Rex autem Scotiae venire noluit; sed remisit
ad regem Angliæ Rogerum episcopum Sancti Andree,
et Hugonem Malebise, quos rex Angliæ pro illo mise-
rat, et petiit ut rex Angliæ sibi redderet Northim-
briam et Cumbriam: sin autem, pro certo sciret 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 Andreæ et Ricardus
Malebisse secuti sunt regem Angliæ ad mare prope-
rament.

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-

1 *sin autem* sin minus, Savile. | 2 *sin autem* sin minus, Savile.
A.D. 1199. June.

Pomfret restored to Roger de Lacy.

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

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

June 20. John goes to Normandy.

triae, castellum suum del Punfrait, 1 accepto prius ab eo 2 filio et hærede in obsidem. Deinde præcepit rex Stephanus de Turneham, 3 qui jam fere per duos annos custodierat archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, quod tradider custodiam ejusdem archiepiscopatus magistro Radullo de Kima, et Willemo Ward, et Rogero de Bauven, 4 ad opus archiepiscopi. Unde idem Stephanus scripsit in hac forma ministris suis.

"Stephanus de Turneham 5 omnibus servientibus per ma-
neria domini Eboracensis constituis, salutem. Dominus rex
milii litteris suis mandavit, quod traderem custodiam manे-
riorum domini Eboracensis magistro Radullo de Kima, et
Willelmo 6 Ward, et cum eis Rogero de Bauvent, 7 ad opus
suum. Ita quod exitus maneriorum ponatur in cultura
" terrarum, et in reedificationem domorum. Quare vobis
" mando, quod cum 8 predicti vel eorum nunci ad vos vene-
" rint, eis sine dilatone et difficiatia custodiam manerium
" tradatis, Valeote."

Et ita factum est. Sed rex, pravo usus 9 consilio,
firmam manerium de termino Pentecostes sibi reti-
nuit, promittens quod in reditu archiepiscopi omnia
ei solveret. Archiepiscopus vero Eboracensis, cum per
octo dierum itinera versus domum, peractis negotiis
suis, ut supradictum est, a Roma redisset; audita
morte Ricardi regis, reversus est Romam ad negotia
suas secundum casus eventum reformanda.

Johannes vero rex Angliae, peractis negotiis suis in
Anglia, 10 transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, et
applicuit apud Depe, paulo ante festum Nativitatis
Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, die Dominica, 11 et in Nativi-

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1 del Punfrait] de Pumfrait, Savile, B.  
2 ab eo] om. B. I.  
3 Turneham] Turnham, I.  
4 Bauven ] Bauvent, Savile.  
5 Turneham] Turnham, B. I.  
6 Willelmo] de, ins. B. D. I.  
7 Bauvent] Beauvent, D. I.; Bau-
vent, G.  
8 cum] ipsi, ins. Savile from D.  
9 usus] est, ins. B. I.  
10 Anglia] Anglo, B. D. I.  
11 Baptiste, 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
exercitūs: et statim statutē sunt treuuge inter ipsum
et regem Franciē usque in crastinum Assumptionis
Sanctae Mariæ. In ipso autem die colloquii, Gaufridus
Eboracensis archiepiscopus, peractis negotiis suis ad-
versus dominum papam juxta animi sui desiderium,
rediit in Normanniam, et a Johanne fratre suo hono-
risifice et amicabiliter 1 susceptus est.

Interim Philippus 2 comes Flandriæ devenit homo
Johannis regis Anglie apud Rothomagum, feria sexta
ante Assumptionem Sanctae Mariæ; et 3 — frater ejus-
dem comitis Flandriæ resignavit sponte sua in manu
Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi præbendam de Huws-
thwait, quam habuit in ecclesia Eboraci ex dono Ricardi
regis Anglie. Similiter fecerunt alii quamplures, sci-
entes donationes illas factasuisse contra Deum, et in
sanctæ ecclesiæ detrimentum; et archiepiscopus ille
statim dedit prædicto fratri comitis Flandriæ præ-
bendam quæ 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 præcepit saisiri in manu sua archidiaconatum
de Westrihing, quem ipse habuit in ecclesia Sancti Petri
Eboraci; sed Adam de Tornhover, 5 qui tunc temporis
archidiaconatum illum possidebat, cedere noluit, fultus
regis patrocinio, et capitolii 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 Cambry.

4 Rennes] Ronnes, B. I. Peter
of Dinan, chancellor to duke
Arthur; bishop of Rennes, 1199-
1210.

5 Tornhover] Torhouere, A. B. I.;
Torhout, D.


In crastino autem Assumptionis Sanctae Marie, et die sequenti, fuit colloquium inter regem Angliae et regem Franciae per internuncios suos, inter Butavant\(^4\) et Guletun,\(^5\) et tertia die sequenti locuti sunt reges ipsi ore ad os. Sed rex Angliae nullam gratiam invent apud regem

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1 Henricus\(^1\) See above, p. 39. It was Philip, count of Naumur, according to Rigord, p. 200.
2 Petrus\(^2\) called a clerk by Rigord, p. 200.
3 Cambray\(^3\) Cambray, 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 Butavant\(^4\) Butteavant, I.; Buttavant, B.; Buteavant, G.; Buttevant, D.
5 Guletun\(^5\) Guletun, B., Savile; Guletun, D.; Gultruit, G.

Interim Innocentius papa et Romani elegerunt sibi in imperatorem Othonem regem Alemanniae; et Philippum ducem Suaviae, et omnes alios electos refutaverunt. Confirma'ta ergo a domino Papa Innocentio, et ab ecclesia Romana, electione præfati Othonis, Innocentius papa excommunicavit Philippum ducem Suaviae, et omnes fautores suos et consiliarios suos et coadjutores, nisi desistant a persecutione predicti Othonis, et publice clamatum est in Capitolio, et per totam urbem, "Vivat a imperator noster Otho."
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 celsitu 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 Gaufridus de Burelun custodiebat, et subvertit illud. Quod cum Willemus de Rupibus, princeps exercitus Arturi, vidisset, grave tulit, et plurimum increpavit 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 adquisitis suis. Deinde rex Franciae obsedit Lavardin; sed rex Angliae supervenit cum exercitu suo; et rex Franciae relinquuens obsidionem, recepit se in civitatem Cenomannensi; sed regis Angliae sequente illum cum exercitu suo, rex Franciae reliquit Cenomannum, et abiiit.

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 mitteter.

Eodem die vicecomes de Tuaz, qui custodiebat cas-

A.D. 1199.
Otho promises to succour John.

September.
Philip takes Conches.

Death of Queen Johanna.

October.
Philip takes Balun.

He refuses to give it up to Arthur.

He besieges Lavardin, John drives him out of Maine.

William des Roches brings Arthur to John.

Arthur threatened.

Arthur threatened.

1 delata] om. I.
2 Burelun] Burelin, D.; Burlun, G.
3 suum] om. I.
tellum de Chinun, venit ad regem Angliae per man-
datum ipsius apud Cenomannum, et coactus, tradidit
regi castellum de Chinun, et senescliam Andegaviae; 
et rex\(^1\) 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, relictus regis Angliae, abierunt, et receperunt se in
civitate Andegavis. Mater vero Arturi, relictus Ra-
lulfo comite Cestrice marito suo, nupsit Gwidoni de
Tuaz, fratri predicti vicecomitis de Tuarz.\(^2\)

Eodem anno obiit Hugo Glascuensis ecclesiae electus,
sexto idus Julii, et sepultus est apud Gedeworde.\(^3\)

Eodem anno, mense Octobris, Willelmus Mauvaisin \(^4\)electus est\(^5\) 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
Angliae et Philippum regem Franciae, ad ejus instan-
tiam predicti reges promiserant se treugas inter se per
quinquennium servatos; sed quia treuga ille jam
defecerat, morte Ricardi regis interveniente, modis
omnibus conabatur, ut treuga ille servarentur inter
predictum regem Franciae et Johanne regem Angliae,
hereodem predicti Ricardi. Unde factum est, quod
statuta sunt treugas inter illos usque ad festum Sancti
Hilarii.

Eodem anno Philippus filius Ricardi regis Angliae
notus, cui predictus rex pater suus dederat castellum
et honorem de Cuinac,\(^6\) interfecit memoratum vicecomi-
tem de Limoges in vindictam patris sui.

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

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\(^{1}\) rex] Franciae, ins. Savile.
\(^{2}\) Tuarz] Tuaz, B. D. G. I.
\(^{3}\) Gedeworde ] Godeworde, I.; Gedeworde, G.
\(^{4}\) Mauvaisin] Mauveisin, G.
\(^{5}\) est] om. I. MS. D. omits these two sentences.
\(^{6}\) Cuinac] Cuinack, G.
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 Willelmi regis Scotorum comes Patricius custos de Berwic, et tum temporis summus justitiarius totius regni Scotorum, pontem illud de Berwic reædificare vellet, prohibitum est ei 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 Scotiæ et Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, predecesseorem suum.


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1 Berwic] Berewic, G. I.
2 et] om, I.
3 Columbæ ] 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.
archiepiscopi super diversis causis illos coram aliis judicibus per litteras domini papae in placitum traherent, ipsi petierunt ab archiepiscopo predictas ducentas marcas argenti de poena. Dum autem idem archiepiscopus moram faceret cum rege in Normannia, Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Gaufridus Filius Petri regis justitiarius, ad preces et servitia capituli Eboraci mandaverunt regi, et consuluerunt, ne ipse permitteret archiepiscopum Eboraci sine illo in Angliam redire. Asserebant enim, quod si ille in Angliam venisset, gladium mitteret, et non pacem.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Anglise 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 Francigenae carius quam pro viginti quinque solidis, nisi vinum illud adeo bonum sit quod aliquis velit pro eo dare circa duas marcas ad altius. Praeterea 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, que de cetero venient in Angliam, postquam venerint de Rech post tempus presentis musti, sint de mutatione; et hoc statuit teneri ab octavis Sancti Andreae deinceps: et praecepit ad hoc servandum, in singulis civitatibus et burgis in quibus vina venduntur, duodecim constitui custodes, et jurent quod hanc assisam facient teneri et observari. Si vero vinatorem, qui vinum vendat ad brocam, contra hanc assisam invenerint, corpus ejus capiat vicecomes, et salvo custodiri faciat in priso domini regis, donec inde habeat aliud praeceptum; et omnia tenementa sua capiantur ad opus domini regis per visum predictorum duodecim hominum. Si quis etiam inventus fuerit, qui

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tunnelum vel tunella contra predictam assisam vendiderit vel emerit, capiatur uterque, et salvo in prisona custodiatur, donec inde aliud praecipiat: et quod nullum vinum ematur ad agratariam de vinis que applicuerint in Anglia. Sed hoc primum regis statutum vix inchoatum, statim est adnilhatum; quia mercatores hanc assisam sustinere non poterant. Et data est eis licentia vendendi sextercium de vino albo pro octo denariis, et sextercium de vino rubio pro sex denariis; et sic repleta est terra potu et potaboribus.

Eodem anno, cum Willelmus rex Scottorum esset in proposito veniendi in Angliam cum exercitu, accessit ad feretrum Sanctae Margaretae, quondam Scottorum reginse, quod est apud Dunfermelin, et pernoctavit ibi, et Divino oraculo in somnis monitus, ne Angliam cum exercitu invaderet, permisit exercitum suum domum redire.

De controversia Turonensis et Dolensis ecclesiæ, decisa per papam Innocentium.

Eodem anno decisa est illa vetustissima controversia, quæ fuerat inter Turonensem et Dolensem ecclesiæ, super jure metropolitico quod ecclesia Dolensis sibi vendicabat contra Turonensem ecclesiæ, in hunc modum. Disposuerat dominus Celestinus papa bone memoriae, ut tempore suo vetustissimæ quærele atque tritissimæ, quæ inter Turonensem et Dolensem ecclesiæ hactenus agitata est, finis imponetur, Domino ministrante. Hac itaque de causa partì utrique diem peremptoriam assignavit, qua sufficienter instructæ rationibus universis, quibus se scirent indigere ad causum, omni appellazione, dilatione, et excusatione cessantibus, apostolico deberent se conspectui presentare. Sed quia datum non erat desuper ut per ipsum

terminaretur quæstio supradicta, sublatus est enim de medio antequam dictus terminus advenisset, dominus Innocentius papa, quondam Lotarius diaconus cardinalis Sanctorum Sergii et Bachi, succedens eadem domino Celestino, affectans, quod a prædecessore suo de questione praefata per citationem partium inchoatum exsitterat, per discussionem negotii omnino, juvante Domino, terminare: causam ipsam terminandam ab ipso, Divina forte proviso conservarat; pro eadem causa partes Romanam ecclesiam coegit adire. Quia tamen archiepiscopus Turonensis debilitatem totius corporis patiebatur per maximam, ad presentiam summi pontificis in persona propria non accessit. Discretos siquidem viros et providos, cancellarium ecclesiae sua videvit, et tres concanonicos suos, cum quibusdam alios loco sui mittere procuravit. Existentibus autem in presentia summi pontificis, et fratrum suorum cardinalium, Dolensis electo, et dictis praefati archiepiscopi nunciis, 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 spatium deliberandi haberent, utrique parti audientiam per intervalla differret. Et licet ad hoc inducti essent Turonensis nunciis, ut Dolensi ecclesiae archiepiscopalem sedem concedeant cum duobus suffraganeis tantum, ita ut domino Turonensi tanquam primati subesset, et de manu ejus, vel ecclesiae Turonensis, pallium a domino papa eadem ecclesiae Turonensi missum, idem Dolensis recipiet, et consecrationem; quia tantum duo episcopatus contigui a Turonsibus nunciis non concedebantur eidem Dolensi electo, pacem hanc nullatenus acceptavit; quæ utique refutatio in ejus redundavit incommodum, ut in sequentibus audietur. Videns itaque dominus papa,

\[1\] concanonicos] canonicos, I.  
\[2\] procuravit] præcipuit, D. I.  
\[3\] dictis] prædictis, Savile.  
\[4\] tantum] tamen, Savile.  
\[5\] concedebantur] concedebatur, I.
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. Vereum cum ad ultimum nil posset in hac parte proficere, pro tribunali sedens dominus Innocentius, fratribus ei assistentibus, sententiam contra Dolonensem ecclesiam pro Turonensi ecclesiae, secundo papatis sui anno, publice promulgavit, videlicet, ut Dolensis ecclesiae tanquam suffraganea Turonensis ecclesiae, velut metropolitanae, omni exceptione seu seposita, de cetero subjaceret; et episcopus Dolensis ecclesiæ 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 apostolicae scripta transmittens. Quae omnia plenius ex subsequentibus apparebunt. Cæterum cum Dolensis electus contra se datam sententiam audivisset, turbatus, nec immerito, ac tristis plurimum ad presen- tiam domini papæ accessit, et se volens dimittere, ipsi domino papæ Dolensem ecclesiam resignavit. Cui do- minus papa, cum hoc vidisset, absque mora respondit: "Tu sponsus est, et te sponsa tua exigit. Istitud facere "abreve nostra licentia, quod nolumus, tu non potes; "tibi in virtute obedientiam praecipimus, ut post voca- tionem factam ab archiepiscopo Turonensi, infra quad- "raginta dies ad ipsum, omni excusatione posthabita,

1 in] om. Savile.  
2 parte] procedere nec, ins. D.  
3 sententiam] The pope’s sentence is conveyed in a letter to the archbishop of Tours, dated June 1, 1199.  
4 cum] ut, D. I.
"tanquam ad metropolitam tuum, recepturus ab ipso munus consecrationis, accedas."


Menevensis autem ecclesia eadem occasione, vel propter ignaviam vel paupertatem, pallio semper factus est, carruerunt. 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 et] Blank in A. for the name.
3 *Samson*'] Sampson, B.; Sampson, I.
4 *Armoricam*'] Armonicam, A. B.
5 *Britanniam*'] Britannicam, I.
6 *carruerunt*'] caruit, G.

A.D. 1190. He bids him go to Tours for consecration.
Gilardus Cambrensis claims the metropolita
dian dignity for the see of S. David's.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1109.

but were archbishops.

Their suffragans.

Henry I. makes S. David's subject to Canterbury.

The bishops profess obedience to Canterbury.

Bishop Bernard revives the claim of independence.

sonis\(^1\) usque ad tempus Henrici regis Angliae primi, omni dignitate archiepiscopali usi sunt, excepto pallio; et habuerunt suffraganeos septem, scilicet Landavensem,\(^2\) et de Sancto Paterno\(^3\) in Kerdikan, que sedes, quia parochiani pastorem suum interfecerunt, olim obsolevit, et Menevensi dioecesi est adunata; et Pangorensen et de Sancto Asaf: in Wallia vero ab Anglis dudum occupata trans Sabrinam, Cestrensem et Herefordensem. Predictus vero rex Henricus Wiliam regno suo subjugavit, et ideo predictam Menevensem ecclesiam, et alias Walliae ecclesias, suffraganeas Menevensis ecclesiae, ecclesiae regni sui, scilicet Cantuariam, subjiciere cupiens, Bernardum\(^4\) clericum de camera sua, quem in Menevensi ecclesia Vilfrido episcopo subrogari procuravit, et apud Cantuariam per regiam violentiam consecrari fecit: et hic 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 sue metropolitico contra Theobaldum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum. Unde papa Eugenius in hac forma scripsit Theobaldo Cantuariensi archeipiscopo;

\(^1\) 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.
\(^6\) Petrus\] De Leia, bishop 1176–1198.
Epistola Eugenii papa ad Theobaldum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, pro Bernardo episcopo Sancti David, de dignitate ejusdem ecclesiae metropoliticae.¹

"Eugenius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Theobaldo, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Venerabilis frater noster Bernardus, episcopus Sancti David, ad nostram præséntiam veniens, ecclesiam Sancti David olim metropolim fuisse viva voce asserruit, et eandem dignitatem sibi a nobis restitui postulavit. Cum autem circa petitionem istam inivigilans, diu in curia nostra commoratus esset; tu, frater archiepiscopo, tandem, eo præsente, ex adverso consurgens, in præséntia nostra adversus eum querelam deosuisti, quod debitam, tanquam primam metropolitam, obedientiam subtraxisset, tibique inobediens et rebellis existeret, cum² a prædecessore tuo, tanquam®a primo metropolitano, consecratus esset, et, viva voce et scripto, Cantuariensi ecclesiae professionem fecisset, et in multis posten, tanquam alii suffraganei, tibi obediesset et astistisset. Ille vero consecrationem negare non potuit; sed professionem se fecisse, et obedientiam exhibuisse, omnino negavit: quod tu audies, duos testes in medium produxisti, testimonia perhibentes, quod ipse, illis videntibus et audientibus, post consecrationem suam,³ et viva voce et scripto, Cantuariensi ecclesiae professionem fecisset. Nos igitur auditis utriusque partis rationibus, et diligentius inquisitis, et testibus suis studiése examinatis, communicato fratribus nostris trorum consilio, juramenta eorum recepiimus, et ut ipsi episcopus tibi, tanquam primo metropolitano, obedientiam et reverentiam exhibeat, justitia dictante, præcepiimus.¹ Unde, quoniam singulis ecclesiis et ecclesiasticis personis suam dignitatem et justiam volumus conservare, Beatæ Luce festivitate proximi sequentis anni, tibi, et ipsis diei praefiximus, ut tunc⁵ presentibus partibus, de dignitate ecclesiae Sancti David, et libertate sua, rei veritatem cognoscamus, et quod justum fuerit, autore Domino, exinde statuamus. "Datum Meldis, iii°. kalendas Julii."

¹ This letter occurs also in Giralbus Cambrensis, De Inscript. ii. 2, and De Jure et Statu Mense Eccl., Dist. ii.: Opp. III. 51, 52; 189, 181.
² cum] autem, ins. B. D. I.
³ suam] om. D. I.
⁴ præcepiimus] præcipiimus, D. I.
⁵ tunc] temporis, ins. B. D. I.
Epistolam autem istam prædictus magister Gilardus in registo Eugenii papæ. Cujus rei occasione, et ad prædicti Gilardi instantiam, jus ecclesiae suæ 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, ad perpetuum rei gestæ memoriam, in ejusdem papæ regesto scribi procuravit. Præcepit etiam idem papa prædicto archiepiscopo, quatenus ssepedicto Giraldo Menevensi electo ita consecrationem impenderet, quod sacramentum illieitum, quale extorquere solebant decessores sui ab episcopis Sancti David, scilicet de non prosequendo jure metropolitico contra Cantuariensem ecclesiam, non exigeret, sed tantum canonicaq obedi entiam juxta communem formam faceret. Præcepit etiam idem papa Lincolniensi, Dunelmensi, et Eiensi episcopis, quod si archiepiscopus Cantuariensis ssepedictum Gilardum consecrare differret, ipsi apostolica auctoritate frit illum consecrare non different.

Anno Gratiae M.CC.

Eodem anno Johannes rex fuit in Normannia apud Burum die Natalis Domini, quæ Sabbato evenit, et erat illud Natale Domini primum post primam coronationem Johannis regis Anglie.

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

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2 [Giraldis] Here the name occurs first in its proper form in A.; B. has Giraldis.
3 [decessores] prædecessores, Savile, from B. D.
5 [Eodem anno] Anno gratiae MCCC, who erat annus secundus regni regis Johannis, Savile, from B.
6 [primam] om. I.
in uxorem filiam Aldefonsi regis Castellae, A.D. 1290.
neptem Johannis regis Anglie; et Johannes rex
Anglie daret et quieta clamaret prefato filio regis
Francie, cum nepte sua, civitatem Ebroicarum cum
toto comitatu, et omnes munitiones et castella quae
rex Francie habuit in Normannia, die qua Ricardus
rex Anglie fuit vivus et mortuus; et insuper daret
ei triginta millia marcarum argenti: et juravit quod
nullum auxilium faceret Otlioni nepoti suo, neque de
pecunia neque de hominibus, ad imperium Romanum
adquirendum. Sed haec omnia dilationem ceperunt
usque ad octavas Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Bap-
tistae.

Post colloquium illud 1 Johannes rex Anglie misit
Alienor matrem suam ad Aldefonsum regem Castellae,
pro filia sua maritanda Lodowico filio Philippi regis
Francie.

Interim Johannes rex Anglie transfretavit de Nor-
mannia in Angliam, et cepit de unaquaque caruca 2
totius Anglie iii. solidos de auxilio. 3 Et in Quadra-
gesima venit rex Johannes Eboracum, sperans quod
Willemus rex Scottorum ad eum veniret, sicut man-
daverat; sed rex Scottorum non venit, et rex Anglie
rediit in Normanniam.

Eodem anno Innocentius papa, audita tribulatione
Christianorum qui sunt in terra Jerosolimitana, quam
induxit Dominus super eos, peccatis nostris exigitibus,
in hae forma scripsit omnibus sanctae matris ecclesie
pralatis; 4

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1 illud] 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 . . . pralatis] 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.
Epistola Innocentii papa de subvectione facienda terræ Jerosolimitanae.

Papal letter. "Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis sanctorum matris ecclesie praelatis, ad quos præsentem litterae pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam beneficiationem. Graves orientalis terræ miseriae et necessitatis urgentes jam potius, peccatis exigentibus, deftere cogimur quam referre: cum ad eum statum, si status tamen dicendus est casus, quod dolorantes dicimus, ipsius fuerit necessitati succurrum, et occurrerit comitibus paganorum; punci Christiani, qui se defendi sioni hereditatis Domini, et Crucifixi obsequiis devoverunt, hostiles sagittas sui sanguinis effusione inebriaturi credantur, et paganorum gladios suis jugulis passuri; reliquis desolationis illius terræ sine spe humani subsidii perperidit totaliter, et ab hostibus occupandis, cum de paribus illis pene omnes jam redierint peregrini. Id autem hactenus Dominus Jesus Christus, ut probaret adhuc fortius fidem nostram, et intelligeteri qui sunt Ejsus, misericordiiter impediti divit, manus eorum in ipsos convertens, et eos in se multiformiter discordantiae permittentes ad invicem desævire, ut Christianis interim ad ipsius terræ subsidium exigitatis, faciilius daretur facultas recuperandi perdita, et de hostibus triumphandi. Receptimus enim litteras venerabilium fratum nostrorum Antiochensis et Jerosolimitani patriarcharum, et archiepiscoporum et episcoporum utriusque provincie, similiter et carissimorum in Christo filiorum nostrorum, Aime- rici Jerosolimitorum et Leonis Armeniorum regum illustrium, et dilectorum filiorum magistrorum Jerosolimitanae Hospitalleris, et militiae Templi, aliorumque multorum, ipsius terræ miseriae et necessitatis plenius exponentes, et postulantes subsidium duitius expectatum; cum plus ibi speretur, dominante Domino, paucos hoc tempore propter Saracenorum discordiam profuturos, quam hactenus copiosus exercitus profusisset. Adjectum est etiam, quod cum inter Saracenos de pace tractetur, si, priusquam subveniatur Jerosolimitanae provinciae, 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, accitis etiam episcopis et alius viris, religiosa apud sedem apostolicae existentibus, de ipsius terræ subventione tractantes, ne videremur onera gravia humeris imponere subditorum, quae digito etiam movere nollemus, dicentes tanti et, ut ait, nihil aut modicum facientes; ut a nobis ad vos, et a vobis ad laicos bene faci-
endiv derivetur exemplum, Eius exemplo Qui coepit facere et docere, decimam partem omnium reddita et proventum nostrorum curavimus subventioni Orientalis provinciae deputare, subtrahentes non modicum necessitatis nosstris; quibus, cum graviorem sint solito, et ob hoc exigant graviorem expenses, nostra non sufficient facultates; ut Et etsi nihil largiremur de proprio, modicum saltem retribuamus de Suo, Qui nobis Suo miseratione tribuit universa: et ut non solum in rebus, verum etiam in personis, necessariumTerrae Sanctae subsidium destinemus, dilectos filios nostros Stephanum tituli Sanctae Praxedis presbyterum, et Petrum Sanctae Marie in Via Lata diaconum cardinales, apostolicae sedis legatos, quibus jampridem imposuimus signum crucis, illuc propositum destinare, qui exercitum Domini vicos nostras exsequendo praeceperit, et ad eos tanquam ad unum capit recurvanti universi. Verum quia id quasi medicum, immo vere medicum, ad tot necessitates ipsius provinciae sufficere nullatenus reputamus, universitati vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus, et ex parte Dei Omnipotentis in virtute Spiritus Sancti, sub interminatione Divini judicii, districte precipimus, quatenus singuli vestrum quadragesimam partem omnium ecclesiasticorum reddita et proventum suorum, prius tamen deductis usuris, quam solutio vitari non possit, in subsidium Terrae Sanctae convertant. Omnibus clericis, tam subditis quam praesidis, qui quadragesimam ipsam sponte ac fideliter solverint, de Dei omnipotenti misericordia, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, quartam partem injuncta sibi poneantinie relaxamus, dummodo nulla trans interveniat, et pia devotione suffragetur. Sciat autem se culpabiler, et duriter, et dure culpabiler, qui tantillum subsidium in tanta necessitate Creatori et Redemptioni suo negaverit exhibere, a Quo corpus et animam, et universa bona qua habet, accept; et nos qui, licet indigni, vices Eius exercemus in terris, hujus culpae duritiam nullatenus dissimulare possemus. Nec aliquo modo credatis, quod per hoc in dispensium vestrum legem vobis imponere intendamus, ut a vobis in posterum quadragesima, quasi debita et consuetudinaria, requiratur: immo nullum ex hoc vobis prajudicium volumus generari, qui tanta necessitatis articulum nobis et vobis supervenisse dolemus, et quod similis de cetero non contingat optamus. Volumus etiam, et nihilominus vobis praecipiendo mandamus, quatenus vos, fratres archiepiscopi et episcopi, in metropolitana ecclesia, vel, si hoc ibi fieri propter hostilitatem vel aliud evidens impedimentum non poterit, in duobus vel tribus locis provinciae
110 CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1189. Dec. 27.

and to hold diocesan councils to levy this tax.

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

Providing 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 substantia tractare; et post reversionem suam quilibet vestrum in sua diocesi, concilium convocet sine mora, auctoritate nostra praecipimus abbatibus et prioribus, tam exemptis quam aliis, archidiaconibus et decanis, et universis omnino clericis in ejus diocesi constitutis, justa aestimatione proventus et redditus suos taxent; et infra tres menses post factam eis denunciacionem, quadragesimam partem valoris eorum, sub ipsius episcopi testimonio, et aliquot religiosorum virorum, adhibitis nihilominus ad cautelam aliquibus fidelibus laicos et discretis, in locum idoneum ejusdem diocesis non differatur coniugare. Quod et nos vobis, fratres archiepiscopi et episcopi, sub eadem districte mandamus. Ab hac autem generalitate monachos Cistercienses, Premonstratenses canonicos, hereitas Grandi Montis, et Cartusienses excepimus, quibus super hoc mandatum injungimus speciale. Nolimus autem ut hi, qui redditos et proventus suos diligenter estimare curaverint, praemisse distributionis transgressionem incurrant, sed qui non ex certa scientia, sed ignoranter potius quadragesimae forte subtraxerint, dum tamen, postquam recognovissent defectum suum, quod minus solverint, plenarie repensent. Si quis autem, quod absit, quadragesimae taliter solvendae alicud ex scientia certa subtraxerit, cum digne satisfecerit, ab hujus transgressionis debito penitus sit immunis. Nec miretur quisquam, aut eiam moveretur, quod hoc sub tanta districte praecipimus, cum summa necessitas id exposcat. Nam etsi volupatius esse debeat Divinae servitutis obsequium: legitimus tamen in evangelio de invitatibus ad nuptias, Dominum prceepisse ut compellerentur intrare. Mandamus præterea ut vos, fratres archiepiscopi et episcopi, quadragesimam ipsam per vestras dioceses exspectet et collectam, fideliter faciatis juxta praecipitam formam in tuto loco deponi; summam omnium per vestras litteras ecclésiae et speciales nuncios nobis, quam citius fieri poterit, expressuri. Ad hac in singulis ecclesiis truncum concavum ponit praepositi, tribus clavibus consignatum, prima penes episcopum, secunda penes ecclesias sacerdotem, tertia penes aliquem religiosum laicum, conservandis; et in co fideles quilibet, juxta quod eorum mentibus Dominus inspiraverit, suas eleemosynas deponere in remissionem suorum peccaminum movantur; et in omnibus ecclesiis semel in hebdomada pro remissione peccatorum, et preseruim offerentium, missa pub-

1 Cartusienses] Canturienses, A. G.; Cantuarienses, Savile.
Illicita qui et silentur per militibus, Yolumus licet necessitas congrua assumpsint, militis de rato
Nos paganorum vel in ab Eius cordisibus lice
viros in et Petri Domini viros de prius subsidium suarum ad fraternitati Templi, et alii quoque religiosis laicis, et discretis militibus, vel aliis bellatoribus, qui signum Dominicae crucis
assumpserint, si in suis non poterunt sumptibus transfretare, congrua de cadem summa stipendia ministretis, suificienti ab eis cautione recepta, quod in defensione terrae Orientalis per annum vel amplius juxta quantitatem subsidii commorantur; et si, quod absit, in via decesserint, susceptum subsidium non in alios usus convertant, sed reddant potius in stipendia bellatorarium; qui etiam, cum redierint, non prius absolvantur a praestita cautione, quam litteras regis vel patriarchae, vel Jerusalimitani Hospitalis, vel militiae Templi magistri, aut etiam legati nostri, vobis exhibuerint, de mora ipsorum testimonium perhibentis. Quia vero summa necessitas exigit, et communis requirit utilitas, ut populus Christianus non solum in rebus, sed etiam in personis contra paganorum incursum Terrae Sanctae sine dilatatione succurrat, fraternitatis vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus ad exhortandos et inducendos fideles, per vos ipsos et alios viros idoneos, prudenter et diligenter instetis, ut qui sufficientes fuerint ad bellum Domini praeliandum, in nomine Domini Sabaoth signum crucis assumant; aliis vero, juxta suarum sufficientiam facultatun, pias eleemosynas largiatur.
Nos enim de Dei misericordia, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, ex illa quam Deus nobis, licet indigni, ligandi et solvendi contulit potestate, omni bus qui laborcum hujus itineris in personis propriis subierint et expensis, plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus oris et cordis egerint poniinentiam, veniam indulgensum, et in retributione justorum salutis aeternae pollicemur augmentum.
Eis autem qui non in personis propriis illuc accessione, sed in suis tantum expensis juxta facultatem et qualitem suam viros idoneos destinaverint, illic per annum moratuos ad minus; et illis similiter qui in alienis expensis, in propriis tamen personis, assumptae peregrinationis laborcum impleverint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum. Hujus quoque remissionis volumus esse participes, juxta quantitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum, omnes qui ad subversionem ipsius terrae de bonis suis congrue ministrabant;
“personas insuper ipsorum et bona, ex quo crucem suscepe-
rint, sub Beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus, nec
“non et sub archiepiscoporum et praetorium omnium ecclesiae
“Dei defenseone consistant, statuentes ut, donec de ipsorum
“obitu vel reditu certisse cognoscatur, integra maneant et
“quieta consistant. Quod si quisquam contra praesumpserit,
“per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione postposita, com-
pescatur. Si qui vero proficiscendum illuc ad praestandas
“usuras juramento tenetur\(^2\) astricti, vos, fratres archiepi-
“scopi et episcopi, per vestras dioceses creditores eorum, 
“sublato appellationis obstaculo, eadem districtione cogatis,
“ut eos a sacramento penitus absolverentes ab usurarum ul-
“terius exactione desistant. Quod si quisquam creditor eos 
“ad solutionem coegerit usurarum, eum ad restitutionem
“ipsarum, appellatione remota, districtione similis compellatis.
“Judaos vero ad remittendas ipsis usuras per saecularem
“compelli praecipimus potentatem; et, donec eas remiserint,
“ab universis Christi fidelibus, tam in mercimonii quam
“alis, per excommunicationis sententiam eis jubemus com-
munionem omnium daman demenegari. Horum autem vos, fratres
“archiepiscopi et episcopi, singulos in suis dioceses execu-
tores volumus et mandamus; que tam diligenter et fide-
“liter exsequamini, ut in disticto novissimae discussionis
“examine, cum astabitis ante tribunal Christi, dignam de
“beatis reddere rationem. Datum Laterani, sexto kalendas
“Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.”

Eodem\(^3\) mense Januarii, statim post Natale Domini,
cum induratum esset cor Philipporum regis Franciae, nec 
bländis nec asperis posset emolliri, ut adulteram suam
dmitteret, et legitimam sponsam suam resumeret, pre-
dictus Petrus de Capua, cardinals et apostolica sedis 
legatus, dedit sententiam\(^4\) interdicti in regnum Franci-
ciae, et abiiit, praecipiens clero in virtute obedientiae,
ut nulla Divina permitterent celebrari præter baptismata 
et poenitentias: sed papa Innocentius, hanc con-

\(^1\) *compescatur*] compensatur, A.; compellatis, G.; compescatur, Savile. Compescatur is the reading of 
Baluze.

\(^2\) *tenentur*] tenent, A.

\(^3\) *Eodem*] Here MSS. B. D. I. re-

\(^4\) *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 Diceto, 
706.
pars posterior.

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firmans sententiam, exceptit omnes qui susceperunt vel susciperent crucem peregrinationis Jerosolimitanæ, statuens quod ipsi Missam audirent, et sepulturam Christianorum haberent, cæteri autem omnes Missa et sepultura Christiana carerent. Cum autem rex Franciæ in proposito maligno immobilitis persisteret, proposuit dominus papa sententiam illam interdicti relaxare, et ipsum regem Franciæ excommunicare, dicens: "Melius est ut unus puniatur, quam tota gens pereat." Quo auditno, rex Franciæ frequenter misit nuncios suos ad summum pontificem, petens ut sententia interdicti relaxaretur: et quamvis primo et secundo repulsam pate-retur, tamen tandem a domino papa definitum est, mediantibus nuncius regis Franciæ et jurantibus 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 divorium fieri inter illos, hoc significaltur regi Daco-rum, et cæteris amicis predictæ reginæ, ubi et quando rex Franciæ voluerit divorium illud fieri, si de jure fieri debeat, ut amici reginæ interesse possint; et idem significaltur domino papa et curiae Romanae, ut ex parte eorum intersint viri discreti, ut tam solemne divorium juste fiat.


Eodem anno, videlicet ab Incarnatione Domini mil-

A.D. 1200.
January.

Exceptions in favour of crusaders.

The pope threatens to relax the interdict and excommunicate Philip.

Philip consents to take back his wife; the process of divorce to be begun de novo.

The king of Navarre returns from Africa and makes peace with his neighbours.

1 definitum] definitum, D. I.
2 et jurantibus] om. Savile.
3 et] A blank in A. for the name of the king of Arragon; Peter II.,
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1196–1213. 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.

H

May 22.

De colloquio inter Filippum regem Franciae et Johannem regem Anglie.

In octavis autem Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, Philippus rex Franciae et Johannes rex Anglie convenerunt ad colloquium inter Butavant, castellum

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 Ebraudi] 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 Dominii," 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.
regis Anglie, et Guletun,\textsuperscript{1} castellum regis Franciae, xi. kalendas Junii, feria secunda. In quo colloquio redidit rex Franciae Johanni regi Anglie civitatem Ebroucarum, et totum comitatum, et omnia castella et civitates et prædia quæ occupaverat in Normannia per guerram, et in aliis terris regis Angliae; et Johannes rex Angliae statim devenit inde homo Philippi regis Franciae; et in continentì dedit universa illa Lodo- wico filio predicti regis Franciae, in maritagiun cum nepthe sua, filia Aldefonsi regis Castellæ.

De matrimonio contracto inter Lodowicum filium Filippi regis Franciae et filium Aldefonsi regis Castellæ.

Et in crastino, scilicet x. kalendas Junii, feria tertia, predicta filia regis Castellæ desponsata est Lodowico filio Philippi regis Franciae, apud Purmor in Normal- nia, 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 Castellæ. Et dum hæc fírent, eodem die Philippus rex Franciae et Johannes rex Angliae fuerunt simul ad colloquium apud Vernun,\textsuperscript{2} 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.

\textsuperscript{1} Guletun] Guletuit, B.  \textsuperscript{2} Vernun] Werun, I.
Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ dedit Zacharieæ priori de Sancto Albano priori de Burgo, et dedit abbatiam de Ramessai. Eodem anno Robertus comes de Drues, frater Philippi Belvacensis episcopi, obiit.

Combusta est civitas Rothomagi cum ecclesia cathedrali.

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

Item de Othone rege Alemannorum.

Eodem anno Otho rex Alemannorum, electus Romanorum, usit Henricum ducem Saxonieæ et Willelmum Wintoniensem, fratres suos, ad Johannem regem Angliæ avunculum suum, petens ab eo comitatum Eboraci, et comitatum Pictavis, quos Ricardus rex Angliæ ei dederat, et duas partes totius thesauri Ricardi regis Angliæ, et omnia exeniam sua, que idem rex Angliæ ei divisit. Sed Johannes rex Angliæ nihil horum que petebat facere volebat, propter jusjunranandum quod juraverat regi Franciae, videlicet, quod nullum auxilium faceret ipsi Othoni contra ducem Swavieæ.

Eodem anno, paulo ante festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula, habitum est campestre bellum inter praedictum Othonem regem Alemannorum et Philippum ducem Swavieæ, apud Brunesciæ; in quo praedio Otho exstitit

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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.; Rameseia, B.; Rameseia, G.; Ramisi, 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 Brunesciæ] Brunesciæ, I.
victor, et cepit plusquam ducentos milites de familia ducis Swavie.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Angliæ dedit Philippo Dunelmensi episcopo licentiam habendi singulis annis nudinias apud Howeden \(^1\) et apud Alvertun. Et Wil- lelmo de Stutevilla dedit idem rex licentiam habendi singulis annis nudinias apud Buttereram,\(^2\) et apud Cogthingham,\(^3\) et in eisdem locis firmare castella. Et idem rex dedit Ricardo Malebisse licentiam firmandi castellum apud Queldric:\(^4\) quod cum pene firmaret, cives Eboraci considerantes hoc fieri in eorum damnum et opprobrium, effecerunt adversus Willemum de Stuteville, tunc temporis vicecomitem Eboraci, quod ipse ex parte regis prohibit Ricard Malebisse, ne ipse castel- lum illud firmaret, et ita remansit.

Eodem anno Willemus de Stutevilla dedit Johanni regi Angliæ tria millia marcarum argenti pro judicio habendo de baronia Willemi de Mubrai,\(^5\) quam idem Willemus de Stutevilla calumniatus est in curia regis adversus prefatum Willemum de Mubrai.\(^6\) Est autem sciemund quod Robertus Grundbeof, praevus hujus Willemi de Stutevilla, habuit baroniam illam de acquisi- tione Angliæ, sed ille Robertus Grundbeof, relicto Henrico rege Angliæ, filio Willemi Bastardi regis, qui Angliam bello sibi subjugavit, adhaesit Roberto Curte- hose, duci Normannorum, calumniati regnum Angliæ de jure paterno contra predictum Henricum regem Angliæ, fratrem suum juniorem; et in prælio quod fuit inter illos duos fratres, videlicet Henricum regem

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\(^1\) Howeden \(\rightarrow\) Howedene, I. The grants are enrolled in the Charter Rolls, both dated at Freemante, Mar. 2, 1200 (ed. Hardy, p. 37).

\(^2\) Buttereram \(\rightarrow\) Butteram, D.; Butteram, G. I. The grants are enrolled in the Charter Rolls, both dated at Alton, April 23, 1200. Ibid., p. 54.

\(^3\) Cogthingham \(\rightarrow\) Chogthingam, D.

\(^4\) Queldric \(\rightarrow\) Queldric, B.; Quel- drie, I. Wheldrake, Richard Male- bisse has licence to enclose land at Wheldrake (Coldric); by charter dated at Derby, March 31, 1200. Charter Rolls, ed. Hardy, p. 42.

\(^5\) Mubrai \(\rightarrow\) Mumbrai, B. I. See the Rotuli Curie Regis, ed. Pal- grave, ii. 231.
Angliæ et Robertum Curtehose fratrem suum, ducem Normanniae, apud Tenerchebrai,\(^1\) Henricus rex Angliæ exstìtit victor, et cepit Robertum Curtehose fratrem suum, et tenuit in carere usque ad consummationem vitæ suæ: similiter Robertum Grunbeof;\(^2\) et baroniam suam dedid Henricus rex Nigello de Aubenni,\(^3\) proavo istius Willelmi de Mubrai.\(^4\) Preterea sciendum est, quod Robertus de Stuteville, pater praedicti Willelmi de Stuteville, tempore regis Henrici secundi, calumnìatus erat pro pretìo baronìam adversus Rogerum de Mubrai,\(^5\) patrem præfati Willelmi de Mubrai; et convenit inter eos sic, quod Rogerus de Mubrai dedit Roberto de Stutevila Kyrkebi in Moreshefd, cum pertinenìis suis pro feodo decem militum, pro homagio suò, et pro quīeta clamantìa calumniæ suæ. Sed quia hæc in curia regis et ejus munimine non fuerant confirmata, praedictus Willelìmus de Stutevila iterum suscitavit litem de baronia illa in curia Johannis regis Angliæ. Cumque super hoc diu certatum esset, tandem consilio regni, et voluntate regis, Pax et finalis concordia facta est inter praedictos Willelìmum de Stutevilla et Willelìmum de Mubrai in hunc modum: quod Willelìmus de Stutevila renunciavit calumnìa suæ quam habuit adversus Willelìmum de Mubrai super baronia suà, et Willelìmus de Mubrai dedit Willelìmo de Stutevila pro homagio suò, et pro renunciatìone juris suí, in augmentum, feoda novem militum, et duodecim libratus\(^6\) reditiium. Et sic remissìs omnibus querelis hinc et inde, factâ sunt amici coram Johanne rege Angliæ, secundo anno regni sui, apud Lue\(^7\) in Lindissia, villam Lincolniensis episcopi, prima Dominica Septuagesimæ.

Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciæ dedit Judæis

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licentiam habitandi Parisius, et in aliis civitatisibus 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 Hawis uxorem suam, filiam Willelmi comitis Gloucestriae, per Eliam Burdegalensem archiepiscopum, et per Willemum² Pictavensem, et per Henrikum Sanctonensem episcopos: erant enim affines in tertio gradu consanguinitatis. Facto itaque divorcio inter Johannem regem Anglie et Hawis uxorem suam,³ ipse rex Anglie, consilio domini sui Philippus regis Franciae, duxit sibi in uxorem Ysabel filiam Ailmari comitis de Engolismo, quam predictus comes, consilio et voluntate Ricardi regis Anglie, prius dederat Hugo le Brun, comiti de La Marche; quam idem comes in suam per verba de praesenti receperat, et ipsa illum in suum receperat per verba de praesenti; 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

1 Hawis] Hawisiam, B.
² Willemum] 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 Poitiers, died in 1197; see above, p. 24; and the present bishop was Maurice de Biacon; Henry was bishop of Saintes from 1189 to 1213.
³ uam] sua, 1.
A.D. 1200. 

Johanni regi Anglise, apud Engolismum, per Eliam Burdegalensem archiepiscopum.¹ 

De dissensione quae fuit inter scholares et cives Parisius. 

Eodem anno orta est gravissimam dissensionem inter scholares et cives Parisius; cujus origo talis fuit. Erat itaque Parisius quidam nobilis scholaris Teuthonicus,² qui erat unus electorus 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 Teutonicorum; et intrantes tabernam vulneraverunt hospitium domus, et plagis impositis abierunt, relinquentes eum semivivum. Factus est ergo clamor populi, et commota est civitas, ita quod Thoma praepositus Parisius, cum plebe civitatis armata, fecit insultum in hospitium clericorum Teutonicorum; in quorum conflictu nobilis ille scholaris, qui erat unus de electis in episcopum de Legis, interfectorum est cum quibusdam suorum. Magistri igitur scholarum Parisius abeuntes ad Philippum regem Franciae, conquisti sunt ei de Thoma praeposito, et de illius complices, qui interfecerunt predictos scholares: ad quorum instantiam captus est praefatus Thoma praepositus, captique sunt complices sui quidam, et incercaturi; quidam autem illorum fugerunt, relictis domibus et facultatibus suis: rex quidem Franciae iratus, fecit domus illorum demoliri, et vineas et arbores illorum demoliri.
pars posterior.

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fructiferas exstirpari. De praeposito autem illo definitum est, quod ipse in carcere regis non exiturus ser-
vetur, donec judicio aque vel ferri se mundaverit; et si perierit, suspendatur; et si mundus fuerit, abjuret regnum in misericordia regis. Attamen schola
res, mis-
seri illius, supplica verunt 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, si alius quam ipse vindictam sumeret de malefactoribus suis. Praeterea idem rex Franciae, timens quod magistri scholae
rum et scholares a civitate sua recederent, satisfecit eis, statuens quod de certo aliquod delictum quod fecerit; sed si clericus deliquerit, tradatur episco
po, et secundum judicium cleric tractetur. Statuit etiam idem rex Franciae, quod quicumque fuerit praepositus Parisius, juret quod fidem servabit clericis, salva fidelitate regis. Praeterea idem rex dedit schola
ribus firmam pacem suam, et eam eis carta sua confirmavit. Praepositus autem ille, cum per multos dies in carcere regis detentus fuisse, per fugam evadere propo
sit; et cum per murum dimittere, fractus est funis, et ipse ab alto corruens in terram, exspiravit.

De Margarito pirata.

Eodem anno Margaritus dux piratarum, quem Hen-
ricus Romanorum imperator excceari fecerat, venit Parisius ad Philippum regem Franciae, et obtulit eum quod, si ipse consilio suo adquiesceret, faceret eum imperatorem Romanorum, vel imperatorem Constantino
politanorum, utrum si eligeret. Cui rex Franciae facilem

1 definitum] definitum, B. I.
2 sua] om. Savile.
3 idem] om. Savile. Philip's ordi
inance on this subject may be found in the Ordonnances des Rois de France, vol. I. pp. 23-25; dated at Bétisii, in A.D. 1200.
Having collected a fleet for that purpose he is killed at Rome.

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 Franciae recedens, ut prepararet promissa, mandavit per universos portus suæ dominationis, quod omnes galeae suæ convenirent apud Brandusium in occursum ejus: sed cum ipse Romam veniret, a quodam serviente suo, quem ipse male tractaverat, interfectus est. Et tali casu interveniente rex Franciae a desiderio suo fraudatus est.

Eodem anno obiit 2 Magnutinus archiepiscopus, qui in civitate Magunti receperat Philippum ducem Swavie in dominum, et eum ibidem in regem coronaverat. Quo defuncto, clericus et populus civitatis elegerunt sibi quendam nobilem clericum 3 de suis in archiepiscopum, et presentaverunt eum Philippo 4 duci Swavie; quem ille refutans, voluit contra voluntatem illorum unum de consanguineis suis ibi constituere archiepiscopum. Unde clericus et populus Magunti plurimum indignati, abjicto duce Swavie, adhæserunt Othoni regi Alemannorum, et receperunt eum in dominum; et ipse ad presentationem illorum receptum electum quem elegerant in archiepiscopum. Et ipse Otho fuit apud Magnutum in Natali Domini in regem coronatus ab eodem archiepiscopo Magnutino. Quo audito, Philippus dux Swavie precepit sibi afféri thesaurum suum, quem habuit in partibus illis. Quod cum Othoni constaret, observabat per diem et noctem stratam, per quam transituri erant homines ducis cum thesauro suo: et illi nihil horum preceaventes, cum iter agerent, inciderunt in manus Othonis, et capti sunt cum thesauro illo: et ita factus est Otho dives ex 5 thesauro ducis Swavie adversarii ejus.

1 recedens] preceedens, 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 predicacione Eustacii abbatis de Flay.

Eodem anno \(^1\) unus ex consortibus supradicti Fulconis, dictus dominus Eustacius abbas de Flay, venit in Angliam a partibus Normanniae, predicare verbum Domini; fecitque mirabilia in vita sua. Inter quae unum opus fecit quod est mirabile in oculis nostris. Venit itaque predicatus Eustacius non longe a Canticario ad villam quae dicitur Wy; et benedixit ibi fontem quendam, cui Dominus tantam infudit gratiam, quod ceci visum, claudi gressum, muti loquelam, surdi auditionem, et quisque debilis, qui ex fonte benedicto biberit, sanitatem se recepisse gavisus est. Venit igitur quemdam 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 ille respondit: "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 nigerimos, 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; quae \(^2\) statim abscondit et infra illam; et abscondit in altum, relinquentia post se fœda vestigia. Mulier quidem ab illa hora sana facta est, magnificans Deum, Qui talen potestatem dedit hominibus. Praeterea, predicatus Abbas veniens ad Rumenele, ubi erat aquae defectus, et ad preces populi in ecclesia ejusdem villæ, baculo suo petram percussit; et fluxerunt aque, 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.*

\(^2\) *fus est*] potest, I.

\(^3\) *qua*] qui, B. I.
124 CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1200.

He institutes a reform of Sunday observance in London.

He inculcates almsgiving.

Opposition to his work.

He leaves England.

The count of Toulouse does homage to John for his wife's marriage portion.

haustus languoribus diversis medetur. Ipsa etiam pre\dicatione sua corda multorum convertit ad usururam relaxationem, et ad crucem Jerosolimitanæ profectionis capiendam. Lundoniis autem, et in alii locis multis per Angliam predicatione sua effectit, quod de cætero in diebus Dominicis forum rerum venalium nequaquam exercere pæsumet. Statuit etiam Lundoniis, 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 impedivit predicatione sua, quod multi ex civibus, et ex aliiis viris sapientibus, habent quotidie in mensa sua discut cum cibario rum 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 respon dit, “Messis quidem multa est, operarii vero pauci.” Itaque prædictus abbas a ministris Satanae increpatus, noluit diutius prælatos Angliae sua predicazione molestare, sed reversus est in Normanniam ad locum suum, unde venerat.

Eodem anno 2 Raimundus comes de Sancto Egidio devenit homo Johannis regis Angliae, de terris et castellis quæ Ricardus rex Angliae dederat ei in maritagi um cum Johanna sorore sua; ita quod cum Raimundus filius ejus, quem genuit de Johanna uxore sua, pervenerit ad annos discretionis, omnia supradicta ha beat, et faciat inde homagium Johanni regi Angliae avunculo suo; et si ipse sine prole decesserit, revertantur ad comitem de Sancto Egidio; et ipse et hæredes sui post illum teneant ea omnia jure hæreditario de comite Pictaviæ, per servitium veniendi cum quingentis

1 erit semper] om. B. I. See the story below, pp. 169, 170.
2 Eodem anno] Here MS. G. resumes.
John Gray was bishop of Norwich from 1200 to 1214.

Andegavis, D. John was at Angers on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of June 1200. Hardy's Itinerary. MS. G. omits this clause.

Gray] Grai, L. John Gray was bishop of Norwich from 1200 to 1214.

episcopum] apud Londonias, add. G.

Braiusa] He was bishop of Hereford from 1200 to 1215.

episcopum] MS. G. omits all from this point to domini papa, p. 128.

carta] The charter is entered on the Charter Roll, and dated June 7 at Argentan; ed. Hardy, p. 69.

Depa] Depe, B. I.

Lovers] Lavers, B. I.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

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 ceterae personae ecclesiae Sancti Petri Eboraci, convenerunt apud Westmonasterium in presentia Herberti Saresbiriensis episcopi, et Alani abbatis de Theokesbiri, judicum a domino papa delegatorum; et post allegationes utrinque plenius diductas, prefati judices eos ad concordiam modis omnibus inducere conati sunt; et effecerunt, Dominus cooperae, quod idem archiepiscopus recepit in osculum pacis primo Willelmum Testard archidiaconum de Notingham, deinde Reginaldum Arundel praecentorem Eboracensis ecclesiae, et postremo Simonem decanum Eboracensis ecclesiae, ea conditione, quod ad invicem sibi satisfacerent 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 causa interesse non potuit, vices suas commissit domino Rogerio de Rollestun, decano Lincolniensis ecclesiae. Convenit ergo inter illos in hunc modum; quod praedictus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, si voluerit, reedificabit capellam de Lamee in loco illo, sed non super illud

1 Herberti] Hereberti, B. I.

2 et postremo . . . ecclesie] om. I.

3 Samsonem] Sansonem, I. Sampsonem, B.

4 Eadmundo] Aedmundo, I.

5 Rollestun] Roll? B. I.
fundamentum quo prius fuerat, nec canonicos secundores ibi instituet, sed, si voluerit, poterit ibi instituere canonicos regulares de ordine Premonstrensi, videlicet tredecim ad minus, vel viginti ad plus; et ad sustentationem illorum dabit archiepiscopos, si voluerit, de ecclesiis sue donationis centum libras redditus ad plus; et in ecclesia illa neque chrisma conficiet, neque episcopos consecrabit. De quatuor autem ecclesiis, quas bona memorie Ricardus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in proprios usus predicorum monachorum converterat, sic erit: videlicet, quod Symon archidiaconus de Welle reddet predictis monachis Sanctae 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 predictorum monachorum Cantuariæ; et reliqua medietas ejusdem ecclesiae, et obventions altaris, erunt in donatione archiepiscopi. Similiter erit de ecclesia de Estreia, praeter quod magister Radulfus, possessors illius in vita sua, solvet predictis monachis pensionem sex aureorum per annum. Ecclesiam autem de Aynesford possidebit libere Johannes Belesmainis, quondam Lugdunensis archiepiscopus, in vita sua; et post decessum illius, predicti monachi Cantuariæ habebunt, ad augmentum eleemosynæ suæ, tertiam partem decimarum bladi et leguminis de eadem ecclesia, et totum reliquum illius ecclesiae erit in donatione archiepiscopi. Similiter erit

1 instituet] constituet, B. I.  
2 Symon] Simon of Wells, also called Simon Sywell or Sutwell; archdeacon of Wells, and afterwards in 1204 bishop of Chichester; he was a canon of Lambeth and rector of Monkton in Thanet. Epp. Cant. p. 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. Epp. Cant. 342.  
5 Belesmainis] Belesmeins, B. I. The ex-archbishop, who was a Kentish man, held Eynsford by the gift of archbishop Baldwin. Epp. Cant. 343.
November 128

CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

de ecclesia de Mapheham, praeter quod Virgilius ¹ pos-

sessor ejus reddet inde predictis monachis Cantuariæ

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-

priis hominibus eorum. Hæc supradicta omnia con-
cessa sunt inter illos, ² et confirmata, salva auctoritate

domiæ papæ.

Eodem anno ³ Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus
generale celebravit concilium Lundonii apud Westmo-
nasterium, contra prohibitionem Gaufridi Filii Petri
comitis de Exexe, ⁴ tunc temporis summi justitii Angliæ.
In quo concilio ⁵ idem archiepiscopus subscripsit 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 conciliis prospeximus,
ut a quolibet sacerdote celebrante, verba canonis rotunde

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¹ Virgilius] Rector of Mepheham, 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. resumes; but goes no further than

observari.

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 

Quod non liceat presbytero bis in die celebrare nisi necessitate cogente.

"(II.) Non liceat presbytero bis in die celebrare, nisi necessitate urgentie; et tunc idem quando in die bis celebrat, post primam celebrationem et Sanguinis suumptionem nil infundat calicis. Sane post primam celebrationem diligentissime absorbantur stillulae de calicis, et digitus sugantur vel linguam lambantur, et laventur reservata lotura in vas umundo ad id specialiter deputato, quae lotura sumatur post secundam celebrationem. Hae ita se habeant, nisi in prima celebratione adsit diaconus, vel alius minister honestus, qui loturam sumere possit. His adjiciatur, ut reponatur Eucharistia in pixide munda et honesta, et in pixide munda et honesta deferatur ad aegrum, lineo mundo superposito, et lucerna praecedente ac cruce, nisi aegor valde remotus fuerit. Re- novetur quoque Hostia ipsa singulis Dominicis diebus, habeaturque certitudine circa ipsam Eucharistiam, ita quod non sumat non consecratam pro consecrata. His adiiciendum decrevitmus, ut secreto non detur communio Eucharistiae impetenti; sed publice et instanter petenti danda 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 iteratum, quod non scitur fuisse collatum. Ideoque baptizentur expositi, de quorum baptismo dubitatur.

A.D. 1290.

September.

Quod si observatum non fuerit, sacerdotes hoc non observaverint, nisi ex festatione retracta, nec ex distinatione nimis prostacta. Non est enim ibi diu im morandum propter insurgentes cogitationes, quia musculorum morientium perdita suavitatem unguenti. Nec nee ex festinatione nimia non praecipiantur vel syncopentur. Quod si observatum non fuerit, sacerdotes hoc non observaverint, nisi ex festatione retracta, nec ex distinatione nimia non praecipiantur vel syncopentur. Quod si observatum non fuerit, sacerdotes hoc non observaverint, nisi ex festatione retracta, nec ex distinatione nimia non praecipiantur vel syncopentur.

De baptismate vel confirmatione, si dubitetur.

1 quia] quae ut, Savile.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1200. September.

When deacons or lay people may baptize.

De poenitentia.

4. Great care to be taken about the imposing of penances.

Masses not to be enjoined in penance.

Quomodo archiepiscopus et episcopus et eorum officiales debent hospitari cum subjectis.

5. Regulation of the expenses of visitations.

1 moram] morem, A.
Ne quis ordinetur sine certo titulo.

"(VI.) Illud etiam juxta tenorem Lateranensis concilii fir-
ter observari praecipimus, ut si episcopus\(^1\) alium sine
certo titulo in diaconum vel presbyterum ordinaverit, tam
diu ei subministret, donec ei in aliqua ecclesia convenientia

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\(^1\) plurimum\] plurimum, A. ; pluri-

\(^2\) indultam\] So far the Lateran

\(^3\) 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.
A.D. 1200.

September.

Subdeacons not to be ordained without due precaution.

stipendia militiae clericali assignet, nisi forte talis, qui ordi-
natur, exstiterit, qui de sua vel paterna hereditate subsidia
vitae possit habere. Idem in subdiaconis ordinatione statui-
minus, adjungentes, ut si archidiaconus citra speciale manda-
tum episcopi sui aliquem predictorum ordinationi presen-
taverit, et is ad ejus presentationem ordinatus fuerit,
predictae poenae subjaceat. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

Quod non liceat praelatis suspensionis vel excommuni-
cationis sententiam proferre in subjectos nisi canonica communi-

tio procedat.

7. Superiors are not to excommuni-
 cate or in-
 feriors to appeal, in order to de-
 feat the due course of justice.

This rule applies especially to the religious.

(VII.) Rursus Lateranensis concilii statuta sequentes, praecipimus, ut nec praelati, nisi canonica communi-

tionis praemissae, suspensionis vel excommunicationis sententiae praef-
rint in subjectos, nisi forte talis sit culpa, que in ipso
genere suo excommunicationem ponam inducat: nec subjecti
contra disciplinam ecclesiasticam ante ingressum causae in
vocem appellationis prorumpant. Si vero quisquam pro sua
necessitate crediderit appellandum, competens ei ad prose-
quendum appellationem terminus praefigatur, infra quem si
prosequi forte neglexerit, libere tunc episcopus auctoritate
sua utatur. Si autem in quocunque negotio aliquis appel-

erit, et eo qui appellatus fuerit veniente, qui appella-

erit venire neglexerit; si trium quid habuerit, com-
potentem illi recompensationem faciat expensarum; ut hoc
saltem timore perterritus, in gravamen alterius non facile
quis appellet: precipue vero in locis religiosis hoc vo-

lumus observari; ne monachi sive quicunque religiosi, cum
pro aliquo excessu fuerint corrigendi, contra regularem
praelati sui et capituli disciplinam appellare prassumant,
"sed humiliter ac devote suscipiant, quod pro salute sua
"eis fuerit injunctum.3 Ad reprimendum etiam multorum
"malitiam, his duximus adnectendum, ut singulis annis in
"genero solemniter excommunicentur sociarii, perjuri supra
"sacramenta, incendiarii, fures, atrocies raptores. Ita ut,
"qui scierenter in dispendium cujuslibet pejoraverint,4 non ab-

1 From the second canon of the Lateran Council as given in Vol. ii.
p. 172. Bened. i. 223.

3 injunctum] The Lateran canon ends with this word.

2 religiosis] om. A.

4 pejoraverint] pejoraverint, A.
PARS POSTERIOR. 133

A.D. 1200. September.

“solvantur; nec eis pœnitentia ab aliquo injungatur, nisi
ab episcopo diocesano, vel ejus auctoritate, præterquam in
articulo mortis; et tunc eis injungatur, quod ex quo conva-
luerint, episcopum adeant, ab eo vel ejus auctoritate pœni-
tentiam suscepturi. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

Prohibetur ne aliquid exigatur pro sacramentis ecclesiae.

“(VIII.) Sicut in Lateranensi concilio salubriter a Sanctis
patribus est provisum, inhibemus1 ne a personis ecclesiasticis
deducendis ad sedem, vel sacerdotibus vel aliis clericis insti-
tendis, aut sepeliendis mortuis, aut benedicendis nubentibus,
seu pro chrismate, seu quibuslibet aliis sacramentis, aliquid
exigatur. Si quis autem contra hoc venire presumpsit,
portionem cum Giezi se noverit habetur; cujus factum
exactione turpi munere imitatur. His adjicimus2 ne
licentia celebrandi Divina a sacerdotibus, vel docendi a
magistris, aliquid exigatur, et, si solutum fuerit, repetatur.3
De ejusdem otiam auctoritate concili prohibemus, ne novi
census ab episcopis vel abbatibus aliisve praebentibus
in injunctum ecclesiam, nec veteres augcantur, nec partem reddi-
tuam suis usibus applicare praesumant; sed libertatem quam
majores sibi conservari desiderant, minoribus quoque suis
bona voluntate conservent. Si quis autem aliter egerit,
irritum quod fecerit habeatur.5 Nulla insuper4 ecclesiastica
ministeria, seu etiam beneficia vel ecclesiae, alicui tribuantur
vel promittantur, antequam vacant; ne desiderare quis
proximi sui mortem videatur, in cujus locum vel beneficium
se credit successorum. Cum enim et in ipsis locis gentilium
legibus inventur prohibitum, turpe nimis est, et Divini
plenum animadversione judicii, si in5 ecclesia Dei futurae
successionis expectatio locum habeat, quam et condemnare
ipsi gentiles homines curaverunt. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

1 See the Lateran Canon in Vol. ii., p. 174. Bened. i. 225.

3 De ejusdem . . . habeatur] From the Canon.
5 in] om. A.
A.D. 1200. September.

CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

Ne decima minuatur occasione mercedes servientum vel messorum.

"(IX.) Cum Deo et sacerdotibus Dei decimas dandas, Abraham factis et Jacob promissis insinuent; et auctoritas Veteris et Novi Testamenti, nec non et sanctae patrum statuta declarent, decimas de omnibus que per annum reno-
vantur prestandas; id inviolabiler decernimus observan-
dum, ita quod occasione mercedes servientum vel messorum
decima pars non minuatur, sed potius integre persolvatur.
"Habeant etiam presbyteri potestatem ante autemnum ex-
communicandi omnes fraudatores decimarum suarum, et cos-
dem secundum formam ecclesiasticam absolvendi. Huic
adjectum sanctioni, ut de terris noviter excultis non alias
dentur decima, quam ecclesiae parochialibus, infra quorum
limites terrae ille, de quibus decima perveniunt, excoluntur.
"Detentores vero decimarum, juxta Rothomagensis consociatione
conciitum, si semel, secundo et tertio commoniti, excus-
sum suum non emendaverint, usque ad satisfactionem con-
dignam anathematis vinculo feriantur. Salvo omnibus,
etc.

Ne clerici in sacris ordinibus constituti focarias habeant.

"(X.) Statuimus, ut in ecclesia, cujus redditus annuus
quantitatem trium marcarum non excedit, nullus institutur,
nisi qui in propria persona ibidem voluerit deserivere. Sta-
tuta etiam Lateranensis concili reverenter ampectentes,
decernimus ut clerici in sacris ordinibus consituti, si
muliercas in domibus suis sub incontinentiae vota tene-
rint, aut abjicient eas, et continenter vivant, aut ab officio
et beneficio ecclesiastico fiant alieni. His etiam adrecti-
mus, ut clerici non intersint tabernis et publicis potatio-
nibus. Hinc eterum accidunt contentiones et rixa, ade
quod laici quandoque clericos verberantes, incidant in ca-
nonem. Qui cum ad papam mittantur, non est aequum ut

1 Rothomagensis] Canon III. of the Council of Rouen (date un-
certain), incorporated in the Dec-
cretum, pt. ii. caus. 16, qu. 7, cap. 5.
3 ut] quod, Savile.
PARS POSTERIOR.

"clerici, qui culpa sua quodammodo tamen dedere delictum, A.D. 1200.
maneant impuniti. Clerici etiam omnes habitum habeant September.
clericalem, et tonsuram canonicam. Archidiaconi autem, Of the clergy.
et alii in dignitibus constituti, et presbyteri cappis ma-
nicatis non\(^1\) utantur. Salvo in omnibus, etc.

**Quales personæ debeat contrahere matrimonium.**

"(XI.) Vir non contrahat cum aliqua consanguinea olim
uxoris sue; similiter nec uxor cum alioqu consanguineo
quondam viri sui. Et susceptus in baptismo, non contrahat
cum filia baptismantis vel suscipiens, ante vel post genita.

"Nec contrahatur aliquod matrimonium sine trina denuncia-
tione publica in ecclesia, neque si fuerint personæ incog-
mitae. Sed nec copulentur aliqua personæ matrimonio, nisi
publice in facie ecclesiae, et presente sacerdote; et si secus
factum fuerit, non admittantur aliqui in ecclesia, nisi speciali
authorizatione episcopi. Nulli etiam conjugatorum liceat iter
remotæ\(^2\) peregrinationis arripere, nisi mutuo consensus
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 tertio, ut confiteantur et satisfaciant: si
vero incorrecti in negatione perstiterint, indicatur eis pur-
gatio, et non occasione pecuniae captanda difference de die
in diem, sed statim primo die, si parata fuerit, suscipiatur,
et canonicalum numerum non excedat. Salvo, etc.

**Ut leprosi cimiterium et proprium habeant capellam.**

"(XIII.) Affectu pietatis inducti, concilii Lateranensis\(^3\) lepers
etiam institutione suffulti, decernimus, ut ubicunque tot
leprosi simul fuerint congregati, qui ecclesiam cum cimi-
terio sibi construire, et proprio valeant gaudere presbytero,
sine contradicetione aliqua habere permittantur. Caveant
tamen ut injuriosi veteribus ecclesiis non existant. Quod
enim eis pro pietate conceditur, ad aliorum injuriam nolu-

\(^1\) om. Savile. \(^3\) See the Canon in Vol. ii. p. 180.
\(^2\) remotæ] remotum, Savile. \(^\) Bened. i. 229.
Ne aliquis sine episcopali auctoritate ecclesiastica beneficia de manu laica recipiat.

14. Lateranensis concilii tenore perpenso decernimus, ne fratres Templi vel Hospitalis, sive quicunque alii religiosi, ecclesias vel decimas, vel alia beneficia ecclesiastica, sine episcopali auctoritate de manu laica recipiant; dimissis etiam, quas contra tenorem istum moderno tempore receperunt: excommunicatos et nominatim interdictos tanquam ab omnibus alis, juxta sententiam episcoporum, statuimus evitandos. In ecclesiis suis, que ad eos pleno jure non pertinent, instituendos presbyteros episcopis presentent; ut eis quidem de plebis cura respondeant, ipsis vero pro rebus temporalibus rationem exhibeant competentem. Institutos autem, inconsultis episcopis, non audant remove. Si vero Templarii sive Hospitalarii ad ecclesiam interdictam vene- rint, non nisi semel in anno ad ecclesiasticum admittantur officium, nec tunc ibi corpora sepelient defunctorum interdictorum. De fraterinitatibus autem haec constitutius, ut, si non se predictis fratribus omnino reddiderint, sed in proprietatibus suis duerint remanendum, proper hoc ab episcoporum sententia nullatenus eximantur, sed potestatem suam sicut in alios parochianos suos exerceant, cum de excessibus suis fuerint corrigendi. Quod autem de predictis fratribus dictum est, ab aliis quoque religiosis, qui prae-sumptione sua episcoporum jura præripiunt, et contra canonicas eorum sententias, et tenorem privilegiorum suorum venire præsumant, praecipimus observari. Si autem contra hoc statutum venerint, et ecclesie, in quibus ista presupserint, subjiciantur interdicto, et quod egerint, ejusdem auctoritate concilii irritum habeatur et vacuum. Monachi 3 etiam sub pretoio non recipiantur in monasterio; non pecun- lium habere permittantur, non singuli per villas et oppida, sive quasunque parochiales ponantur ecclesiis; sed in ma- jore conventu aut cum aliquibus fratribus maneant, nec soli inter seculares homines spiritualium hostium afflictum ex-

1 hortis et] ortis, Savile.
2 decernimus] See Vol. ii. p. 188. 
Bened. i. 236, 237.
3 Monachi] From another canon, Vol. ii. 181; Bened. i. 230.
4 non] nec, Savile.
"pectent, Salomone diciente, 'Væ soli, quia si ecciderit, non
Stetit, Salomone dícere, 'Væ soli, quia si ecciderit, non
"habebit sub'levantem.' Si quis autem exactus pro sua re-
"ceptione aliquid dederit, ad canonicos ordinés non accedat:
"is autem, quic accipit, officii sui privatione muletotur. Si
"vero peculium habuerit, nisi ei ab abbaie fuerit pro injusta
"administratione permissum, a communique removatur alta-
"ris; et qui in extremis cum peculio inventus fuerit, nec
"oblatio pro eo fiat, nec inter fratres recipiat sepulturam.
"Quod etiam de diversis religiosis præcipimus observari.

"Abbas autem, et qui diligenter ista non curaverit, officii sui
"jaeturam se noverit cursurum. Prioratus quoque, seu ob-
"dientes; pretii datione nulli tradantur; alióquin et dantes
"et accipientes a ministerio fiant ecclesiasticò alií. Priorés
"vero cum in conventualibus ecclesiis fuerint constitutí, nisi
"pro manifesta causa et rationábilis non mutentur; videlicet,
"si dilapidatores fuerint, si incontinentem vixerint, aut tale
"aliquod egerint, pro quo amovendi merito vidcantur; aut si
"etiam pro majoris necessitate officii fuerint transferendi."

"Et illud preterea dignum adjectio né videatur, ne monachi
"aut canonici nigrí, vel moniales nigræ, cappis colorátis
"utantur, sed tantum nigris; nec utantur coopertoriis nisi
"nigris vel albis, cum pelibus agninís vel catinis vel val-
"pios. Monachi etiam aut alii religiosi pileis non utantur;
"nec obtentu peregrinationis claustrum egrediantur. Decer-
"nimus etiam, ut in qualibet ecclesiae monachorum vel quo-
"rumlibet religiosorum suis usibus canonice appropriata,
"vicarios institutur provisione episcopii, honestam et suffici-
"entem sustentationem de bonis ecclesiis percepturus."

Eodem anno Octavianus Ostiensis episcopus, cardin
slow and apostolice sedis legatú, venit in Franciam,
missus a latere domini Innocentii papae ad cognoscen-
dum de divertio facto inter Philippum regem Franciae,
et Botildam reginam sponsam suam, et ut ipse inpri-
missi ante ingressum litis compellaret predictum regem
Franciae dimittère adulteram suam Theu-

1 accipit] accipit, Savile.  2 transferendi] Here the quotation
1 accept] accept, Savile.  2 transfer] Here the quotation
3 adjectio] adjectio, A.  4 Eodem anno] Here MSS. B. D.
1. G. resume. MS. C. omits as far
as tertius, p. 139, and MS. D. abridges
very much.
5 Botildam] MS. G. gives the
name Ingburru, generally in the
following passage; never Botilda.
6 suam] Blank for the name in A.;
where something has been erased.
debito tractare. Factum est autem in vigilia Nativityatis Beatae Dei genitricis semperque virginis Marie, predicto cardinali et archiepiscopis, et episcopis et clero Franciae convenientibus apud Sanctum Leodegarium in Nivele;\(^1\) Philippus rex Franciae, et Botilda regina, et adultera ejus Theutonica convenerunt illuc; et rex Franciae admonitione praefati cardinalis et consilio suorum dimisit adulteram suam, et Botildam sponsam suam recepit, et statim conquestus est de ea cardinali, dicens quod ipse eam de jure habere sibi in conjugem non debet, quia multum erant affines in consanguinitate; et hoc probare modis omnibus præsto erat, et ideo petebat divorcium inter illos fieri. Statuit ergo eis predictus cardinalis spatum sex mensium, et sex hebdomadarum, et sex dierum, et sex horarum, a vigilia illa Nativitatis Beatae Marie, ad deliberandum super hoc; et locum placitandi statuit eis apud Sessuns, electione regine Botildæ.

Eodem die, scilicet in vigilia Nativitatis Sanctæ Marie, postquam rex Franciae adulteram suam dimiserat, et Botildam sponsam suam reciperat, statim relaxata est sententia interdicti ecclesiarum de regno Franciae, et pulsatis campanis facta est lætitia magna in clero et populo, quia interdictum illud jam duraverat plusquam per triginta hebdomadas, et corpora defunctorum sepulta erant extra villam per vicos et plaeas. 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 cader muliere filiam, quae quinquennis 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.

\(^2\) Philippus.\(^3\) Philip Hurepel, afterwards count of Boulogne. Compare a similar passage below, pp. 173, 174.
Eodem anno, nono kalendas Octobris, videlicet, die Sabbati quatuor temporum proximo ante festum Sancti Michaelis,\(^1\) Willelmus cognomento Malvaisin,\(^2\) Glascuensis ecclesie electus, ordinatus est in sacerdotem apud Lugdunum,\(^3\) a\(^4\) ejusdem civitatis archiepiscopo; et in crastino ibidem, seilicet die Dominica, vii\(^{vo}\). kalendas Octobris, consecratus est in episcopum Glasceusensem ab eodem archiepiscopo, per mandatum domini Innocentii pape tertii.

Eodem anno, mense Octobris,\(^5\) post completa negotia sua in Normannia et caeteris terris suis transmarinis, Johannes rex Angliæ transfretavit de Normannia in Angliam, et adduxit secum Ysabel sponsam suam, filiam comitis de Engolismo, et octavo idus ejusdem mensis, die Dominica, ipse et Ysabel uxor ejus coronati sunt Londoniis apud Westmonasterium ab Huberto Cantuarensi archiepiscopo.

Interim,\(^6\) ex præcepto ejusdem regis, Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, frater suus, dissaisitus est de omnibus maneriis et bonis archiepiscopatus sui. Jacobus virit de Poterne, tunc temporis vicecomes Eboracii mareria ejusdem archiepiscopi violenter ingressus, bona sua dissipavit. Unde prædictus archiepiscopus excommunicavit vicecomitem illum, et omnes hujus violentiæ aucoores et consiliarios, accensis candelis et pulsatis campanis. Excommunicavit etiam omnes, qui Johannem regem fratre suo adversus eum in particular. Excommunicavit etiam burgenses

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1. [Michaelis] Mikaelis, A.
3. [Lugdunum] Lucdunum, A.; Lucdutunum, B.
4. a] Blank for the name in A. I. Reginald de Forez; archbishop, 1195–1226. The letter addressed to this bishop, given in Mabillon, Analecta, 478, is from the ex-archbishop of Lyons, John of Poictiers. The sentence is abridged in D.
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. 1200.  
October.  
Offences of  
the men of  
Beverley.  

John re-  
stores the  
archbishop's  
estates, but  
fixes a day  
for him to  
give account  
of his pro-  
cedings.  

Illness of  
S. Hugh of  
Lincoln.  

de Beverlaco, et villam ipsam a celebratione Divini  
officii, et a sonitu campanarum suspendit, pro eo quod  
predicti burgenses parcem suum fregerunt, et cetera  
bona sua, quæ Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, pre-  
decessor suus, et ipse aliquo tempore pacifice possede-  
runt, turbaverant, diminuerant.

Procedente autem tempore, Johannes rex Angliæ,  
bonorum virorum fretus consilio, restituit prænominato  
archiepiscopo archiepiscopatum suum, et statuit ei diem  
veniendi in curia sua, ad monstrandum quare non trans-  
fretavit cum illo ad faciendum pacem cum rege Franciae,  
 quando summonitus erat; et quare non permiserat  
servientes suos capere denarios carucarum de terra sua,  
sicut in alis partibus regni factum est; et quare  
verberaverat servientem vicecomitis Eboraci: et ad  
reddendum regi tria millia marcarum argenti, quæ  
ipse debuit Ricardo regi Angliæ fratri suo.

Johannes vero rex Angliæ, statim post coronationem  
suum, misit Philippum Dunelmensem episcopum, et  
Rogerum Bigot comitem de [Northfolc], et Henricum  
de Boum comitem Herefordiæ, nepotem Willemi regis  
Scotiæ, et David comitem de Huntendun, fratrem ejusdem  
regis Scotiæ, et Rogerum de Lasci constabularium Cest-  
riae, et Willemum de Vesci et Robertum de Ros, generos  
ejusdem regis Scotiæ, et Robertum filium Rogeri, vice-  
comitem de Northimбриa, ad Willemum regem Scot-  
torum, cum litteris regiis patensibus de salvo conducto  
ad conducendum ipsum regem Scottorum ad regem  
Angliæ; 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-  

1 Johannes vero] MS. G. res-  

umeres.  
2 Northfolc] Blank in A. G.  
3 nepotem] nepot, 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  
Bohn. Eustace de Vesci married  
Margaret, and Robert de Ros Isabel,  
two of the king's natural daughters.


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 A. Robert of Shrewsbury.
5 Norfolc] Blank in A. G.
A.D. 1299. 
Nov. 22.
Witnesses of the homage of the king of Scots.


Eodem die, scilicet ix. kalendas Decembris, corpus Hugonis Lincolniensis episcopi delatum est Lincolniam, ibidem intumulandum. Cui occurrentes Johannes rex Angliae, et supradiicti tres archiepiscopi, et praefati

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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 Camberlango] Chamberlano, I.; Camberlano, B.
5 Tankarville] Thankawilla, I.; Tankavilla, B.
6 Saero] Seero, B. I.
7 Hastinghes] Hastinges, B. I.

Et ad se conversus, ait:

“Lingua sile, non est ultra narrabile quicquam.”

Et conversus ad clerum, dixit, “Miseremini mei,1 miseremini saltem vos, amici Dei,2 et orate pro me ad Dominum, ut Ipse pro Sua ineffabili misericordia miseretur3 mei. Ego enim abrenuncio Sathanæ et operibus ejus.” Et statim facta oratione pro ipso ad Dominum, soluta sunt vincula Sathanæ, quibus constrictæ erant manus ejus, et sanus factus est homo ab illa hora, laudans et glorificans Deum.

“Talia cælestes fieri praecoxia gaudent,

“Ut, sua quid valeant numina, teste probent,

“Sæpe levant 4 poenas, ereptaque lumina reddunt,

“Cum bene peccati pœnituisse vident.”


“Ultima 6 semper

“Exspectanda dies homini est; dicique beatus

“Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.”

Non est enim gloriosum vivere, sed bene vivere gloriosum est.

Præterea dum Johannes rex Angliæ moram faceret apud Lincolniam, accesserunt ad eum duodecim abbates de ordine Cisterciensi, et ad pedes ejus provoluti,

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1 mei] om. B. I.  
2 Dei] mei, G.  
3 miseretur] miseratur, A.  
4 levant] lavant, I.  
5 tumulatum] que, add. B. G.  
6 Ultima] MS. G. omits all that follows as far as sepultus ero, below.
misericordiam petierunt, dicentes, quod forestarii ejus a veria sua, quibus ipsi et panperes Christi sustentati fuerant, a pasturis et forestis regis exterminaverunt. Quibus rex respondit, "Surgite." Et surrexerunt omnes viri illi: et rex ipse, Divina inspirante gratia, cececidit prunus in terram ante pedes illorum, veniam postulans, et ait illis, "Pace meam do vobis, et concedo, ut averia vestra pascatis per pasturas et forestas meis regibus Angliae; et insuper querite locum in regno meo aptum ad abbatiam de ordine vestro faciendam; et ego eam faciam pro salute anime meae, et parentum meorum, et pro stabilitate regni, et ego ibi, Deo volente, sepultus ero."

Eodem anno,3 mense Decembris, Rollandus princeps Galiae obiit in Anglia apud Northamton,4 xiv. kalendas Januarii, feria tertia, et ibidem sepultus est apud abbatiam Sancti Andree.

Eodem anno Duncan, filius Gilleberti filii Fergus, rapuit Avelinam filiam Alani filii Valteri, domini de Rainfriu, antequam Willelmus rex Scotiae rediret de Anglia in terram suam. Unde idem rex plurimum iratus, cepit de Alano filio Valteri viginti quatuor plejios, de pace sibi et terrae sue servanda, et de jure faciendo super calumni illa.

Eodem mense Decembris,5 Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, infra quindecim dies post obitum suum, apparet in somnis magistro Rogero de Rolleston,6 decano Lincolniensis ecclesiae, dicens: "Concessit mihi Dominus noster Jesus Christus Sua gratia, quod unus ex voto bis fratribus meis in proximo veniet ad me cum

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1 eaus] om. B. 1
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.

"Domino regnaturus. Estote ergo parati, et vigiliate, quia nescitis diem, neque hora, quando Dominus venturus est." Et his dictis abiit. Mane autem facto, predictus decanus narravit visionem istam in capitulo suo coram fratribus; et erat illis omnibus mens una desiderans desiderio magno a mole carnis resolvi, et esse cum Christo. Sed hae visio in uno solo fratre illorum, videlicet Roberto de Capella, tunc impleta est. Ipsa enim statim incepit aegrotare, et infra triduum emittens spiritum perrexit ad Dominum. Corpus autem ejus a collo usque ad poplices inventum erat in cilio consutum, quo ipse utebatur a multo tempore sub veste candida.


Eodem anno in medio Quadragesimae, mense Martio, Philippus rex Franciæ, et Botilda regina uxor ejus, convenerunt cum partibus suis apud Sessuns coram Octoviano Ostiensi episcopo, a domino papa Innocentio judice delegato. Ex parte autem predictæ reginae interfuerunt ibi episcopi, et alii honesti viri et discreti, missi a Cnut rege Dacorum fratre predictæ reginae; et ante ingressum litis petierunt a rege Franciæ 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 divorium fieri inter ipsum et Botildam spon-
sam suam, dicendo, quod ita affines erant 1 in consan-
guinitatis linea, quod eam de jure non deberet cogn-
noscere. Ad hoc responderunt nuncii regis Dacorum, "Nos cognovimus, audivimus, et vidimus, quod cum "venerabiles viri nuncii vestri, videlicet episcopi 2 quos "excellentia vestra misit ad dominum nostrum Cnut "regem Dacorum, pro matrimonio contrahendo inter "vos et Botildam 3 sororem suam, essent in presentia "illius, et proponenter quod desiderio desiderastis du-
cere vobis in uxorem Botildam, regie stirpis egregiam "puellam, sororem suam, et eam constanter petissent "vobis transmitti; dominus noster Cnut rex Dacorum, "hostium suorum magnificus triumphantor, cui nemo im-
pune resistit, communicato magnatum regni sui con-
silio, dignum judicavit petitionem vestram exaudiri. "Juraverunt ergo predicti nuncii vestri in animam "vestram, juraveruntque in animas suas, quod vos præ-
fatam Botildam 3 statim ex quo ipsa 4 fines regni vestri "intraret, cam vobis desparsari, et in reginam coro-
nari faceretis, et eam sicut reginam et sponsam ves-
tram honorifice tractaretis, quamdiu vos duo 5 vixe-
ritis. Et super hoc misistis domino nostro regi "Dacorum cartam vestrar; quam hic pro manibus "habemus: habemus etiam cartas magnatum vestro-
rum, qui hoc idem juraverunt. Et quia vos, secus "quam magnates vestri juraverunt, præfatam Botildam 6 "sponsam vestrar tractastis: nos appellamus eos de "perjuro et fide læsa coram domino papa: appellam 
us etiam ad dominum papam a judice isto do-
mino Octoviano Ostiensis episcopo, 7 qui nobis sus-
A.D. 1201.
March.
The queen and the Danish envoys appeal to the pope himself.

"pectus est, utpote qui consanguineus vester est, ut dict, et causam vestrām nimio favore prosequitur."

Similiter et ipsa Botilda regina appellavit pro se ipsa a judice illo ad dominum papam.

Octovianus igitur Ostiensis episcopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, audient 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 divorcium fieret inter Philippum, regem Franciae, et Botildam reginam sponsam suam; et cum illa super hoc velit dare diffinitivam sententiam contra regem Franciae, rex Franciae inde præmunitus, ante sententiae pronunciationem abiiit, et duxit secum Botildam reginam uxorem suam, et posuit eam in arcitiori custodia.

Eodem anno ¹ facta est hac pax et finalis concordia inter Philippum ² regem Franciae et Johannem regem Angliae.

Form of treaty.

"Hec est pax et finalis concordia facta inter Philippum regem Franciae et Johannem regem Angliae:" ²

"Philippus Dei gratia rex Francorum, universis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, salutem. Noveritis quod hac 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-

¹ Eodem anno] MS. G. omits all that follows as far as p. 152, below.
² Philippum] Philippum, A.
³ 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 Foedera, i. 79, "ex rotulo in Thesaurar." An abstract is given by Mr. Cooper in the Appendix D. to the Report on the Foedera; and a commentary by Mr. Stapleton in the Rolls of the Norman Exchequer, Vol. ii., p. clxxii. It is very much abridged in MS. C.
dus rex frater ejus fecit nobiscum inter Erol dum et Caro-
tom; 2 exceptis iis quae per presentem cartam excipiantur
vel mutantur, propter exceptiones quas idem rex Ricardus
nobis fecerat de pace illa. Scilicet quod idem rex Johannes
donavit nobis, et hæreditibus nostris, sicut rectus hæres Ri-
cardi fratris sui, civitatem Ebrocarum et Ebrocinium, cum
omnibus feudis et dominis, sicut subscriptae metae deter-
minant. Metæ autem posite 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, 3
erit regis Angliae. Et quantum terræ habuimus versus
Novumburcum, tantum terræ hæbæimus 4 versus Conchias,
et versus Akemi 5 ad eandem mensuram, ex parte ubi ab-
batis de Noa sita est, sicut aqua Itonia currit. Guitebo, 6
ubicunque sit, nobis dedit. Tylers cum pertinentiis suis, et
Danuvilla, remanet regi Angliae. Item tamen quod dominus
de Bruroles habebit id quod habere debet in dominatu de
Tylers; et dominus de Tylers habebat id quod habere debet
in dominatu de Bruroles. Concessit eum nobis de episco-
patu Ebroicensi id quod est infra has metas; unde epi-
scopus Ebroicensis nobis respondebat, et hæreditibus nostris.
Idem autem episcopus respondebat regi Angliae, et hæreditibus
suis, de hoc quod erit extra has metas. Et sciendum quod
neque nos, neque rex Angliae, poterimus firmare inter has
metas constitutas inter Novumburcum et Ebroicium, neque
apud Guitebo, neque nos ex parte nostra, neque rex An-
gliae ex parte sua, nisi ubi firmatum est infra metas pre-
dictas. Praterea fortelicia de 7 Portis 8 et de Landis in
continenti dirucetur, 9 neque ibi aliae forteliciae poterunt
readificari. Hæ autem omnia, quæ comes Ebroicensis te-
nebat inter has metas, fecit nobis rex Angliae acquietari a
recto hærede Ebroicorum. De Hulcasino 10 Normanniae scili-
cest erit: predicto regi Angliae et hæreditibus 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 Gamagium ex parte nostra No-

2 Carotum] Properly Charrocinum, Charost, unless the place was Châ-
teauroux.
3 Novumburcum ] Novum Bur-
gum, B. I.
4 versus ... hæbæimus] om. I.
5 Akemi] Akemu, A. B.
6 Guitebo] Gurtebo, Savile. Quit-
tebent.
7 de] om. I.
8 Portis] Porrís, Fed. i. 80. The
text is right.
9 dirucetur] durantur, A.
10 Hulcasino] Halcasino, A. B. I.
A.D. 1290. May.

Enumera-

tion of lands given by John to Lewis on his marriage with Blanche of Castile.

Further provisions.

Brittany to be held by Arthur of his uncle.

The rights of Limoges and Angou-

leau secured.

"mammia, nec ultra fines forestae Vernonis, sed infra; neque rex Angliae ultra forestam Andeliaci, sed infra. Dedit au-
tem rex Angliae in maritagium Ludowico filio nostro cum filia regis Castella, sua nepte, feodum Eroldinum, et feodum Carscai, et feodum Buturesai, sicut Andreas de Calviniaco ca tenebat de rege Angliae. Et de omnibus his erimus saisi,

"quisque dum maritagium sit consummatum. Et quic-

"quid contingat de maritagio, postquam factum fuerit, nos "predicta feoda tenebimus tota vita nostra. Et post vitam nostram revertentur predicta feoda ad predictum regem Angliae, et ad heredes suos, si predictus Ludowicus filius nostror heredem non habuerit de nepte regis Angliae. Si vero contigerit ipsum regem Angliae mori absque herede de nxore sua desponsata, cum predictis feudis dedit rex Angliae Ludowico filio nostro cum predicta nepte sua in marit-

"tagium feodum Hugonis de Gurnaio citra mare Angliae, sicut id tenet de rege Angliae, et feudum comitis Albimari
citra mare Angliae, et feudum comitis Perticii, sicut ea tenent de rege Angliae cura mare Angliae. Preterea idem rex Angliae dedit nobis viginti millia marcarum argentii ad pondus et legem, in qua facta fuerunt, scilicet tredecim solidos et quattuor denarios pro marca, propter recatum nostrum, et propter feudum Britanniae, quod nos regi Angliae dimisimus. Rex vero Johannes recepit Arturum in hominem, ita quod Arturus tenebit Britanniam de prédíeto rege Angliae. Idem vero rex Angliae, sicut rectus haeres regis Ricardi fratris sui, tenebit de nobis omnia feudâ, sicut pater ejus, et Ricardus rex frater ejus teneatur, et sicut feuda debent, exceptis supradictis, quae nobis remanent,

"sicut predictum est. De comite Engolismi et vicecomite Lernovicensi sic erit, quod rex Johannes recipiet eos in homines, ita quod jura eorum cis dimittet. De comite Flandriae et comite Boloniae sic erit; quod comes Flandriae tenebit id quod tenet de terra nostra, et nos ca quae tene

"mus de comite Bolonia, scilicet dominia et feuda; et ca

1 Eroldinum ] Eroldum, B. I.; Exolduni, Fed. i. 80.
2 Carscai ] Carsari, B. I.; Carsa

ci, A.; Carsari, D.; Erascarii, Fed. i. 80. The abstract given in Mr. Cooper's Appendix to the Fad

era, Thresor des Chartres, p. 3, has "Grassay."
3 Calwiniaco ] Callumaco, I.; Callumaco, A. B.
4 dedit] dabat, Savile.
5 sicut . . . Angliae] om. I.
6 Perticii] Patricii, Savile.
7 Angliae] om. I.; et feudum...
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.
A.D. 1290.
May.
The cases of Ponticii and Flandini provided for.

~ que comes Pontivi\textsuperscript{1} tenet, inde feudum et dominium re-
manent obis et comiti Pontivi; propter hoc quod comes
Flandriae tenet de nostro, ideo faciet obis homniiam
ligium.\textsuperscript{2} Et si ipse comes Flandriae, aut aliquis homi-
um meorum, qui melius sint aut esse debent homines
nostri quam regis Angliae, obis malum facere aut no-
cere vellent, rex Angliae non poterit contra nos adju-
vare, et manutenere\textsuperscript{3} cos; neque nos similiter suos, qui
sint aut melius esse debent homines sui quam mei; salva
forma hujus pacis predictae. In conventionibus istis habet
rex Angliae conventionem, quod ipse Otone obis faciet
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 minus cum de feudo
vol de dominio Britanniae sita mere Angliae, nisi per rectum
judicium curiae suae. Rex vero Angliae dedit obis securi-
tates de hominibus suis subscriptis, Baldewino comite Albe-
mariae, Willelmo comite de Pembroc, Hugone de Gurnaco,
Willelmo de Humet constabulario Normanniae, Roberto
de Harucchini,\textsuperscript{4} Johanne de Prateillis, Willelmo de Kau,
Garino de Gapini,\textsuperscript{5} qui jurisventur hoc modo, quod ipsi cum
omnibus suis feudis sita mere ad nos venirent, si rex
Angliae non teneret pacem et conventionem sicut divisa est.
Nos quoque dedimus securitates de hominibus\textsuperscript{6} nostri sub-
scriptis; comite Roberto Drocorum, comite Galfrido Perticii,
Willelmo Garlad,\textsuperscript{7} Bartholomaeo de\textsuperscript{8} Roya, Gervasio de
Castello, Waltero Camerario patre, Ursone filio ejus, Philippo
de Leuns, Waltero Camerario juniori: qui similiter jurave-
runt, quod cum omnibus suis ad regem venirent, si nos et
hanc pacem non tenuerimus, sicut est divisa. Nos autem
et predicti ostagii, bona fide, et sine malo ingenio, hsec
firmatur et fideliter observanda juravimus. Qua ut perpe-
tuam robur obtineat, presentem cartam auctoritate sigilli
nostri corrorboramus. Actum apud G.,\textsuperscript{9} anno ab Incarna-
tione Domini \textsuperscript{2}cc\textsuperscript{.}, mense Maii."

Et consimilem cartam huic habet rex Franciae, conversis tamen nominibus.

\textsuperscript{1} Pontivi ] Ponticii, A. B. I. ; Pontini, Savile and \textit{Fed.} i. 80.
\textsuperscript{2} ligium\textsuperscript{.} om. Savile.
\textsuperscript{3} manutenere\textsuperscript{.} manutenire, A.
\textsuperscript{4} Harucchini] Harecurt, I. ; Here-
fort, \textit{Fed.} i. 80.
\textsuperscript{5} Gapini] Capuin, B. I. Properly
\textsuperscript{6} hominibus\textsuperscript{.} omnibus, A. B.
\textsuperscript{7} Garlad\textsuperscript{.} Garlande, B. I.
\textsuperscript{8} de\textsuperscript{.} om. B. I.; Royas, B.
\textsuperscript{9} G.] Guileou, \textit{Fed.} i. 80.
Eodem anno fuerunt hae consuetudines scaccarii Lun-doniensis super debitis domini regis inquirendiis recitatae apud Windlesoure post Pascha, coram rege Johanne, anno sui regni iiid., et coram quibusdam magnatibus terrae suae, et ab eodem regi fuerunt confirmatae.

Statutum est in Anglia, et per preceptum regis Johannis confirmationem, quod nullus vicecomes recipiat aliquem ad praesentationem baronis in senescalum, qui non possit respondere de misericordia pertinente ad transgressionem fidei, si forte in cam inciderit. Quod autem senescalus ad praesentationem baronis affidaverit, quod pacem faciet vicecomitis de debitis domini sui ad scaccarium, intelligendum est, quod super compotum vicecomitis de debito pacem faciet: quod si non fecerit, mittatur in imprisoniam statutam secundum legem scaccarii.

Item mittatur ad terram domini cujus senescalus defecerit, et de catallis suis solvat pecunia qua debetur secundum legem scaccarii: et si pecunia illa debeatur pro fine terrae, et catalla non inventarii unde pecunia illa solvat; ipsa terra, pro qua finis facta fuit, capiatur in manu domini regis, et teneatur donec pecunia illa solvat secundum legem scaccarii. In poena lesionis fidei, senescalus 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 Anglie vendidit Willelmo de Braiusa magnam partem Hibernie pro v. millibus marcis.

Eodem anno Johannes rex Anglie vendidit pro quinque millibus marcarum Willelmo de Braiusa totam
terram Philippi de Wirecestre, et totam terram Theobaldi Valteri in Hibernia. Philippus autem vix evadens manus regis reedit in Hiberniam, transitum faciens per terram regis Scotorum, et recuperavit partem terrae sue per guerram. Et Theobaldus Valteri, auxilio Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, fratris sui, dedit Villetmo de Brausa quingentes marcas pro terra sua rehabenda, et homo suos 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 A., and is no doubt an inscription 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 pertinenti silentio.

Temporibus Adrianii floruit Secundus philosophus, qui philosophatus est omni tempore silentium servans, et Pictagoricalam vitam dutens. Ille enim adhuc parvulus ad discendum misus, audivit in scholis verbum lujusmodi, quod omnis mulier fornicatrix esset et impudica. Tandem in philosophia perfectus remeavit in patriam suam, communem gerens peregrinationis consuetudinem, baculum et peram circumferens, comam capitis et barba prolixa. Hospitalus est in domo propria, nemine domesticorum eum cognoscente, neque propria matre; volensque probare de mulieribus, si verum esset quod audiverat, vocavit unam ex ancillis, promittens ei decem aureos, si persuaderet matri; at illa consentiens ancilla, vespere fecit eum ad se introduci. Cumque illa estimaret se eum illo carnaliter debere commiseri, ille velut propriam matrem amplectens, inter ubera illius dormivit usque ad mane. Mane autem, eum vellet egredi et discedere, illa apprehendens eum ait, "Ut me tentares haec fecisti." Quo dixit, "Nequaquam, domina mater; neque enim dignum est, me illud vas maculare unde exivi." Ila autem sciscitans quis esset, respondit, "Ego sum Secundus filius tuus." Ila recogitans in semetipsa, et non ferens confusionem, examinata est. Secundus vero, sciens quod per loquulum suam mors matri contigisset, hanc a se in posterum exegit 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. Tunc Adrianus ait, "Loquere, philosophae, ut a te aliquid addiscamus." Ilo autem in proposito silentii perseverante, Tyron vocans quendam spiculatorem ait, "Hunc nolentem loqui imperatori vivere nolunum. Abduc eum, et tormenta." Adrianus denique spiculatorem latenter evocans, ait, "Loquere ei in via, et persuade ei ut loquatur; et si quid persuasus responseat—
De his qua ad interrogaeta scripto respondit.

Tune Adrianus admiratus philosophi contumaces, dixit ei, "Quia lex " ista silentii, quam tibi ipse proposuisti, nullo modo solvi potest, sumens " tabulam istam, scribe, et saltem manu tua loquere." Accepitans Secundus tabulam scripsit in hunc modum: "Ego quidem, O Adriane, nihil te " tineo, quia princeps hujus temporis videris existere; me quidem audire " [occidere V.B.] potes, sed voci mea proferenda nulla tibi potestas est." Adrianus itaque legens, ait: "Bene excusatus es. Sed adhuc quedam tibi " problemata propone, ut ad hae milii respondas: quorum primum est, " 'Quid est mundus?" ' Ille rescrpsit, "Mundus est inaccessible circuitus, " spectabilis supellex, multiformis formatio, tertius tenor, circuitus sine " errore." " Quid est Oceanus?" " Mundi amplexus, terminus coronatus, " hospitium fluviorum, fons inabrium." " Quid est Deus?" " Immortalis " mens, incommensurabilis celsitudo, forma multiformis, incogitabilis in- " quiritio, insipitus oculus, omnia continens, lux, bonum." "Quid est " Sol?" " Cali oculus, caloris circuitus, splendor sine occasu, diei ornatus, " horarum distributor." " Quid est Luna?" " Cali purpurea, solis ensula, " malefactorum inimica, solamen iter agentium, directio navigantium, " signum solumnitatum, larga rosis, praesagium tempestatum." "Quid est " terra?" " Basis celi, meditullium mundi, fructum custos et mater, " operculum infernii, mater nascendi, devoratrix omnium, cellarium " vitae." " Quid est homo?" " Mens incarnata, phantasma temporis, " speculator vitae, mancipiwm mortis, transiens viator, loci hospes, anima " laboriosa, parvi temporis habitaculum." " Quid est pulchritudo?" " Flos marcidus, carnalis felicitas, humana concepiiscientia." "Quid est " mulier?" " Hominis confusio, insaturabilis bestia, continua sollicitudo, " indesinens pugna, vivi incontinentis naufragium, humanum mancipium." " Quid est amicus?" " Desiderabile nomen, homo viv appeared, infeli- " citatis refugium, indesinens felicitas." " Quid divitie?" " Anri pondus, " curaram minister, delectatio injocunda, insatiabilis invidia, desiderium " inexceptibile, os excelsum, invisa concepiscientia." "Quid est paupertas?" " Odibile bonum, sanitatis mater, curarum remotio, sapientiae repertrix, " negotium sine damno, possessio absque caluminia, sine sollicitudine " felicitas." " Quid senectus?" " Optatum malum, mora viventium, in- " columnis langui, spirans mori." " Quid somnum?" " Mortis image, " laborum quies, infirmantium votum, miserorum desiderium." "Quid " est vita?" " Beatorum leititia, miserorum saesititia, expectatim mortis."
In the semper Polycraticus, Kyprianus,  

The corpus fundamentum, animorum. Quid est, qui se  

Eatebatur Romano nuncut, quod Romulo est, ergo infirmitati, summa.  

John of Salisbury, Poli heriae, lib. viii. cap. 23.

Adrianus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Johannis Salesberici, familiari suo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Iste Johannes, Anglicus natione, de codem Adriano, qui erat nationis ejusdem, talia refert: Audivi papam Adriam dicentem quod Romano papa nemo miserabilior est, conditione ejus nulla est missior. Fautubatur enim in cadem sede tantas miseras invenisse, quod facta collatione presentium ad præricta, tota praesens jucunditas et felicitas sibi fuit amaritudo respecta vitae presente, damnosam enim diebat cathedram Romani pontificis, in tantum acutissimis usurqueaque consutam aculeis, tantaque molis ut robustissimos premat terat et diminuat, humeros, coronam et frigium clara merito videri quia ignea sunt. Asserbat quoque se nunquam a natali solo Anglice male exisse, aut in claustro Beati Ruli apud Valenciam perpetuo latuisse, quam tantas intrasse angustias, nisi quia Divinae dispensationi reductari non auderet. Hoc etiam saepissime mihi adjectum, quod eum de gradu in gradum claustra clieroque per omnia officia ad summum pontificium ascendisset, nihil unquam felicitatis aut tranquilli quietis vitae priori adjectum est, ut verbis ejus utar, in incide, inquit, et malice semper dilatavit me Dominus, sed nunc onerat quod infirmatus meo imposuit, si placet, supponat dexteram, quoniam mihi importabile est. Nonne miseria dignus est qui pro tanta pugnat miseria? Sic sitissimus 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 sucedere in parricidii, non Petro in ovibus pascendis. Bene ergo diecitur non tam nuncupative quam etiam substantiae, Summus Pontifex, servus servorum, servit enim servis avaritiae, id est, Romanis: necesse est adeo ut nisi servicerit, fiat aut expontifex aut ex-Romanus. This is found also in Vincent of Beauvais, Speculem Historiae, lib. xxix. c. iii., whence the copyist probably took it.
Tertius annus regni Johannis regis Anglie.

John keeps Christmas at Guildford.

1 Anno gratiae mccc[10]o, qui erat annus tertius regni Johannis regis Anglie, fuit idem rex die Natalis Domini, que feria secunda evenit, in Anglia apud Geldefor{1}de.2 Eodem die Willelmus rex Scottorum fuit in terra sua apud Lanarch. Eodem die Otho rex Alemanorum, nepos Johannis regis Anglorum, fuit apud Maguntum coronatus.

Post Natale Domini, quinto idus Januarii, auditus est terræmotus magnus in Anglia apud Eboracum, et in finibus ejus.

Post Natale Domini Johannes rex Anglie venit Lincolnum, et non potuit convenire inter illum et canonicos Lincolniensis 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 Anglie transivit fluvium Humbri, et venit ad Cottingham,5 et hospitatus est cum Villelmo de Stutevilla; et in crastino 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. Praecepit etiam idem rex, quod omnes servientes archiepiscopi Eboracensis, ubicunque inventi fuissent, caperentur: et ita factum est.

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1 Here MSS. B. D. I. G. resume.
2 Geldeforde ] Gildeforde, B.; Geltefordia, 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 Sanctae Marie, Johannes rex Angliae, et Ysabel regina uxor ejus, fuerunt apud Scartheburg; et inde processit rex, et perrexit usque ad fines regni sui; et perambulabat terram, et homines regni redemit, id est, ad redemptionem coegit; imponens eis quod per eos gwasata erat foresta ejus. Cumque venisset ad Extoldesham, et audisset quod apud Choresbrige esset thesaurus absconditus, fecit ibi fodere, sed nihil inventum est praeter lapides signatos ere et ferro et plumbo.

Eodem anno, in vigilia Purificationis Beatæ Marie, Willielmus Glascuensis episcopus applicuit in Anglia apud Duvere, rediens de consecratione sua.

Eodem anno, statim post Purificationem Sanctae 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, interfactus 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 interfectorum 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.

A.D. 1201.

De interfectione Rotheric Machdunlef.

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. 1. Duere, I.
Ibidem etiam Willelmus de Stutevilla, et Jacobus de Poterna, quos archiepiscopus excommunicaverat, ab eodem absulti sunt.

De obitu Reginaldi Arundel præcentoris Eboracensis.

Interim Reginaldus Arundel, Eboracensis ecclesie præcentor, obiit.

Iterum causa discordiae inter archiepiscopum Eboracensem et Symonem decanum.

Quo audito, cum Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus præcentoriam illam uni de suis dare vellet, non permiserunt decanus et capiculum; sed invito archiepiscopo, dederunt Hugoni Murdac archidiaconatum de Clivelande, quem idem archiepiscopus pridie dederat magistro Radulfo de Kyme, officiali suo; et cum archiepiscopus vellet mittere eum in stallum vice præcentoris, dixit ei decanus, "Non est vestrum mittere quemquam "in stallum, nec hunc mittetis, quia nos auctoritate "Lateranensis concilii dedimus archidiaconatum illum."

Cumque archiepiscopus pro voluntate sua in his procedere nequvisset, excommunicavit Hugonem Murdac.

Interim Honorius archidiaconus de Richemund Romam prefecet est, propter injurias quas Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus ei fecerat; qui, contra antiquas archidiaconatus de Richemund dignitatem et consuetudines, vendicabat sibi institutiones ecclesiarum 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 pape 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 papa ad Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, pro magistro Honorio.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, archiepiscopo Eboraci, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Si magis -

ierium recognosceres apostolicae sedis, et debitam ei reventiam et obedientiam exhiberes, non presun cases pleni-
tudini potestatis ipsius et privilegio dignitatis in aliquo

derogare, cum ab ea in partem sollicitudinis evocatus, ipsum

in tuis necessitabus, in quas temere teipsum induxeras,
senseris sepius adjuricum. Non enim exsurso te potes,
vel 1 debe, 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 'invoca-
tionem nostri nominis a subditorum tuorum molestationibus
debueras abstinere, quod in multis et arduis negotiis, et
petisti et obtinuisti favorem tibi apostolicam exhiberi. Sed,

ut rerum monstrat effectus, nec auctoritatem nostram attendis,
nec factam tibi gratiam recognoscis, nec appellacionibus
defers, quae interponuntur ad sedem apostolicam, a gravatis. 2

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 archidia-
conatums ejusdem interdicti sententiam promulgasti. Nec hoc
contentus excess, postquam ipse iter arripuit ad sedem
apostolicam veniendi, suspensus quibusdam clericis ejus, et
ecclesias interdictiis, et excommunicatis quibusdam, de facto
tantum, quia de jure non potuisti, certam a ceteris extor-
sisti pecunia quantitatem, statum ejus et clericorum suorum
turbans in pluribus et confundens. Quia vero tanta pra-
sumptionis excessus incorrectum nec volumus nec debo-
res, quae pati, per apostolica scripta mandamus,
atque precipimus, quod taliter, quae predicta sunt, corrigas
per teipsum, quod adversum te nos non cogas durius com-
moveri, qui toleravimus haecenst tuam in multis.
Alioquin noveris nos venerabili fratri Eliensi episcopo, et

1 vel] ut, Savile.  2 a gravatis] agrovatos, A.

A.D. 1291.  Feb. 5.
dilecto filio abbati de Valtham, per scripta nostra praecipiendo mandasse, ut predictas excommunicationis, suspensionis, et interdicti sententias taliter a te illatas nullas esse denunciens; et te ad restitutionem eorum, qua vel a clericis vel ab ecclesiis archidiaconatus ejusdem, post appellationem ad nos legitime interpositam, extorsisti, et recompensationem damnorum, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, compel- lerent; et quicquid per te vel tuos in praedictum ejus vel suorum in detrimentum in statum pristinum reducant; et sub praemissa te districte compescant, ne archidiaconum vel ejus clericos injuste molestes, aut statum vel libertates eorum anderet; perturbare, sciturus pro certo quod, cum durum sit tibi contra stimulum calculare, nisi abstimessis ex hujusmodi, et mandatis nostris reverenter obedias, manus nostras in te ultra forte quam timeas curabimus aggravare, ne tui nobis imputentur excessus. Datum Laterani, iii^° nonas Februarii, pontificatus nostri anno 1, 1

Tertia coronatio Johannis regis Angliae, et secunda coronatio Ysabal reginæ.


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 Yssoudun, 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 Angliæ convererunt ad colloquium inter eos habitum apud Lei-
ceste, 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 incipientis a Willelmo de Albenio, petit ab eo castellum de Beauvaer; 
i cum idem Willelmus satisfacientes, tradidit filium suum in obsidem, et ita castellum suum retinuit.

Eodem anno Willelmus de Stutevilla constitutus est a rege vicecomes Eboraci.


Eodem die Willelmus rex Scottorum fuit in Scottia apud Karel. 

De Diabolo jam soluto.

Eodem anno, regnantibus Innocentio papa tertio in urbe Romana, et Saffadino fratre Saladini in sancta civitate Jerusalemm, et Alexandro fratricida in civitate Constantinopolitana, et Leone in Ermenia; ac Aymerico de Lezinnan in civitatis Tyri et Sidonis, et Accaron, et in insula de Cypro; et Raimundo principante in


omits these three clauses. D. omits the last.

3] Saffadino] Saphadino, I.
4] Lezinnan] Lizinam, B.I.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1201.
Satanoloosned.

"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 Domini, 3 obiit Valterus de Gant, primus abbas canonici regulae Sancta Crucis de Waltham.

Eodem anno, in hebdomada Pentecostes, cum barones Anglie essent congregati apud Portesmune ad transfre-tandum cum rege, rex cepit de quibusdam illorum pecuniam quam expeenderent in servitio suo, et permisit eos domum redire; et praemisit in Normanniam Villelum Marescallum, comitem de Strigwile, cum centum militibus soldariorum, 4 et Rogerum de Lascis, 5 constabulario Cestrie, cum aliis centum militibus, ad reprimendum impetum inimicorum suorum in finibus Normanniae. Et rex tradidit Huberto de Burgo camerario suo centum milites, et constituit eum custodem finium Anglie et Vallie.

Deinde idem rex perdonavit Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo iram suam, et reddidit ei servientes sui liberos, et maneria sua; et confirmavit ei carta sua libertates ecclesiæ Eboracensis, et archiepiscopatus sui, sicut Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus eam habuit. Et pro illa confirmatione idem archiepiscopus spopondit, se daturum regi infra annum istum 6 mille libras 7 esterlingorum; et super hoc posuit archiepiscopus baronium suam regi in pignoire.

Deinde rex Anglie misit Gaufridum Cestrensem episcopum, et Ricardum Malebisse, et Henricum de

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."
4 soldariis] solidariorum, I.
5 Lascis] om. I.
6 annum istum] annum annum, B.
7 libras] marcas, B.
A.D. 1291.
May.
to defer his
answer till
Michaeles.

May 14.
John goes
to the Isle
of Wight; ;
the Queen
to Normandy.

After a few
days John
goes to Nor-
mandy and
meets Philip
at Andely.

Thence to
Paris, and
then to
Chinon,
where he
meets and
satisfies
Berengaria.

Puteaco, ad Willehnum regem Scotorum, et petiiit, ut
terminus respondendi, de petitione quam fecerat de
comitatu Northimbriae, quem statuerat ei rex Angliæ
ad Pentecosten, prorogaretur usque ad festum Sancti
Michaelis.

Deinde rex Angliæ et Ysabel regina ascenderunt
naves, transfretaturi feria secunda in hebdomada Pen-
tecostes, sed rex applicuit in insula Vectæ, et regina
uxor ejus aliam navem ingressa, prosperis gavisa ventis,
applicuit in Normanniæ. Et post aliquot dies facta
mora in Anglia, Johannes rex iterum navem intravit
apud Portesmeæ, et transfretavit in Normanniam: et
statim habitum est colloquium inter ipsum et regem
Franciæ, prope insulam de Andeli, et bene convenit
inter eos; nemine colloquii illorum conscio preter illos
duos. Et post triduum Johannes rex ad preces regis
Franciæ venit Parisius, et in palatio regis Franciæ
hospitalus est, et honorifice procuratus; et rex Franciæ
alias se transtulit hospitaturus. Et recedens inde rex
Angliæ perrexit ad Chinonem; et venit illæ ad eum
Berengera quondam regina Angliæ, uxor Ricardi regis,
cui Johannes rex Angliæ satisfecit de dote sua, secun-
dum testimonium Philippi Dunelmensis episcopi, et
cæterorum, qui interfuerunt despansioni sua.

Interim Innocentius papa, super afflictos pia gerens
viscera, in hac forma scripsit ecclesiarum prælatis.

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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 cross-
ing to Normandy. He was at
Bonnerville-sur-Toque on the 2nd of
June.

2 Chinonem ] John was at Chinon
on the 26th of July. The agree-
ment with Berengaria is described
further on.

3 Interim . . . prælatis ] Omitted
with the following letter in MSS.
B. D. G. I. MS. G. omits all that
follows as far as lucræ 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 papa pro auxilio faciendo terrae Jerosolimitane.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilissimus fratribus archiepiscopis et episcopis, per regnum Angliae constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Justus et misericors Deus noster, Qui quos amat arguit et castitatem gestat, nec obliviscitur misericordiam nostrorum circa nostrorum circius affectionem, nec continet misericordiam. Suam in ira: et si virge non parcat, ne odisse filios videatur, sic tamen circa delinquentem justi judicis Sui moderatur examen, quod non flagellat ut perdat, sed quasi perditos revocet per flagella, nolens mortem peccatorum, sed ut convertantur et vivant; quoniam majus gaudium est angelis Dei super uno peccatore ponitentiam agentem, quam super nonaginta novem justis, qui non indigent poenitentiam. Cum enim prorsus sensus hominum in malum ab adolescentia sua, et humana natura proclivior ad peccandum, ne, si prosperis tantum extollantur, superbiarent, et superbia eorum semper ascendat adversus ipsos, fatigari permettit, ut cum ex meritis suis se affligi cognoverint, justitiam judicantis agnoscant, et culpam suae poenitentiae lacrymis diluientes, ipsi convertantur ad Dominum, et Dominus convertatur ad eos; quod in exterminio terrae Orientalis fas est omnia intueri. Sane cum homines, mundo jam senescente, in virtute senescenter, et adolescentes vitiorum semitis, quasi centum annorum fueri lascivirent, omnesque fere, sicut oves errantes, in viam suam, carnis dediti voluptatibus, declinasset, volunt Dominus in occupatione Jerosolimitana provinciae punire sic nostros excessus, ut passionis Sue quodammodo 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 criminum, Se quasi permisit affligi, dum crucem in qua salus nostra peependit, et quam proprio sanguine rubricavit, a Sarracenis occupati passus est, et tam diu detineri, ut videat si quis doloribus Ejus doleret, si quis dari sibi peteret corpus Ejus, si quis involvent sinu deponeret in sepulcrum, et in sepulcro positum cum aromatibus visitaret. Gaudemus autem in Domino, quod Ipsa, Qui poenitentiae causam dedit, multis affectum tribuit poenitendi, et eos misericorditer inspiravit, ut assumpto crucis signaculo, ulisci velint injuriam Jesu Christi, illud evangelicum adimplentes: 'Qui vult venire post Me, abne-
chronica rogeri de hoeden.

A.D. 1291.
May 5.
He insists on the fulfillment of the vow of the crusade.

The preparations for a new crusade.

Tournaments forbidden.

The bishops are to urge their flocks to go on the crusade.


ut sic relicta gibbi sarcina, transeat per foramen acus ca- melus, et dives pauper effectus regnum colorum introeat, et recipiat pro momentaneis scempiterna. Quia vero multi, sicut accipimus, et referimus cum mæore, abundes retro, crusis deosuere signaculum; ne venisse in vacuum videan- tur, si non reddiderint quod voverint, fraternitati vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus, et districte praecipimus, quotenus eis indulgentia non obstante, sita forsas a praecessoribus nostris apparuerit per surreptionem obtenta, ut crusis signum recipiant, monitione præmissa, per excommuni- cationis et interdicti sententiam appellatione postposita compellatis, facientes eos singulis Dominiciis diebus et fes- tivis, pulsatis campanis et candelis accessis, expressis no- minibus de quibus habetis vel habebitis notitiam, excom- municatos publice nunciari, et quocunque devenirent, officia celebrari Divina, eis presentibus, probentes. Universos autem, qui crucis signaculum acceperunt, moneatis atten- tius, et, si necesse fuerit, per districtionem ecclesiasticam compellatis, ut ad terminum quem dilecti filii, nobiles viri Flandresis, Campanensis, Blesensis comites cum aliis deli- beratione provida de saipientium consilio præsiderint, in estate futura peregrinationis propositum exsequantur, ut, sicut Terræ Sanctæ magis expedire dinoicetur, obsequium Suum Domino simul omnes impendant. Illam quoque districtio- nem, quam in eis qui crucis demouerunt signaculum, ad illud resumendum exerceri mandamus, sub cadem forma exercetatis in eis, qui usque ad quinquennium torneamenta presuperserint frequentare; nec prius relaxari sententias quas in tales tuleritis, quam tournamenta usque ad predic- tum terminum solemitter abjuraverint; ne sanguis Domino consecrando, qua de levi possint hoc tempore coelestia comparari, fundatur demonibus in stragem corpoream, et perriciem animarum. Ad haec singuli vestrum in suis dio- cesibus parochianos suos salubriter moncant, et diligenter inducunt, eis remissionis apostolice formam frequentius ex- ponentes, ut signum vivificare crucis assumant, ut saltom in rebus suis juxta facultates proprias Terræ Sanctæ 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 excitet diligentius negotiantes. Preterea districte voabis precipiendo mandamus, ut juxta quod vobis per alias litteras dedimus in mandatis, singuli vestrum in suis diocesibus quadragesimam de uni- versis ecclesiarum et ecclesiasticis redditijs et proventibus
Eodem anno 1 Eustacius abbas de Flay rediit in Angliam, et predicans in ea verbum Domini de civitate in civitatem, 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;

Hoc est mandatum Dei de observatione diei Dominice quod dominus Eustacius abbas de Flay testatur venisse de caelo.

1 Eodem anno] Here B. I. resume.
2 Golgatha] Golgatha, I.
3 apprehensa] inventa est, D.
4 Acharias] Acharias, I.
5 Dei] om. I.
6 transitum] transibunt, Savile.
7 gentes] om. D.

A.D. 1201. May 3.

A forteth of church revenues to be voted to the purpose.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1261.
Copy of a letter on the keeping of the Lord's day, which Eustace abbot of Play said had come down from heaven.

' sanctum diem Dominicum non custodistis, per panceos dies habuiistis famem; sed cito dedi vobis saturatatem, et postea pejus fecistis. Volo iterum, ut nemo ab hora nona Sabbati usque ad solemn surgentem diei Lunae aliquid ope-retur, nisi quod bonum sit. Quod si quis fecerit, cum poenitentia"emendet; et si huic mandato non obedieritis, ' Amen dico vobis, et juro vobis per sedem Meam, et thronum Meum, et Cherubin qui custodiat sanctam sedem Meam, quia non mandabo vobis aliquid per aliam epistolam: sed aperiam coelos, et pro pluviam pluam super vos lapides et ligna et aquam calidam per noctes, ut nemo preevare possit, quin destruam omnes malos homines.


1 corda'] et omnium, ins. D. | 2 pro'] vestris, ins. D.
"vos bestias pejores, qua devorent mulierum vestrarum
"manillas. Maledicam illis qui in die Dominica aliquid
"mali operati fuerint. Maledicam illis qui injuste agunt
"versus fratres suos. Maledicam illis qui male pauperes
"et orphans judicant, quos terra portat. Me autem dere-
"linquitis, et principem hujus saeculi sequimin. Audite
"vocem Meam et habeatis misericordiam bonam. Vos
"tem non cessatis ab operibus malis, nec ab operibus dia-
"boli; quia factis perjuria, adulteria, ideo circumdabunt
"vos gentes, et devorabunt ut bestiae."

Pervenit igitur dominus Eustacius abbas de Flay
Eboracum, et a Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et
clero et populo civitatis honorifice susceps, praedica-
vit verbum Domini, et de transgressione Dominicae diei,
et aliarum festivitatibus, dedit populo pœnitentiam et
absolutionem, sub tali conditione, quod ipsi de cetero
debitam impenderent Dominicae diei, et aliis sanctorum
festivitatibus, reverentiam, non faciendo in eis quicquam
operis servilis, nec in diebus Dominicis exerecerent forum
rerum venalium, sed bonis operibus et orationibus de-
vote insisterent. Hec servanda constituit ab hora
nona Sabbati usque ad ortum solis in die Lunae. Po-
pulus autem Deo devotus ad prædicationem illius
voverunt Deo, quod de cetero in diebus Dominicis nec
quicquam emerent nec venderent, nisi forte cibum et po-
tum pretereuntibus. 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 sta-
tuit prædictus abbas in singulis ecleesiis parochialibus
fieri truncum concavum sub custodia duorum vel trium
fidelium hominum, ubi populus jactaret prænominatum
æs. Statuit etiam præfatus abbas, quod discus elec-
mosynarius haberetur quotidie in mensa divitum, in
quo partem ciborum suorum mitterent ad opus indi-

\[1 \text{ in die} \] diei, I. \hspace{2cm} \[3 \text{ discus} \] om. I.
\[2 \text{ duorum} \] duum, A.B.
A.D. 1201.
He forbids buying and selling in churches.

Miracle of Abbot Eustace at Beverley.

Miracle at Nafferton.

gentium, qui non praeparaverunt 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 hujus viri monitis, inimicus humani ge- neris invidens, misit in cor regis et principum tene- brarum, quod ipsi praeceperunt, ut omnes qui prædictas traditiones custodirent, et maxime omnes qui in diebus Dominicis forum rerum venalium dejecerant, ad regium examen satisfacturi de observantia diei Dominicae ducerentur.

\textit{Miraculum.}

Sed Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Cui obedientium 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 Suae miracula sus- citavit, et in quosdam Dominciae diei transgressores manifestavit sic. Quodam Sabbato post nonam quidam carpentarius in Beverlaco, contra salubria uxoris suae monita clamavit ligneum faciens, corrut in terram per- cussus paralysi.

\textit{Miraculum.}

Et quaedam textrix in villa quae dicitur \textit{Nafferton}, post horam nonam in Sabbato, cum ad pertexendum partem tela anxius insisteret, cadens in terram percussa paralysi obmutuit.

\textit{Miraculum.}

Et apud Naffertun, villam magistri Rogeri\(^3\) Arundel, quidam homo fecit sibi panem subcinereum die Sabbati

\(^1\) \textit{praeparaverunt sibi} \ A good deal of this has been told already, almost in the same words; above, p. 124.

\(^2\) \textit{adventu} \ Sao et missione, ins. Savile.

\(^3\) Rogeri] de, ins. B.I.
post nonam, et comedit inde, et partem reservavit sibi usque mane; quern cum die Dominica fregisset, exivit sanguis, et qui vidit testimonium perhibuit, et verum est testimonium ejus.

_Miraculum._

Et apud Wakefeld 1 quodam Sabbato, cum molendinarus post nonam operam daret ut bladam suum moleret, subito exivit loco farinae tantus impetus sanguinis, quod vas subpositum pene impletur sanguine, et rota molendini stetit immobilis contra vehementem impulsionem aequae; et qui viderant mirati sunt, dicentes, “Parce, Domine, parce populo Tuo.”

_Miraculum._

Item in Lincolniaesiria 2 paraverat quodam mulier pastam, quam deferens ad furnum post horam nonam Sabbati, misit eam in furnum calidissimum, et cum eam extraheret, invenit crudam; et iterum misit eam in furnum valde calidum, et in crastino, et in die Lunae, cum estimaret se invenisse panes coctos, invenit pastam crudam.

_Miraculum._

Item in eadem provincia, cum quaedam mulier pastam suam preparasset, volens cam ad furnum portare, dixit ei vir suus, “Sabbatum est, et hora nona pre- terit; dimitte ergo usque ad diem Lunae.” Mulier autem oediens viro suo, fecit sicut praeeperat, et involvit pastam linteaminibus mundis; et in crastino cum visitaret pastam suam, ne propter fermentum impositum 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 Lincolniaesiria] Lincolnshire, I. D.
De relaxatione statuti regis Ricardi.

Eodem anno Hugo Bardulfi, et alii quidam justitiarii regis, venerunt ad nundinas Sancti Botulti, volentes capere in manu regis pannos laneos qui non habebant duas unas de latitudine infra lisuras, secundum assi- sam 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 adepti sunt pecuniam ad opus regis, in damnum multorum. Vitanda est turpis luceri causa.

Johannes rex Anglie satisfecit Berengeræ, uxori Ricardi fratris sui, de dote sua.

Eodem anno,\(^2\) Johannes rex Anglie satisfaciens Berengeræ reginæ, uxori Ricardi regis Anglie fratri sui,

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1. \(^{\text{regiam et humanam}}\) So Savile. In A. the word \(^{\text{regiam}}\) has been written first, and \(^{\text{humanam}}\) interlined as if to take its place.

2. \(^{\text{Eodem anno}}\) Here MS. G. re-
De inquisitione facienda de cruciatis.

Eodem anno Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, die Sancti Bartholomæi apostoli Lundoniis apud Vestmonasterium existens, precepit universis suffraganeis suis, in virtute obedientia et ex parte domini papæ, ut ipsi, facta diligenti inquisitione per suas dioceses, compellerent, si quos invenisset viros qui crucis religionem abjecerant, cruces resumere, et iter peregrinationis sui arripere, statuentes eis terminum crucis resumendae ad ultimum infra festum Sancti Martini proximo sequens, et terminum motionis in Purificatione Sanctæ Marie proximo sequentis.

Eodem anno obiit Theobaldus comes Campaniæ, relinquens sibi hæredem filiam unicam, quam pepererat ei Blanchia uxor sua, soror Berengeræ reginæ Anglie.

Eodem anno obiit Teutonica, filia de Genest, uxor Philippæ regis Franciae, quam papa Innocentius in litteris suis adulterum nominavit; de qua prefatus rex genuerat filium et filiam. Filiam

1 Eodem anno] MS. G. omits this sentence: and all that follows as far as peregrinazione 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 Teutonica] Theutonica, I. Agnes of Meran.
4 filia] Blank in I. for the name Berthold. MS. D. omits the paragraph.
A.D. 1201.

autem illam concessit idem rex Franciae se daturum
Alexandro filio Willelmi regis Scotiae in uxorem.¹

Eodem anno obiit Constantia, mater Arturi ducis
Britanniae.

Eodem anno obiit Margareta, mater praedictae Con-
stantiae, soror Willelmi regis Scotorum, mater Henrici
de Boum, comitis Herefordiae.

Item discordia inter Eboracensem archiepiscopum et
Symonem decanum.

Eodem anno obiit Robertus prepositus Beverlacensis
ecclesiae; cujus preposituram Gaufridus Eboracensis
archiepiscopus dedit Morgant² fratri suo, filio Henrici
regis, ut dicebatur, contra appellationem Simonis Ebor-
acensis ecclesiae decani, qui dicebat preposituram illam
sibi datamuisse ab eodem archiepiscopo, dum adhuc
viveret praedictus Robertus praepositus.

Eodem anno Philippus Dunelmensis episcopus reedit
in Angliam de Sancto Jacobo, facta peregrinatione sua.

De Johanne Salernitano, Romanae ecclesiae cardinali
legato in Scotia.

Eodem anno Joannes Salernitanus, tituli Sancti
Stephani in monte Celion presbyter cardinalis, aposto-
licie sedis legatus in Scotia, et in Hibernia, et in insulis
adjacentibus, venit Eboracum. Qui cum esset unus de
duobus electis in Romanum pontificem proximo post
decessum Coelestini papa, electioni suo renunciavit,
licet 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.
et ipse cum cæteris cardinalibus elegit Lotarium dia-
conum cardinalem in Romanum pontificem, qui vocatus
est papa Innocentius tertius.\(^1\) Prædictus vero Johannes
non manudcavit carnem; vinum et siceram\(^2\) non bibit,
nec aliquid quo inebriari potuit; sed aurum et argen-
tum sitivit. In presentia autem hujus cardinalis Gau-
thæarchus, et capitulo Eboraci, se in omnibus stare examini illius
super omnibus querelis quæ inter illos vertebantur, sal-
vis privilegiis et dignitatis utriusque partis, et salvo
jure. Sed hoc solum verbum, "salvo jure," erat one-
rosum et importabile illis, quos propriaæ actionis acce-
sabat intentio; et nitebantur ut verbum illud, "salvo
"jure," tolleretur.

De confirmatione pacis inter reges Franciæ et Angliæ.

Eodem anno,\(^3\) ut pax firmior haberetur inter Phi-
lippum regem Franciæ et Johannem regem Angliæ,
statutum est, et scripto confirmatum, quod si rex
Franciæ in aliquo violaverit pacem, quam ipse cum
rege Angliæ fecerat, barones Franciæ quos ipse fide-
jussores de servanda pace assignavit, a fidelitate sua
cum omnibus hominibus eorum soluti, redirent ad
regem Angliæ ad auxiliandum ei contra regem Franciæ.
Similiter erit de baronibus regis Angliæ, quos ipse con-
stituit fidejussores de pace servanda, qui in obsequium
regis Franciæ converterunt cum hominibus eorum, a
fidelitate regis Angliæ\(^4\) soluti, si rex Angliæ pacem
illum fuerit transgressus.

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\(^1\) tertius] om. B.I.
\(^2\) siceram] ciceram, A.
\(^3\) Eodem anno] MS. G. breaks off
\(^4\) Angliæ] om. I. Franciæ, B.
Walter de Lacy attempts to kill John de Courcy; who is taken by Hugh de Lacy and given up to the king.

His men ravage the estates of the Lacies.

John appeals the barons of Poictou for treason; but they refuse to accept his wager of battle.

Archdeacon Honorius prosecutes his claim

De captione Johannis de Curci.

Eodem anno Valterus de Lasci, vir potens in Hibernia, cepit colloquium cum Johanne de Curci, domino de Ulvestire, et volens eum pruditiose capere, multis de suis interfecit. Cum autem predictus Johannes verteretur in fugam, dixit ei Hugo de Lasci, frater predicti Valteri, "Domine, veni mecum, et receptabo te in castello meo, de quo homo vester sum, donec exercitus vester congregetur, ut possitis vindiciare 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 permissible 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 Valteri et Hugonis de Lasci, donec liberaverunt dominum suum Johannem de Curci de captione 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. 4 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

Epistula Innocentii papae ad decanum et capitulum
Eboracii pro magistro Honorio.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis
"decano et capitulo Eboracii, salutem et apostolicam bene-
dictionem. Significavit nobis dilectus filius magister Ho-
norius, archidiaconus Richemundiae, quod, cum venerabili
fratri nostro Eboracensi archiepiscopo exhibuerit obsequium,
gratiae devotionis in multis, archiepiscopus ei retribuens mala
pro bonis, et odium pro dilectione rependens, num contra
dignitates et libertates archidiaconatus multipliciter molest-
avit; tandem, ut cum hederet amplius, et fortius aggravaret,
Rogerum de Sancto Edmundo clericum, cum quo idem ma-
gister Honorius compositionem inierat, adversarium susci-
tavit eodem, qui eum, occasione litterarum ad dilectos filios
Sancti Edmundi ² et de Sibbeto abbates, et priorem de
"Norwico ³ obtentaram, tacita veritate, in pluribus inquietat.
Cum igitur nos predictas litteras, ut per surreptionem ad
judices suspectos obtentas, curavimus revocare, discretioni
vestra, per apostolica scripta mandamus, atque præcipimus,
quatenus eundem magistrum Honorium in jure suo defen-
dere ac maintenere curetis, et taliter ei sicut confratri
vestro et socio assistatis, ut a nobis ex hoc merito com-
mendari possitis, et ispe vobis ex debito devotioni reddatur."

Item epistola Innocentii papae ad episcopum
Eliensem, et archidiaconum Northamtoniae.

"Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili
fratri Eliensi episcopo, et dilecto filio archidiacono Northam-
toniae, ⁴ salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum venis-
sent ad sedem apostolicam dilecti filii magister Honorius
archidiaconus Richemundiae, et magister Columbus ⁵ sub-
diaconus noster, et procuratores venerabilis fratri nostri
Eboracensis archiepiscopi, cos in consistorio nostro benigne

¹ Eodem... impetravit] omitted in I. with the following letters down to p. 185.
² Sampson.
³ Gerard.
⁴ archidiaconus Northamtoniae ] Richard Kentensis, subdean of Lin-
coln.
⁵ 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 audiondos. Fuit ex parte archiepiscopi memorati propositum, quod institutio personarum et custodia ecclesiarum vacantium ad eum in dioecesi sua spectat, tam de jure communi quam ex consuetudine generali. Verum quidam predecessores ipsius quibusdam archidiaconis tam institutionem quam custodiam personaliter commiserunt, eam sibi alijus tempore retinentes, et libere, sicut spectat ad eos, utentes eisdem; ita quod archiepiscopus, qui Eboracensi ecclesiae modo praest, quondam\(^1\) archidiacono Richemundiae illas ad preces inclytae recordationis Ricardi regis Anglorum de gratia speciali concessit; et eo in episcopum post electo sibi retinuit tanquam suas. Cumque archidiaconatum illum prædicto magistro intenderet assignare, tam ante concessionem sibi quam custodias reservabat. Cui archidiaconus ipse respondit, quod contra Deum ageret, et juri canonicis derogaret, si institutiones ecclesiæ sibi usurpare præsumeret, quæ soli archiepiscopo competebant. Deinde liberatibus ipsis renunciassit, renunciationem suam redigit in scriptis; et ad majorem cautelam sigillo proprio roboravit, ac tandem quod eis se nullatenus immisceret, corporaliter praestitit sacramentum. Ad hæc autem archidiaconus ipse respondit, quod cum inclytae recordationis primus Henricus rex Angliæ apud Carleolum sedem episcopalem vellet de novo creari, quia ex hoc archidiaconatus Richemundiæ lædabatur, rex ipse a bona memorie quondam Eboracensi archiepiscopo postulavit, ut in recompensationem eujusdam partis, qua subtrahebatur archidiaconatui memorato, ei prædictas concederet dignitates. Archiepiscopus autem anuit precibus postulantibus, et tam institutiones quam custodias, non personaliter archidiacono qui tunc erat, sed perpetuo, de consensu Eboracensis capituli, archidiaconatui reali et liberali concessione donavit. Cum autem archidiaconatus ipse in continuâ possessione tam istorum quam aliarum etiam libertatem, multorum archiepiscoporum, regum et archidiaconorum temporibus exstitisset, et sepe dixit archiepiscopus sine conditione qualibet concessisset ipsum idem, post concessionem asseruit quod ipsum cum omnibus libertatibus suis concessisset, institutionibus et custodiis ecclesiarii vacantium exceptis. Ipse vero consuetudinem ejusdem archiepiscopi plenè noscens, scilicet quod sicut dare de facili, sic ponitere leviter consuevit; ac timens ne, si negaret expresse, cum nondum archidiaconatus possessionem

\(^1\) quondam} condam, A.
esset adeptus, vel impediretur penitus factum ejus, vel
dictius differretur, respondit, quod non solum de illo, sed
de omnibus reeditibus suis, faceret quod archiepiscopo com-
placert. Postmodum vero possessionem archidiaconatuis
ingressus, libere libertatibus ipsius est usus, sicut prae-
cessores ejus facere consueverant. Consequenter vero cum
archiepiscopus cum archidiaconatu ipso contra justitiam
spoliasset, nec restitutionem ejus potuisset aliquatenus obti-
nere, nisi per cartam renunciationis ejus factum.

ipso jus sumum durare cognosce, litteras renunciationis
spoliatus adhuc archiepiscopo ipsi dedit sigillo propri,
ratatas; sed llas, sicut est propositum ex adverse, nullatenus
abjuravit;1 imo restitutionis beneficium assecurat, usus est
eisdem libertatibus sicut prius, licet idem archiepiscopus
ipsum et clericos ejus super illis et aliiis post appellationem
legitime interpositam multiplicer aggravaret. Unde cum
prædictarum concessio libertatum non fuerit sicut personalis
persona, sed sicut realis personarii magis facta, non gratia
specialiter concedebantur aliæ; sed ex debito potius cum
archidiaconatu pariter tradebantur ad ejus integritatem
tanquam in recompensationem dote procul dubio pertinebat.

Propter quod, etsi aliquis archiepiscopus eis forsanc usus His argu-
menlaits on
nullum propter hoc archidiaconati est praëjudicium gene-
ratum, cum intelligantur postmodum in ipso concessa. Pra-
terea, cum in Turonensi concilio præbendarum, dignitatum,
beneficiorum sint inhibita sectiones; et Lateranum 3 con-
cilium,ubi censu novos imponi prohibet, et veteres aug-
mentarii, subjungat, †Ne partem reducere aliquis suis usibus
appropriare presumant; †patet archiepiscopum nec debuisse
nec potuisse archidiaconatum suis dignitibus et liber-
tatibus mutiIare. Nec est credendum quod ante conces-
sionem, vel in ipso concessione actum fuerit, ut predictas
libertas sibi archiepiscopum retineretur, quia si alienum
sibi sic voluisset forsitan usurpare, commissia esse videtur
Simoniacam pravitatem. Renuntiatio autem archidiacono
necesse non potuit, cum renunciaverit spolitibus, et bone
memoria Alexander papæ, praedecessor noster, renuntiatio-
nem hujusmodi assueretur non valere. Insuper cum, etsi
collatio archidiaconatus surrepserit,4 ad archiepiscopum mo-
memoratum, integritas tamen ad Eboracensis ecclesiae pertinet

1 abjuravit] objuravit, A.
2 sectiones] sanctiones, A. See
Concil.,Labbe and Cossart,x.1418.
3 Lateranum] Io 1179. See vol. ii. p. 175.
4 surrepserit] scripsaret, A.
A.D. 1291.

Argument of Honorius

dignitatem, nec potuisset archiepiscopus vel archidiaconus praeter assensum et absque consilio Eboracensis capituli ipsius archidianaonatus in tantum laedere dignitates vel libertates. Super hae pars replicavit adversa, quod etsi renunciati vel abjurati archidiaconati non noceret, per hae tamen esset 1 archidianacon repetendi facultas adempta. Sed archidianacons libertates illas se non repetere respondebat, cum eis libere sicut prius, quando iter arripuit ad sedem apostolicam veniendi, uteretur, et earum possessione gaudebat. Adjecit etiam, quod cum archiepiscopus contra jus constitutionis dignitatem turpiter retinendo mutilaverit, nec super subsecuta renunciatione, vel etiam, si intercessisset, adjuratione, tanquam suam allegans turpitudinem, contra ipsam possessorem audiri deberet. Nos igitur, auditis que fuerant hinc inde proposita, et plenius intellectis, interlocuti summus, archidiaconum esse in plena libertatum ejusdem archidiaconatus possessione tenuendam, donec probatum fuerit ex adverso, libertates ipsius ab archiepiscopis archidiaconis fuisse concessas, cum in hoc casu, 2 tam ante quam post, in ipsa etiam concessione archiepiscopos eas retinere sibi potuit liceat 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; quin nos ad petitionem Eboracensis ecclesiae, vel per nosipso, super hoc eadem archidianaconatui consulemus. Si ergo alterutrum istorum legitime fuerit propositum et comprobatum, archidiacono super libertatis ipsi; si neutrum, archiepiscopo silentium imponorat. Ideoque districte praeципimus, et per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatem 3 partibus convocatis, et auditis qua fuerint hinc inde proposita sequendum 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 stadiam pristinum formetis, appellatione remota; et causam ipsam, sublato appellationis obstaculo, fine debito terminatis, si consensu partium diffinire non poteritis; alieno inquit ipsum plene instituant ad nos referatis. 4

Rejoinder of the archbishop.

Further reply of Honorius.

The pope orders Honorius to be maintained in possession of the archdeaconry, and orders the bishop of Ely and archdeacon of Northampton to decide the other grounds of complaint.

\[1\] esset \(^1\) om. Savile.
\[2\] casu \(^2\) quam, ins. A.
\[3\] quatem \(^3\) qua, A.
\[4\] referatis \(^4\) MS. A. has here a blank space of two lines, apparently intended for the insertion of a rubric.
Si ad actiones vulnerabilis fratri nostri Eboracensis archiepiscopi respectum debuit haberemus, et ei vellemus pro meritis respondere, non solum nocendi adieremus licentiam, sed auctoritatem eundem minueremus ipsius, qui gravaminibus abutitur subjectorum. Qualiter enim et quam diu dilectum filium magistri Honorii, archiepiscopum auctoritate nostra moneatis attenti, et medicatis, excommuniaciónem, et suspensionem, et interdictum, sine manifesta et rationabili causa proferre, et non nisi rationabiliter, non præsumat. Quod si fecerit, vos sententias taliter latas, appellatone remota, nostra freti auctoritate, ipso jure denunciatæ irритas et iracundias, ipsum archiepiscopum et suos contra insolentias archiepiscopi in posterum attentius defensuri, in irritum, appellatone remota, revocantes quicquid contra eos duxerit temere attentandum. Nos vero, si monitis vestris parere contemperit, non sine confusione ipsius et dedecore, et suis, sufficienter curabimus providere.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum, etc., Johanni ilustri regi Anglorum, etc. Interest regie celsitudinis ecclesias et viros ecclesiasticos in suo jure tueri, et maligrauentium impetus ab eorum molestationibus potenter et regulariter effranare. Cum itaque dilectus filius magister Honorius, archiepiscopus Richemundiae, usque adeo vir literarum

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.
A.D. 1291.  
He is to be upheld in his possession of the archdeaconry.

A.D. 1291.  
Honorius, Roger, the sub-dean, Edmund, the dean, and Peter, the sub-dean of Lincoln.

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 presentiam nostram dilectus filius Honorius, archidiaconus Richemundiae, obiata nobis petitione monstravit, quod cum olim dilecto filio P., Sanctæ Marie in Via Lata diacono cardinali, apostolice sedis legato, causas, quae contra illos proponebantur, qui intrusi fuerant in prebendas et dignitates Eboracensis ecclesie, commiserimus terminandas, ipsæ tamen [cam] quæ vertabantur contra Rogerum de Sancto Edmundus super archidiaconatu Richemundiae, venerabili fratri nostro episcopo, et dilectis filiis decaeno et subdecano 2 Lincolnensi audieramus commissis, dixit sibi sententia reservata. Sed cum ipsi servato juris ordine usque ad definitivam sententiam processissent, mediante tamen Eboracensi capitulo, inter ipsam Honorium archidiaconum et predictum Rogerum amicabilis et honesta compositio interessit, quam se promisit utraque partium juramento præstito servaturam. Postmodum autem idem Rogerus, de facto compositione et interpositione juramenti, ratione non habita, 3 litteras a nobis ad vos contra predictum archidiaconum impetravit, qui cum, sicut asserit, voluistis in multis contra justitiam aggravare. Dicit enim quod, cum ad ostendendas exceptiones legitimas ad nostram presentiam accessisset, et te, fili, abbas de Sancto Edmundus, tanquam spectum penitus recusaret, tum quia idem nimia 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] habita, A.
negotium manifeste studueras et adversarii pro\textsuperscript{1} predicto
Rogerio, carissimo in Christo filio nostro Johannii illustri regi
Angliae, et venerabili fratri nostro Cantuariensi archiepischope
supplevendo, cum exceptionem hujusmodi se coram electis
judicibus assereret probatum; vos, filii, abbas de Sibbeto.
et prior Norwicensis, pronunciare, ut dicitur, presumpsistis.
Præterea cum de fructibus archidioconatus indeterminato
in nostris litteris mentio haberetur, vos edictioinis benefi-
cium et contra leges et canones denegasti. Iterum cum
memoratus archidioconus praefatum adversarium suum cx.
communicatum esse in nostra presentia objecisset, et hoc
vellet probare infra terminum competenter, et preparare
corporaliter juramentum, quod hoc frustrante causa dilatation
non peteret, vos ipsum, inhibita exceptione, audiendum non
esse pronunciastis, nisi quod objecerat, probaret incontinenti.
Cumque in his et aliis se a nobis cognosceret contra jus-
titiam aggravari, idem archidioconus nostram audientiam
appellavit, et ad appellacionem prosequebatur iter arripuit
veniendi. Sed vos, sicut dicitur, a cognitione causa post
appellacionem objectam minime destititis, super ea in ipsius
archidiaconi gravamen\textsuperscript{3} et prejudicium procedentes. Cum
que neminem velimus 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 archidioconatu et interpositi juramenti men-
tio non haberet, quia cas per suppressionem veritatis ob-
tinuit, cum juxta canonicas sancciones mendax precator
cercere debebat impetratis, litteras ipsam vires volumus non
habere. Si eíam vos exceptiones legitimas predicti archidia-
coni admittercrate nulistsis, et presumpsistis post appellacionem
legitime interpositam in causa procedere memorata, volumus
nihilominus, et mandamus, ut ab ipsius cause prosecutione
penitus desistentes, quod per vos factum est, denunciatis
penitus irritum et inane. Volumus enim quod causa ipsa
talibus judicibus committatur, qui neutri partium debeant
esse suspecti, vol coram nobis, mediente justitia, terminetur.
Quod si forte vos mandatum nostrum exsequi neglexeritis,
alicujus interveniente gratia vel timore, noveritis nos vene-
rabili fratri nostro episcope Rovensi, et dilectis filiis abbati

\textsuperscript{1} pro om. Savile.
\textsuperscript{2} ad A.
\textsuperscript{3} gravamen] gratiam, Savile.

A.D. 1290. Honorus objected to the abbot of S. Edmund's as judge de-
legate, yet the other two gave sentence in spite of his objection. He com-
plains of their conduct on other grounds.

They had proceeded to hear the case after Honorus had ap-
pealed to the pope.

If Hono-
rus's state-
ments are
ture, they
are to desist
from taking
part in the
matter.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1200. Dec. 29. 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 proceedings.

These letters are recalled.

Honorus is to be regarded as archdeacon.

A.D. 1201. The judges delegate re-

"Foxl.1 et priori de Ledes 2 dedisse nostris litteris in mandatis, ut ipsi, veritate cognita, quod mandavimus, sublato cujuslibet contradictionis et appellationis obstaculo, exsequantar. Data Laterani, xiii. kalendas Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno tertio."

Item de codem.

"Innocenti papa, abbatibus, prioribus, decanis, personis, vicemomitiibus, et clericis et laicis per archidiaconatum Richemundie constitutis, salutem. Exposuit nobis dilectus filius magister Honorius, archidiaconus vester, quod cum archidiaconatum Richemundiae canonice fuisset adepus, et aliquandiu pacifice 3 posseisset, orta postmodum inter eum et venerabilem fratrem nostrum archiepiscopum 4 Eboracen- sem discordia, Rogerus de Sancto Edmundo clericus, ar- chidiaconum Richemundie se nominans, ad dilectos filios Sancti Edmundi 5 et Sancti Benedicti de Holmo 6 abbates, et priorum de Toftes, 7 predictorum tacita veritate, litteras impetravit, ut vos ad exhibendum ei obedientiam et reve- rentiam debitam, et satisfaciendum de damnis illatis, moni- tione præmissa, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, cogere non differrent. Quia vero mendax precator carere debet secundum sanctiones legitimas impetratis, universitati vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatenus eum litteras illas mandaverimus re- vocari tanquam ad suspectos judices, per suppressionem veritatis et falsitatis expressionem obtentas, eis non obstanti- bus, jura ejus inviolabilitur conservantes, ipsi et officialibus suis, appellatione remota, obedientiam exhibeatis debitam, et honorem, sicut cem impendebatis cideon, prissquam idem archidiaconus iter arripert ad sedem apostolicae convieni. Alioquin sententiam, quatenus ipse vel officiales sui in vos propter hoc rationabiliter duxerint proferendum, ratam haberis volumus, et inviolabiliter observatir."

His igitur et aliis domini papæ litteris, quas Honorus pretendebat, Rogero de Sancto Edmundo respondente,

1 Foxl.] 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. Cantuari.
2 de Ledes] deled, A. The prior of Leeds in Kent.
3 pacifice:] pacisive, A.
4 archiepiscopum] archidiaconum, A.

5 Sancti Edmundi ] Sampson, 1182-1212.
6 Sancti Benedicti de Holmo ] Ralph, 1186-1210.
supradicti judicis delegati, propter appellationes hinc et inde factas, et propter testium varietates, causam ipsum, utcunque poterant instructam, ad dominum papam miserunt determinandum:  et ipsi Honorius et Rogerus prosecuti sunt appellationes suas.

_Eodem anno_ 2 G., summus magister Hospitalis Jerusalem, priori et fratribus suis per Angliam constitutis, in hac forma scripti._

"Magister Hospitalis Jerusalem priori Angliae. 3 Quem admodum rumores proveniunt, ita eos cupimus cordibus amicorum nostrorum intimari. Transacti itaque passagii lugendo tempore de solito rumores terrae Jerusolimitanæ mittebamus; sed navi contracta in maritima Tripolis ante Biblium, Aconensis episcopus, et plures viri honestissimi fratum nostrorum ad vos pro negotio Terræ Sanctæ destinati, cum multis tam nobilibus quam humilibus peregrinis, ad dolorem et gemitum totius populi Christiani, sicut Dominus placuit, sub aquis vehementibus perierunt. Post quod naufragium nullum putamus transfretasse navigium, ut dicitur ab omnibus: quia quaedam naves, in quibus nuncii nostri mittebantur, transfretare dispensarent, cum ab Acone recessisset, et per triduum et amplius navigasset, amissis arboribus antennis insolita ventorum et turbinis rabie, vix naufragium evadentes, Tripoli sunt reversae. Ea tamen quæ potuimus navigii opportunitate reperta, vestre fratres nitati declaramus, quod ille Christianorum hostis nequisimus, Damasci dominus Sephadin us, Babilonis effectus est dominus; quia nepotem suam et alios, quorum successionem timebat, de regno Babilonis, ut perdidos et perjurus, ejectit. Viget adhuc inter ipsum, et soldanum Aleph,  et plures

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1 _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 _Eodem anno_] Here MSS. B. C. D. I. resumes; also MS. G. Godfrey de Duus was now Master of the Hospital.

3 _Angliae_] salutem, ins. B.

4 _Aconensis_] Aconensis, B. I.

5 _Acone_] Acone, B. I.

6 _Sephadinus_] 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 _soldanum Aleph_] Malek-ed-Dahir Gaiatheddin Ghazi, son of Saffadin, was sultan of Aleppo from 1193 to 1216.
CHRONICA ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

A.D. 1291.  
War between Saffa- 
din and his relations.

This is an opportunity 
for the Christian powers.

Rise of a 
Saracen who 
preaches 
Christ.

Want of 
money.

Plagues sent 
on his king- 
dom of 
Egypt.

"alios nimia discordia, quae fine carcat, et nunquam decidat 
vol arcesat. Ipse quoque Sephadinus, suis obidibilis et in-
festus, domesticas timet insidias, et in nullo loco tutum se 
credens, utpote qui nepotibus suis proditor existit et per-
jurus, quos etiam funditus quotidie exhaeredere conatur,
"Babiloniam exire non audet. Quae res nobis hoc anno mu-
nimem praestitut et tutelam. Paraverat enim contra nos 
tumidus et intolerabilis insilire, et Christianitatis, qua su-
perfuerant, funditus demoliri reliquias. Percussit etiam 
Deus virga potentiae Sue Babilonicas regiones, in flumin 
ilo Paradisi quod agros hostium irrigabat, ne flueret, nec 
amo preterito fluctus emisit. Propter quod in fame pe-
reunt, et corum anima perderidentur, nec plures corum 
veriti sunt pater filium vendere, dives pauperem, potens 
debilom, ut sic vitam suam a fame conservent: quam sici-
tatem fluminis, si non fluxerit, futuram timent. Hoc etiam 
quosquis ex cogitiet sapiens, quod si flumen nutu Dei pre-
serit anno non fluxerit,1 arva non irrigaverit,2 in magno 
discrimine vitae sua erunt. Quorum jam infinita multitudo 
necessitate compulsa, et famis austeritate, terram nostram, 
sicut locustarum agmina, replevit pro sustinendis corporibus 
suis: ubi quidam terras eccelesiam molientur; quidam more 
bestiarum sylvestribus herbis vescentur; quidam fama ne-
cati per loca sylvestria mirative reperientur vermisus et 
avibus comedendi. Nos igitur in Domino ponentes spem 
nostram, Qui, quando vult,3 praelis finem ponit, speramus 
quod populo Christiano dat initium misericordia, cum ipso-
rum contortis4 inimicos. Datur etiam gentibus materies ad-
mirandi, quod quidam Saracenus, etate juvenis, origine 
vilis, inter pastores a pueritia simpliciter5 nutritus,6 de novo 
sic omnibus peritus appareat, ut omnes sapientiam ejus admi-
rentur, et nomen Jesu Christi publice praedicat: ita quod ipsi 
jam duo millia paganorum et eo amplius concredenes, ejus 
exhortationibus fidem nostram susceperunt, et fonte sacri 
baptismatis sunt recreati,7 et circumsicionis suas condolent se 
sustinuisse dolorem. Immenso tamen inimici nostri exulant 
gaudio, quia nos paucos sciunt, et pecunia pauperes, et 
armatorum copia sentiunt derelictos. Quapropter ad vos 
voce lamentabili clamamus, et misericorditer exoramus, 
"quattuor nobis, tam apud maiores quam minores, consilio 
et auxilio vestro subvenire dignemini, et dominum regem

1fluxerit] fluxerunt, B. I.  
2 irrigaverit] irrigaverunt, A.B.I.  
3 vult] om. I.  
4 conterit] conteret, I.  
5 simpliciter] simplicia, A.  
6 nutritus] eruditus, G.  
7 recreati] renati, D; regenerati, B.
Pars Posteriores. 187

Anglie, et quosecumque poteritis, ad subvectionem nostram efficaciter inducere, et diligenter monere procreatis. Nos cum infinitas trementes divitias, cum sibi propter opes multorum subvenient mercimonia mercatorum, non minus solito timore conterimus universi; et cum de uno tautum regno Babilonis, aut Damasci, universus Terrae Promissionis populus vix bené se tacri solebat; nunc duo regna uni domino conjugata, nobis tantilli residui numeri terrorum parint et minantur. Hic est certe verus status Terrae Promissionis, et inimicorum Christi; quo taliter permanente, si bonum Christianorum haberemus auxilium, gratia profecta nobis, et Christi injurias et dedecus Christianorum crederemus vindicare. Propterea, bone frater,quia pauca sacri dicere sufficit, satis novistis qua et quanta nobis incumbent possessions necessaria; et nunc auditc quid ultra modum nos affligit.

Terra regni Siciliae jugiter destruitur a Teutonicis et eis Sicilios Longobardis; domus nostra Baroli relicta fuerit; fratres intus in civitate manent; domus extrinseca, a quibus auxilium nostrum procedebat, ad nihilum deducta sunt, nullus in civitate persistit. Postquam autem a terra recessistis, nihil de regno Siciliae nobis subvenit, ad praecons jam et per annum, frumentum, vimum et horrendum, carnes et casum, et quaeque necessaria eminus pro universis dominus et castris nostris, in quibus omnibus sine numero necessaria est expensa. Pecuniam nisi ab ultramarinis dominus receperimus, aliusque aliter habere nequimus, et jam diu est quod nihil fore recepimus ad comparationem expense. Noveritis quod in debitis plurimis subjacemus: expectantes auxilium vestrum, et aliorum bonorum fratrum nostrorum, amore Divino et nostro nonememus, ut quantumcumque poteritis, in primo Martii passagio 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 Jerosolimitane. Ad cujus mandatum, ipsi reges concesserunt se daturos, ad subvectionem praefatae terre, quadragesimam partem omnium redituum suorum de uno anno. Et rex Anglie hoc ipsum mandavit fieri de reditibus et exactis et wardis suis Anglie: et præcepit ut omnes laici terrarum suarum similim modo quadragesimam partem redituum suorum darent in eleemosynam ad subvectionem terre Jero-

1 Teutonicis] Theutonicis, B. I.
Epistola Galfridi Filii Petri ad vicecomites et ballivos Anglice, de quadragesima parte redituum regis et laicorum colligenda in subsectionem terrar Jerosolimitane.

Galfridus Filius Petri, comes Excestse, universis vicecomitibus et ballivis Anglice;

Letter of the Justiciar directing the collection of the fortieth for the relief of Palestine.

"Galfridus Filius Petri, comes Excestse, universis vicecomitibus ballia sua, salutem. Scitatis quod dominus rex Anglice, ad instantiam et predicacionem cujosdam cardinalis a summo pontifice missi in Franciam, de consilio magnatum 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 instantiam scripsit dominus rex omnibus Anglie magnatibus per litteras patentes, rogans et inducens eos, quatenus pura corde, et caritatis intuitu, illud idem de valore omnium redituum et terrarum suarum unius anni concederent; quod quidem nec debito, nec de consuetudine, nec de coactione, nec de aliqua alta auctoritate apostolica conceditur vel postulatur. Unde precepit quod omnes comites et barones de qualibet ballia in primis admoventur et inducantur diligentiter, quotenus pro se hanc collectam faciant in terris suis hoc modo; scilicet, ut quilibet quadragesimam partem valoris cujoslibet ville sua, sicut posset ponere 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 candom portionem modo predicto, computato redditu, quem dominis suis solvent in per annum. Hanc autem collectam colligii faciant per tam 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 distincte, 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, Explicitum 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, quantumcumque
de singulis villis, et quorum qualibet sit, imbrevari faciant.
Summam antem de dominicis, et de wardis et exactis, et
redditus dominii regis, faciant separatim imbrevari. Si
quis vero clericus laicum feodium habuerit in ballia aliqua,
vel homines tenentes laicum feodium; in eorum terris fiat
haec collecta per predictos collectores modo predicto. De
terris antem cruce signatorum predicta collecta fiat modo
predicto, ita tamen quod eorum pecunia separatim reponitor
ab alia; et summa pecuniae, et nomina singulorum quorum
ipsa pecunia fuerit, subscribantur: ut illi, qui iter arripu-
cerint, pecuniam suam prompte recipiant. Provisiurant antem
quod pecunia illa sit collecta, ita quod unusquisque vice-
comes simul cum collectoribus habeat eam apud Novum
Tempulum Londinie a die Sanctii Hilarii in quindicesime dies,
et imbreviamentum modo predicto ordinatum, videlicet, de
summa pecuniae, et nominibus eorum qui eam dederint, et
nominibus villarum de quibus data fuerit pecunia predicta,
et quantum de qualibet datum fuerit. Si qui antem contra-
dixerint buic collectae assensum praeberint, nomina eorum im-
breviarentur, et eorum nobis reprezententur apud Londonias
ad terminum predictum, et hoc breve et nomina collecto-
rum ibidem habeantur. Valete."  

1 et] de, ins. I.
2 imbreviamentum] cum, ins. I.
3 imbrevariatur] imbreviariat, A.
4 Valete] Valete, vate et pacem habete, D. I. Two MSS., C. and D.,
contain, after the letter of the Justice,
the following addition, in a
hand of the seventeenth century:
probably, however, taken from some
earlier source,—
"Mirabilia plura per Anglia
evenerunt; sanguine vel ex vesti-
tibus vel ex aliis rebus per se still-
ante. Aeris etiam intemperies,
fugura, et pluviorum inundati-
one. Cornagium per Anglia
exactum est ut regi Francia de-
naritii pro pace firmata procuraren-
tur. Explicitur Chronica Rogeri
de Houelou."  

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:—

Letters in the London Chronicle re-
named at London on the 27th
of January.

... "Salutem, Scias quod comes
Gloucestrae et comes Wintone
venerant Londonias die proxima
post Epiphaniam. Venerunt autem
cum ipsis Baldwinum Brutel,
et Willielmus Pusin, Mariscal.
domini Lodowici, et frater ducis
Launcve, et frater vicecomitis de
Mellon, qui tenetur de melioribus
bacheleris Franciae, cum octies
xx. militum et amplius de meliori-
bus tornatoribus Franciae, et cum
xl. balestariis equestribus, et cum
multis servientibus, equestribus et

A.D. 1281.
Note—continued.

Hec sunt nomina baronum qui capti sunt in civitate Lincolnia in warra predicta.

Comes Wintoniae Serlo, et Robertus filius ejus; Robertus filius Walteri; Willelmus de Mubrui, et Robertus frater ejus; Gilbertus de Gant, et Mauricius frater ejus; Gerardus de Fornival; Robertus de Grelii; Ricardus de Munificet; Willelmus de Ros; Simon de Kinde; Robertus de Roppelege; Johannes de Bassingeburne; Walterus de Tiwe; Hugo de Renou, baro Franciae; et comes Pertecia ibi occisus fuit ex parte illa, et Robertus de Tibbetot miles comitis de Ferreres occisus erat ex parte regis. Et eum istis baronibus capti fuerunt centum quinquaginta milites tam de Anglienis 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, constabularius Cestrin; Willelmus de Mandevile; Symon de Persi; Galfridus de Lacei; et circiter sexaginta milites cum dextarisi sine armis. Et sciemund quod multi aliis capti sunt pro voluntate et ad placitum quorum numerus ignoratur. Postea capti fuerunt comes Herefordiae; Willelmus de Huntingfeud; Gilbertus de Clare; Henricius filius comitis David, et multi aliis infra villam; et tota civitas robba infra ecclesiis, et extra. Et sic eito postea terminata est werra et Lodowici a sententia excommunicationis quae fuerat innodus absolutus ab Anglia recessit et in Flandria applicuit. Valete.

THE END.
GLOSSARY.
GLOSSARY.

A.
Aeria, ii. 244; an eyrie.
Agistare, ii. 246; to turn the cattle into the woods to feed.
Agistamentum, ii. 246; the right of feeding in the woods.
Albercellum, ii. 253; a coat of mail.
Alevoso, ii. 126; a Spanish word for traitor.
Alligera, ii. 297; the Hejira.
Astridelthot, ii. 231; a corrupt word, probably meaning “a threefold hot or compensation.”
Ategae, i. 91; a lance or dart.
Avicus, iii. 275; a farm horse.

B.
Bren, iii. 60; bran.
Broca, iv. 99; a tap.
Brom, iii. 72; the Italian Bruma, a sea-worm that perforates ships.
Brerria, ii. 243; Moorland.
Bucia, iii. 39; Bucia, 106; a transport vessel.
Butsecarla, i. 111; Buzsecarla, 158; Buzsecarla, 33; a boatman.

C.
Capelet, ii. 261; a head piece.
Cappa, ii. 93; a cope.
Carcare, iii. 251; to load.
Carvana, ii. 182; a caravan.
Cassata, i. 73; the land appropriated to a ceorl’s tenement; a hide.
Casula, i. 6; a chasuble.
Ceptus, ii. 243; apparently, = copatus, coppice.
Chiminum, ii. 223; a highway.
Cleptor, i. 56; a robber.
Colpo, iii. 245; a slice.
Copatus, ii. 243; copse, coppice.
Costera, iii. 160; a coast.

D.
Decius, ii. 336; a die for gambling.
Demonium, iii. 265; demesne.
Districte, iii. 47, 129; straits; a defile.
Dorsale, i. 59; wall hangings, tapestry.

E.
Esbrancatura, ii. 243; lopping.
Essartum, ii. 243; a clearing in the forest.
Estreclatus, iv. 62; restricted; from the French estrescer.
Exlegare, i. 101; to outlaw.

N
GLOSSARY.

F.
Falsoneria, ii. 89; forgery of coin or charters.
Forcia, ii. 244; a forge.
Frussura, ii. 243; the breaking of the soil for the first time.

G.
Grantum, iii. 218, = creantum, security (Du Cange).

H.
Halia, ii. 244; a hedge; an enclosure.
Herberagium, ii. 244; herbage.
Hurdicius, ii. 73, 113; a hurdle; a siege engine.
Huscarl, i. 92, 107; a body-guard.
Hypocrisimus, i. 19; deceitful.

I.
Imprisa, ii. 67; undertaking.
Inbladare, Inbladtare, ii. 243; to sow with corn.
Indiscibilis, i. 70; inexplicable.
Indecibilis, 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.
Interiare, ii. 229; to demand warranty of a person in whose hands stolen goods are found.

L.
Laceatus, ii. 337; laced or fringed.
Ledon, i. 13; neap-tide.
Lex, ii. 250, 251; the ordeal.
Leucata, iii. 60; the bauldene 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.
Mediantum, 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; = platonia; a slab of marble.
Prisa, ii. 5; a receipt; an exaction.
Priso, ii. 68; a prisoner.
GLOSSARY.

Q.
QUINTALLUS, iii. 165; a quintal; a weight of 100 pounds.

R.
RICH, iv. 99; immature wine (?). 
REGNATUM, iv. 100; sale by retail. 
RENEEZ, iii. 180, a renegade. 
RETAIRE, ii. 89; to arraign. 
ROBERATOR, ii. 249 = ROBATOR; a robber. 
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. 
STAPA, ii. 142; a stirrup. 
STOLIUM, ii. 97; a fleet. 
SUBSOCSUS, ii. 243; underwood. 
SUMMARIUS, iii. 33; a pack-horse.

T.
TELON, i. 89 = TELONEUM; a tax. 
TENATURE, ii. 257; tenure, in the sense of possession. 
TERRIN, iii. 60; a Sicilian coin, the tarenus or taris, weighing 20 grains of gold. 
TEHSAURIZARIUS, i. 105; a treasurer. 
TIMORATUS, i. 65; having the fear of God. 
TRABARUM, 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. 
UTILAGATIO, ii. 221; outlawry. 
UTHILEGATUS, iii. 4; outlawed.

V.
VEREDARIUS, i. 97; a courier.

W.
WAMBAJA, ii. 253; WAMPAS, 259; a coat of mail. 
WASTELLUS, iii. 245; a cake; gâteau.
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Alascrat, iii. 48; sandbank on the Spanish coast.
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Northumberland, earls of, i. 57, 59; submits to Swein in 1013, 77; visited by Edmund Ironside in 1015, 80; ravaged by Canute, 81; given to Eiric in 1017, 86; monachism restored in, 128, 129; entrusted to Waleher, bishop of Durham, 132; given by Stephen to Henry of Scotland, 198; promised by the younger Henry to William the Lion, ii. 47; invaded by William the Lion, 57; visited by itinerant justices in 1176, 88; and in 1179, 191; cardeon of, bought by the bishop of Durham, iii. 15; restored to him, 38; re-signed in 1194, 249; demanded by William the Lion, 243, 244, 249, 250; the bishop of Durham compelled to surrender, 261.

Northumbria, kings of, i. 3. See Ceddulf, Osulf, Ethelwold.

Norway, subdued by Canute, i. 88; left by him to Swein, 90; history of, from 1103 to 1180, ii. 212, 213, 214, 215; in 1194, iii. 270-272.

kings of—

Anlaf, son of Constantine, king of the Scots, i. 54; defeated at Brunanburh, 54; elected king of Northumbria in 941, 55.

Anlaf, Olaf, attacks London, i. 68; makes peace with Ethelred, and is confirmed at Andover, ib.; returns home, ib.

Harold, i. 88.

Olaf, Olaf, son of Harold, expelled by Canute in 1028, i. 88; killed by the Norwegians, ib.


Swein, son of Canute, made king of Norway, i. 89.

Magnus, son of Olaf, i. 93, 94; threatens England in 1045, ib.; expels Swein, king of Denmark from Denmark, i. 94; dies, ib.

Harold Hardrada, son of Siward, succeeds Magnus, i. 94; is called Harfagra, 112; called brother of S. Olaf, ib.; assists Tostig in his war on Harold, defeats Edwin and Morkar, and is killed at Stamfordbridge in 1066, ib.

Olaf, son of Harold, allowed to return to Norway after his father's death, i. 112; instructed in the faith by Turgot, 130.

Magnus, son of Olaf, conquers the Orkneys and Anglesey, i. 154; kills Hugh Montgomery, ib.; conquers Ireland, ii. 213; killed by the Irish, ib.

Siward, ii. 213; his children, ib.

Harold, son of Magnus, ii. 213.

Magnus, son of Siward, ii. 213; blinded by Harold, ib.; restored to the throne by Siward the priest, and killed, ib.

Siward, son of Harold, ii. 213; his
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three sons, Haco, Siward, and Swerre, ib.
Hingo, son of Harold, ii. 213; his sons Siward and Augustin, ib.; killed by Haco, ib.
Augustin, son of Harold, ii. 213; his son Augustin, ib.
Haco, son of Siward, ii. 213; drives Magnus Herlingsson into Denmark, ib.; expelled by him, 214; killed in a sea fight, ib.
Magnus, son of Herling and Christina, daughter of Siward, ii. 213, 214; crowned king of Norway in 1163, 214; rebellion of Swerre Birkbain against, ib.; expelled by Swerre, ib.; killed in 1184, 290.
Swerre Birkbain, the priest, son of Siward, rebels, ii. 212-214; kills Magnus, 290; the pope forbids his coronation, iii. 270; assembles the Norwegian bishops and compels them to crown him, 271; he conquered fifteen kings, 271, 272; defeats bishop Nicolas, iv. 25; is king in 1201, 162.
Norwich, burnt by Swein in 1004, i. 71; seized by earl Ralph in 1074, 131; surrendered, 132; seized by Roger Bigot against the king in 1088, 141; Henry I. keeps Christmas 1121 at, 180; held by Hugh Bigot against Stephen, 191; castle of, promised by the younger Henry to Hugh Bigot, ii. 47; burnt by Hugh Bigot, 58.
Norwich, bishops of:
Herbert. See Thetford.
Everald of Montgomery, was at the council of London in 1129, i. 185.
William de Turbe, urges Becket to submit to Henry II., i. 221; is ordered to answer before the king's justice for excommunicating earl Hugh, 232; dies in 1174, ii. 70; see vacant in 1175, 79.
John of Oxford, dean of Salisbury, sent by Henry II. to the pope on the matter of the legation, i. 223; sent again after Becket's flight, 230; is excommunicated by Becket and forbidden to call himself dean of Salisbury, 239, 254, 255; severity of Becket to him defended, 265; a ground of complaint from the suffragans, 265; witnesses the peace of Falaise, ii. 82; elected to the see of Norwich, 79; consecrated in 1175, ib.; sent as ambassador to Sicily, iii. 95; with the king at Amesbury, ii. 119; is at the council at London in 1177, 121; attests the Spanish award, 131; goes to the Lateran council, 171; is a justice itinerant in 1179, 191; is at Richard's coronation, iii. 8; attests the grant of Sadsberge, 14; is at the council of Pipewell, 15; attests the release of Scotland, 26; is at the pacification at Canterbury, 24; goes to Normandy in 1194, 32; goes to the pope and is released from his vow of pilgrimage, 42; is at the deposition of Longchamp, 145; is at John's coronation, iv. 90; dies in 1200, 125.
John de Gray, consecrated by archbishop Hubert, iv. 125; is at the Scottish homage at Lincoln, 141.
Nottingham, the Danes winter at, in 868, i. 38; taken from the Danes by Edmund, 55; Trent dried up at, 167; Henry II. at, in 1176, ii. 87; he keeps Christmas, 1179, at, 196.
castle of, built by William the Conqueror, i. 167; given to John in 1174, ii. 68; surrendered to him by treachery in 1191, iii. 134; entrusted to William Marshall, 136; punishment of the constable of Chester's knights who had betrayed it to John, 172; again in his hands in 1193, 207; besieged by earl Ferrers, 237, 238; surrendered to
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the king himself, 240; his great council held at, 240–242.
county of, ravaged by Canute in 1016, i. 81; given to John in 1174, ii. 68; visited by itinerant justices in 1176, 87; and in 1179, 191; given to John in 1189, iii. 6; hunting rights in, given to the see of York, 28; visited by itinerant justices in 1198, iv. 61.
Peverell of, i. 196.
Nottingham, archdeacon of, William Testard. See Testard.
Novalesia, part of the Maurienne settlement, ii. 41.
Noyon, Stephen, bishop of, implicated in Philip’s divorce, iv. 307.
Nunant, Hugh of. See Lichfield.
Robert of, proposes to the emperor the longer detention of Richard, iii. 232; refuses to be one of Richard’s hostages, 233; is imprisoned by his order, ib.; dies in prison at Dover, 287.
Nussa, Henry V. makes peace at, i. 169.

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Oca, mountain of, claimed by the king of Navarre, ii. 127.
Occa, city of, taken by the emperor of Morocco in 1171, ii. 33.
Ochsenfurth, meeting of Richard with the English messengers, iii. 182.
Ockley, the Danes defeated in 851, at, i. 32, 36.
Ocon, claimed by the king of Navarre, ii. 127.
Octavian, the antipope Victor, antipope to Alexander III., i. 216; excommunicated by him at the council of Tours, 219; dies in 1164, 223; persons ordained by him deprived, ii. 140, 177.

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cardinal deacon, sent to crown John as king of Ireland in 1187, ii. 317; is taken by Henry III. to Normandy, ib.; as bishop of Ostia meets Richard at the mouth of the Tiber, iii. 40; consecrates pope Celestine III., ib.; is sent as legate to Normandy in 1192, 193; lays Normandy under interdict, ib.; is a candidate for the papacy, iv. 33; consecrates Innocent III., 45; comes to France as legate to settle the divorce of Philip, 137; hears the parties at Soissons, 140; appeal from his decision, 147; was cousin to Philip, ib.; proposes a further hearing, 148.
Odo, king of West France, i. 49.
Odo, of Champagne, father of Stephen of Aumâle, i. 151, 152.
Odo, bishop of Ostia, pope Urban II. i. 144. See Urban.
Odo, bishop of Bayeux, brother of William the Conqueror, earl of Kent, i. 141; left as justiciar in England in 1067, 116; overcomes earl Ralph in 1074, 131; devastates Northumberland in revenge for the murder of Walcher, 136; is imprisoned by William in 1082, in Normandy, ib.; but released by him before his death, 140; takes part with Robert against William Rufus, 141; ravages Kent and fortifies Rochester, ib.; besieged in Pevensey, 142; surrenders Pevensey and Rochester, ib.; loses his honours in England, retires to Normandy and becomes chief adviser to Robert, ib.
Odo, the seneschal, taken under papal protection, ii. 312, 313.
Odur, at the mouth of the Rhine, passed by the fleet, iii. 50.
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Offa, king of Mercia, his descent from Woden, i. 22; overcomes Beamred
Offa, king of Mercia—cont.
in 757, 7, 22; subdues the Hestingi, 9; conquers Kent, Wessex, and Northumbria; translates the relics of S. Alban, and pays a pension to the pope, 22, 27; wins the battle of Otford in 774, 23; beheads S. Ethelbert, 26; dies in 796, 15, 27; story of his daughter Eadburga, 18; was a benefactor of Worcester, 125.
son of Alfrid, taken from sanctuary at Lindisfarne in 750, i. 6.
Offaly, given to Hugh de Lacy, ii. 135.
Offelana, given to Hugh de Lacy, ii. 135.
Ogerstan, Gilbert, embezzles the Saladin tithe, ii. 354; is punished, ib.
Olaf. See Anlaf, Norway.
Oleron, Forz d', William of. See Forz.
Olacasto, claimed by the king of Navarre, ii. 127.
Olfard, Walter, a hostage of the treaty of Falaise, ii. 81.
Oliver, heretic, ii. 108.
Olney, isle of, meeting of Edmund and Canute at, i. 85.
Olveston, illness of William Rufus at, i. 145.
Orde, one of the kings killed by Swerre, iii. 272.
Ordgar, ealdorman of Devonshire, father of Elfritha, i. 62; dies and is buried at Exeter in 971, 63.
Ordmer, ealdorman, father of Edgar's wife, Ethelfleda, i. 62.
Ordulf, founder of Tavistock abbey, i. 67.
Orange, William of, captured at Dol, ii. 52.
Oriole, in Spain, iii. 178.
Oriz, E., G., and P., knights of Navarre, ii. 123.
Orkney, isles of, i. 88; conquered by Magnus of Norway, i. 154.
Ralph, bishop of, i. 192; his speech before the battle of the Standard, 193; represented the archbishop of York, 193.
Paul, earl of, allowed to return home

Orkney, Isles of—cont.
after the battle of Stamford bridge, i. 112.
Reginald, earl of, iv. 10.
Harold Mac Madit, earl of, invades Moray, iv. 10; flies before William the Lion, ib.; submits and goes home, ib.; failing to keep his engagements, he is taken to Edinburgh 11; returns to Orkney, ib.; is attacked by Harold the younger, ib.; flies from Orkney to the isle of Man, ib.; returns and kills Harold's men in Orkney, ib.; offers to buy Caithness, 12; refuses the king's terms, ib.
Orleans, Henry of Dreux, bishop of, divorces Philip from his wife, iii. 307; sent to Rome on behalf of the bishop of Beauvais, iv. 21; dies at Sienna, 25.
Berter of. See Berter.
Orm, father of Gamel, killed by Tostig, i. 107.
Oriz, Peter, holds Roba, of the king of Castille, i. 126.
Ortona, port of Venice, iii. 166.
Orvieto, Stephen of, legate of Norway, ii. 214.
Orwell, the Danes sail up the river, in 1016, i. 83.
Osbald, an ealdorman, burns Bearn, i. 10.
king of Northumbria for 27 days in 796, i. 15; flies to the Fiicts, ib.; dies an abbot, and is buried at York in 799, 17.
Osbern, bishop of Exeter. See Exeter.
a Danish leader, killed at Ashdown, i. 40.
Pentecost, flies to Scotland in 1052, i. 100.
Osbert, de Camera, witnesses the treaty of Falaise, ii. 82.
Osbert, Osbricht, Osbrioth; king of Northumbria in 854, i. 36; deposed in 867, i. 35; joins his rival Ella and attacks the Danes, 18; is slain, 38.
king of Northumbria, driven from his kingdom in 901, i. 51.

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Osburh, mother of Alfred, i. 35.
Osea, in Spain, iii. 178.
Oseville, Roger de, iii. 14.
Osgod, Glaipa, marries his daughter to Tofi Pruda, i. 92; is banished from England, 94; is in possession of a fleet at Up, 95; retires to Denmark, ib.
Oshere, under-king of Worcestershire, benefactor of Worcester, i. 125.
Oskitel, a Danish leader, winters at Cambridge in 875, i. 42.
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Oslac, cupbearer of Ethelwulf, father of Osburh, i. 35; his descent, 36.
caerdorman of Southern Northumbria, i. 57.
Osme, in Spain, iii. 178.
Osmer, his head cut off and shown as Edmund Ironside's at the battle of Sherstone, i. 82.
Osmod, ancestor of Offa, i. 22.
caerdorman, slain at Charmouth, i. 29.
Osmotherley, rights of the church of Durham at, ii. 70.
Osmund, bishop of Salisbury. See Salisbury.
Osney, Walter of Gant, canon of, ii. 118.
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Osred, king of Northumbria, i. 4.
Osred II., king of Northumbria in 788, i. 12, 26; deposed and exiled, 12, 22; taken and slain, 13, 26, 27.
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Osric, king of Northumbria, i. 4.
caerdorman of Hampshire, defeats the Danes, i. 37.
Ossory, given to Robert le Poer, ii. 134.
Ostia, George, bishop of, legate to England in 786, i. 11; Alberic, bishop of, legate to England in 1138, 196; holds a council at London, ib.
Hymbaldus, bishop of, ii. 137; becomes pope in 1181, ii. 264. See Lucius III.
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bishops of, have the right to consecrate bishops in the court of Rome, iv. 32.
Osulf, king of Northumbria, killed at Mçchiliwongtune in 758, i. 7; his son Elfwald succeeds in 779, 10.
caerdorman of Northern Northumbria, i. 57.
II. son of earl Eadulf, earl of Northumbria, i. 58; is expelled by Copsi, ib.; kills him, ib.; is killed, 59.
Oswald, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York. See York.
Oswald, king of Northumbria, i. 3; gave Lindisfarne to Aidan, 8, 45; his right hand preserved at Bamborough 10; Hexham church dedicated to, 12; his bones removed from Bardney, 51; his head exhibited at Durham in 1104, 162; monastery dedicated to him at Nestol, 186; church dedicated to him at Elvet, iv. 69.
Oswi, a noble thane killed at Rigmere, in 1010, i. 74.
Oswino, king of Northumbria, translated to Tynemouth by Ethelwin in 1065, i. 107; monastery of, at Tynemouth, 151.
killed at Eldon, i. 7.
Oswy, king of Northumbria, i. 3.
Otford, the Kentish men defeated by Offa, in 774 at, i. 23; Canute defeated by Edmund Ironside at, 83.
Otho I., emperor, marries a daughter of Edward the Elder, i. 51.
IV., emperor, son of Henry the Lion, and nephew of Richard and John; Richard gives him the county of York, iii. 86; exchanges it for Poictou, ib.; appointed by William the Lion his successor in the kingdom of Scotland, and to marry his daughter, 298, 299; the scheme objected to by the Scots, 299; agreed to by Richard, 308; he is to have Lothian, Northumberland, and Carlisle, ib.; objections of William to this, ib.;
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receives the county of Poictou, iv. 7; is a candidate for the imperial throne, 38; is elected king of Germany and crowned, 39; his war with Philip of Swabia, ib.; keeps Christmas 1198, at Westle, 79; is successful against Philip of Swabia, ib.; Richard leaves his jewels to, 83; received as emperor by Innocent III. and the Romans, 95; offers to help John against France, 96; demands Richard’s bequest from John and is refused, 116; defeats Philip of Swabia at Brunswick in 1200, 116, 117; obtains possession of Mentz, 122; is king in 1201, 162.
Othoel, master of the king’s son, lost at sea, i. 177.
Otranto, port in Apulia, iii. 166; Philip lands at, ib.
Otterington, rights of Durham over, ii. 71.
Otued, his land given to William Fitz-Aldelm, ii. 134.
Otuin, John; a friend of archbishop Geoffrey, forbids the dean of York to act, iii. 283.
Ouama, i. 7.
Oundle; archbishop Wulfstan buried at, i. 60.
Ouse, river in Yorkshire; Harold Haradrada sails up, i. 112; battle on the North side of, ib.
Ouse, river in Bedfordshire, i. 52.
Ovetane, in Durham, iii. 14.
Owen, king of the Welsh. See Wales.
Oxenhall, earthquake at, ii. 170.
Oxford; town of; withheld from Ethelfleda by Edward the Elder, i. 52; burnt by the Danes in 1010, 74; taken by Swein in 1013, 77; Canute holds a council in 1018 at, 87; council at, in 1065, when Tostig is banished, 108; Stephen renews his promises of good government at, 190; Stephen receives the news of the Scottish invasion at, ib.; arrests the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury at, 196; Oxford—cont.
the empress besieged at, 206; she escapes from ib.; surrendered to Stephen, ib.; council at, in 1177, when John is made king of Ireland, ii. 133; homage of the Welsh princes at, 133, 134; division of Ireland made at, 134, 135; Rhys ap Griffin, meets John at, iii. 23; council summoned to, on the subject of Richard’s release, 197.
Godstow, near, iii. 167.
John of. See Norwich, bishops of.
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Oxfordshire; ravaged by the Danes in 1011, i. 75; is part of Swein’s earldom, 96; visited by itinerant justices in 1176, ii. 87; and in 1179, 190.
Oximun, arrogant behaviour of William Longchamp at, iii. 142.
Oyri, Walter of; his valour at Acre, iii. 73.

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Paens, Hugh de, master of the temple, visits England in 1128, i. 184; leads an army to Palestine, 185.
Paganelius; holds Ludlow castle against Stephen, i. 193.
Paganus, Judex; taken prisoner at Cambrai, ii. 55.
Pageham, consecration of the bishop of London in 1108 at, i. 165.
Painel, Fulk, ii. 43.
Palatine, count, of the Rhine, one of the ten keepers of the gates of Cologne, ii. 200; an elector of the empire, iv. 38.
Conrad; Philip II. wishes to marry his daughter, ii. 224; is brought over to Richard’s interests, 232; does homage to him, 234.
Palatine—cont.
Henry, of Saxony, son of Henry the Lion, marries the daughter of the count Palatine, 225; is count Palatine in 1197, and goes on crusade, iv. 25; takes up his abode in Acre, 26; election of his brother Otho as emperor, 38; returns from Palestine and ratifies the election, 39; visits Richard at Andoli, 55.

Palencia, city of, in Spain, iii. 176.
bishop of; ambassador from the king of Castille to Henry II., ii. 120, 126, 129.

Palermo; reception of queen Johanna, at, ii. 95; her settlement dated at, 97; her departure from, in 1190, iii. 55; Henry III. and Constantia, crowned at, 270, 276; seizes the treasures of the Sicilian kings at, iv. 27.

Palestrina:
Mainfrid, bishop of, ii. 138.
bishop of, witnesses the relaxation of the interdict on Scotland, ii. 268.
Palmel, in Spain, iii. 46; taken by the emperor of Morocco, 175.
Palmere, island, passed by Richard, iii. 41.
Palmel, castle of, taken by Philip, ii. 345.
Pampeluma, see of, in Spain, iii. 176.
bishop of, ambassador from the king of Navarre to Henry II., ii. 120, 127, 129.
Pancorvo, claimed by the king of Navarre, ii. 127.
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Paris, archdeacon of Rochester, ambassador to Sicily, ii. 95.

Paris, besieged by the Danes in 886, i. 48; the siege raised, ib.; visited by Eugenius III. in 1147, 209; league of, against Henry II., ii. 46; queen Margaret bears a still-born child at, 136; mentioned in the peace of Yveri, i. 146, 199; Lewis VII. dies at, 197; Isaac Angelus studies at, 204; Arnulf of Lisieux retires to, 260; Geoffrey of Brittany dies at, 309; solemn reception of Longchamp at, iii. 150; Hugh of Durham over-takes the legates at, 194; Peter, brother of archbishop Geoffrey, was at, in 1193, 221; Arthur sent to, iv. 87; riot between the students and citizens at, 120; Philip grants privileges to the students, 121; visit of Margaret to, ib.; John and his wife visit Philip at, 164.

Maurice, bishop of, receives Longchamp with procession, iii. 150; dies, iv. 13.

Ferri de, captured at Gisors, iv. 56.

Parma, bishop of, made pope in 1068, i. 117.

Parmenole, island, passed by Richard, iii. 41.

Parret, river, i. 32.

Parthians, i. 64; ii. 320.

Paschal I., pope, i. 28.

Paschal II., pope, elected in 1099, i. 155; forbids lay investitures, 164; imprisoned in 1111, 167; reconciled with the emperor, ib.; dies in 1113, 172.

Pasey, castle of the earl of Leicester at, ii. 118; kept back by Henry II., ib.; demanded by Philip in 1185, 345; placed in the hands of Philip and Richard in 1189, 366; offered by the earl of Leicester as the condition of his liberation, iii. 278; surrendered, iv. 5; the earl attempts to recover, 60.

Passelari, spared in the massacre at Acre, iii. 128.

Patara, birthplace of S. Nicolas, iii. 159.

Pateshull, Simon, Northampton committed to him in the truce of Winchester, iii. 186.

Patern, St., bishopric of, at Llanbadarn, iv. 104.

Patrick, William, taken prisoner at Dol, ii. 51; Robert and Engersam, taken prisoners at Dol, 52; earl of Salisbury. See Salisbury.
Paul, abbot of S. Alban's, i. 146; took Tynemouth from the monks of Durham, ib.; dies at Setterington, ib. earl of Orkney. See Orkney.

Paulinus, archbishop of York. See York.

Pavia, Peter of, bishop of Tusculum, ii. 268.

William of, bishop of Porto, ii. 137.

Pavia, death of Edadbhal at, i. 19; taken by Charles in 774, 10.

Paxo, island, near Corfu, iii. 166.

Pazungos, claimed by the king of Navarre, ii. 128.

Peak, castle of, given by Richard to John, iii. 6; entrusted at the peace of Winchester to the bishop of Coventry, 136; and to queen Eleanor in 1193, 207.

Pec, Richard del, itinerant justice in 1179, ii. 191; is put in charge of Dublin in 1181, 253; has Bolsover in charge at the peace of Winchester, iii. 136.

Fechtwin, bishop of Whithern. See Whithern.

Pedreda, council at, i. 125.

Pedredesmutha, defeat of the Danes at, i. 32.

Fessi, grant of wine by Lewis VII. to the monks of Canterbury, to be received at, ii. 193.

Pembroke, Henry II. collects a fleet near, ii. 29; his family lands near, on his return from Ireland, 34.


Penalen, king Sancho of Navarre died in, ii. 122, 127.

Peniscle, in Spain, iii. 48, 178.

Peniscule, in Spain, iii. 49.

Penn, Edmund Ironside defeats the Danes at, i. 82.

Penwithsteort, doubled by the Danes, i. 69; and by Harold, 98.

Perche, Rotrou, count of, his wife lost in the White Ship, i. 177.

Rotrou, count of, father of Geoffrey, iii. 3; comes as messenger from Philip to Richard in 1189, 19; carries back Richard's answer, ib.; dies at the siege of Acre, 88.

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Geoffrey of, witnesses the treaty with Roderick of Connaught, ii. 85.

Geoffrey, son of Rotrou, count of, marries Matilda of Saxony, iii. 3; is with Richard at Messina, 57; dines with him on Christmas day 1190, 93; his rights secured by the peace of 1193, 218; adheres to Richard against Philip, iv. 54; arrangement of his fief, 150.

Perecastel, part of the Maurienne dowry, ii. 41, 45.

Perigord, count of, ravages Poictou in 1192, iii. 194.

Perigueux, Peter bishop of, arbitrator for Henry II. by the peace of Yveri, ii. 145, 198.

Peronne, city of, held as a pledge by the count of Flanders, ii. 267.

Ralph of, count of Vermandois, father of the countess of Flanders, ii. 266.

Pershore, Brichtego, abbot of, becomes bishop of Worcester, i. 89; Ethelwin Oddo, buried at, 103; Edmund abbot of, 139; Turstin abbot of, dies, ib.; Wido abbot of, deprived, 169.

Persia, once subject to Rome, ii. 357.

Persians, i. 64; crusade preached against, 152.

Persicus, master Justiciar of Sicily, ii. 97.

Perth, besieged by Eretchat, i. 217.

Pescarn, a port of Venice, iii. 166.

Peschiza, a part of Johanna's dower, ii. 96.

Pessi, William de, his report from Rome in 1192, iii. 193.

Peter, cardinal priest, legate to England in 1070, i. 122; attends council at Winchester, ib.; returns home, 123; the Hermit, goes on the first crusade, i. 152.

Leonis, the antipope Anacletus, i. 186; dies, 192.

Peter of Flanders, brother of count Philip, renounces his election to Cambrai, ii. 49; holds the county of Boulogne, ib.; marries the countess of Nevers, 99; dies childless, 49, 100.
Peter, cardinal of S. Chrysogonus, elect of Meaux, sent to enforce the marriage of Richard and Alesia, ii. 143; is at the peace of Yveri, ib.; attests it 146, 198; sent to preach to the heretics of Toulouse, 151; his management of them, 151, 152; his report of his mission, 155–160.

Peter, archdeacon of Lincoln, brother of archbishop Geoffrey, named by him to the deanery of York, iii. 221; was at Paris in 1193, ib.; Geoffrey gives him the archdeaconry of York, iii. 273; forbids the bishop of Lincoln to send Chrism to York, 287.

Peterborough, called Medeshamstede, i. 78; archbishop Elfric buried at, 96; Ethelric of Durham, retires to, 103; Kinsy buried at, 104; Wulfstan educated at, ib.

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Walterville, William, abbot of. See Walterville.

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Petri, Petrus, ambassador from the Spanish kings to Henry II. ii. 120, 129.

Pevenscy, Beorn and Godwin are in command of the fleet at, i. 95; Beorn drawn away by Swein from, ib.; William of Normandy lands at, 113; ii. 241; Odo besieged in, by William Rufus, i. 141; taken, 142.

Peverell, William, surrenders the castle of Houlme to Duke Robert, i. 148.

William, of Nottingham, commands at the battle of the Standard, i. 196.

Peverham, belonged to S. Cuthbert, i. 45.

Pharamond, king of the Franks, i. 183.

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John's homage for Poictou, 282; in 1184, accepts Baldwin as archbishop of Canterbury, and confirms the peace with his brothers, 288; proposal of marriage for him with a daughter of the emperor, 289; hindered by her death, 289; is in arms against his father in 1185, 304; surrenders Poictou to his mother, ib.; project of his marriage with Alesia revived, 308; affords protection to Richard de Vals, 313; is besieged by Philip in Châteauroux in 1187; 317; strikes up a sudden friendship with him against the wish of his father, 318; returns to his duty, ib.; takes the cross, 325; Philip insists on his marrying Alesia in 1188, 334; witnesses the assize of the Saladin tithe, 337; is attacked by the counts of Toulouse and Angoulême and the rest of his vassals, 338; takes Peter Scillon, ib.; invades Toulouse, 339; anger of Philip against him, 343; marches into Berri, 343, 344; takes William des Barres prisoner, 344; resigns his conquests in Toulouse, 345; does homage to Philip and offends his father, 355; Philip restores Châteauroux to him, ib.; is anathematized by the bishop of Albano, ib.; in 1189, conspires with Philip to attack Henry again, 362; meets him at la Ferté Bernard, ib.; and again between Tours and Azai, 365; terms of peace with him, 365, 366; meets his father's corpse, and blood flows from it, 367; attends the funeral, ib.

imprisons Stephen de Taronis, iii. 3; is invested as duke of Normandy, 3; meets Philip and makes alliance with him, 4; restores the earl of Leicester, 5; comes to England, ib.; provides for John, 6; seizes the treasures of Geoffrey Ritel, 7; and

is crowned, 8-12; punishes the rioters at the coronation, ib.; receives the fealty of his barons, 13; grants Sadberge to the see of Durham, ib.; sells Northumberland to Hugh de Puisset, 15; holds a council at Pipewell and fills up vacant sees and abbeys, ib., 16; nominates justices, ib.; obtains the power of remitting vows of crusaders, 17; sells church lands to their owners, 18; holds a council at London, 19; engages to start on crusade, 20; at Canterbury reconciles the archbishop with the monks of Cauterbury, 23; sells the Scottish homages, 25, 26; restores his mother's dower, 27; goes to Dover, ib.; and crosses to Calais, 28; reappoints justices, ib.; keeps Christmas 1189 at Bur, 30; in 1190 renew his agreement with Philip to start at Midsummer, 31; renews the appointment of justices, 32; obtains the legation for Longchamp, 33; goes into Gascony and takes the castle of William de Chisi, 35; goes to Chillon and issues regulations for his fleet, 36; meets Philip at Vezelay and accompanies him to Lyons, 37; goes to Marseilles, ib.; restores Sadberge to Hugh de Puisset, 38, 39; his diary from Marseilles to Salerno, 39-41; from Salerno to Messina, 54, 55; arrives at Messina, ib.; sends for his sister Johanna, ib.; lodges her at la Bagnara, 56; tries to make peace between his men and the citizens, in vain, 56-58; takes Messina, ib.; his agreement with Philip, 58-60; claims Johanna's dowry from Tancred, 61; negotiations and treaty with him, 61-65; reports this to the pope, ib. 66; fortifies Mategreifin, 57; repairs his ships at Messina, 71, 72; his
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penitence, 74; his interview with abbot Joachim, 75-79; gives the county of York to his nephew Otho, 86; keeps Christmas 1190 at Messina, 92; quells a tumult among the sailors, 93.

in 1191; quarrels with William des Barres, iii, 93; forgives him, 34; his extravagance, 95; sends to meet his mother and Berengaria, 95; visits king Tancred at Catania, 97; discovers the treachery of Philip and finally breaks off the engagement to Alosin, 98, 99; treaty with Philip, 99; demolishes Mategiffiin, 105; leaves Messina and goes to Cyprus, ib.; attacks and conquers the emperor Isaac, 106-110; marries Berengaria, 110; captures the emperor, 111; legislates for Cyprus, 112; captures the great ship of Saladin, ib.; arrives at Acre and sets up his engines, 113; is sick, ib.; disputes with Philip about Cyprus, 114; is comforted by the French, 117; attacks Acre on July 6, 118; accepts the surrender, 120; divides Acre with Philip, 121; tries to keep Philip from going home, 123, 124; pardons Conrad of Montferrat, ib.; makes Philip swear peace on his departure, 125; divides the prisoners, ib.; sends for Philip’s prisoners from Tyre, 126; quits Acre, 127; beheads his prisoners, ib.; crosses the river of Acre and marches towards Joppa, 128; wins the battle of Arsuf, 129; writes an account of the battle, 129-132; comes to Joppa, has a narrow escape from capture and repairs the fortresses, 133; Longchamp’s conduct and fall reported to, 155; determines to stay in Palestine, ib.; Philip plots against him at Rome, 166; and defames him in France, 167; gives Joppa to Geoffrey of Lusignan, 174; deserted by the French, 175, 179; keeps Christmas at Latroon, ib.

in 1192; fortifies other places, takes Darum and gives it to Henry of Champagne, 180; gives Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan, 181; goes to Acre and returns to Ascalon, 180, 181; advances as far as Beitnuba, 182; captures the great Caravan, ib.; relieves Joppa, 183; makes a truce with Saladin, 184; his journey homewards, 185; he is taken prisoner at Vienna, 186.

in 1193; is delivered to the emperor, iii, 194; account of his capture sent to Philip by Henry VI., 195; the news reaches England, 196; two abbots sent to find him, meet him at Ochsenfurth, 198; he argues his case with the emperor and settles his ransom, 199; resigns his kingdom to the emperor and receives it back as a fief, 202; letter of, to his mother, 208; measures taken for raising the ransom, 210-212; letter of the duke of Venice to, 213; has an interview with the emperor at Worms, 214; treaty of peace with him, 215-217; makes ecclesiastical appointments, 221; Henry VI. gives him the kingdom of Provence, 225; sends for his mother and ministers, 226; day fixed for his coronation and release, 227; keeps Christmas at Speyer, 228.

in 1194; Philip and John conspire to prolong his captivity, iii, 229; he engages the imperial counsellors on his side, 232; they urge the emperor to release him, 233; he is released, ib.; gives pensions to his German friends, 234; goes to England by Cologne and Antwerp, and lands at Sandwich, 235; arrives at Nottingham, 238; presses the siege, 239; receives the bishop of Durham, ib.; takes Nottingham, 240;
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hunts in Sherwood, ib.; holds a great council at Nottingham, 240-243; goes to Clipston, Southwell, Malton, and Geddington, 243, 244; to Northampton, 244; refuses to give Northumberland to William the Lion, 244; comes to Woodstock, and thence to Winchester, 246; is recrowned, 247, 248; again refuses to give Northumberland to William, 249; goes to Waltham, Portsmouth, and Stansted, sails from Portsmouth to Barfleur, 251; drives Philip from Verneuil, 252; takes Loches, 253; refuses to compel the barons of Poitou to peace, 255; prepares for battle with Philip, who flies, 265, 256; reduces Poitou and reports his victories to the archbishop, 257; makes a truce with Philip, 257-260; his treatment of the bishop of Durham, 261; annuls the grants under his old seal, 267; returns to Anjou, 267; gives licence for tournaments, 268; orders the restitution of archbishop Geoffrey, 273; annuls grants made by him as chancellor, 274; keeps Christmas at Rouen, 276.

in 1195; pardons John, iii. 286; and Hugh of Nunant, 287; is solemnly warned by a hermit, and does penance, 288, 289; restores the church plate offered for his ransom, 290; asks for the legation for the archbishop of Canterbury, ib.; receives a crown from the emperor, 300; meets Philip at Vaudreuil, 601; invades France, ib.; arranges terms of peace, 302; meets Philip at Verneuil, 304; makes a truce over Christmas, 305; keeps Christmas at Poitiers, 305, 308; makes an agreement with the king of Scots about the marriage of Otho, 308.

in 1196; meets Philip at Louviers, and agrees on terms of peace, iv. 3;

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seizes the estates of the sureties on Philip's resumption of hostilities, 4; has a visit from William Fitz Osbert, 5; invades Brittany, 7; forbids archbishop Geoffrey to resume the government of the diocese, 8; treats with archbishop Hubert about the resignation of the justiciarship, 13; fortifies the isle of Andely, 14; fines Robert de Ros, and hangs William del Espina, 15; keeps Christmas at Bur, 16.

in 1197; sends envoys to Rome to procure the relaxation of the interdict, iv. 16, 17; arranges matters with the archbishop of Rouen, 18; burns S. Valery, ib.; makes alliance with the French barons against Philip II., 18; invades Auvergne, 19; makes a truce for three years, 24; his assize of measures, 33; keeps Christmas at Rouen, 35.

in 1198; is summoned to elect an emperor, and sends representatives, iv. 37; obtains the election of Otho, 39; asks for a force of knights to fight in France, 40; is refused by Hugh of Lincoln, 40; exacts a carucage of five shillings on the carucate, 46; appoints Geoffrey Fitz Peter justiciar, 48; hears archbishop Geoffrey's cause at Andely, 51; his war with Philip renewed, 54; makes new alliances, 54; fights Philip near Gameges, and wins a great victory, 55-59; summary of his successes, 59, 60; treats for peace, 61; exacts carucage from the regular clergy, 66; makes a truce with Philip over Christmas, 68; story of his interview with Fulk of Neulliy, 76, 77; fortifies Buttevant, 78; keeps Christmas at Domfront, 79.

in 1199; meets Philip on the Seine, iv. 79; makes a truce for five years, which is immediately broken, 80;
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agrees on a form of peace, 81; is fully reconciled with John, ib.; goes into the Limousin to seize the treasure discovered there, and besieges Chaluz, 82; is wounded by Bertram of Gurdon, ib.; prepares for death, 83; pardons Bertram, ib.; dies, April 6, 84; verses on him, ib.; his body buried at Fontevraud, his heart at Rouen, and his intestines at Charroux, ib.; ii. 241.
Richard, logothete of Sicily, ii. 97.
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Rictrith, an abess, formerly queen, dies in 786, i. 11.
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Ripaut, Haimeric, captured at Champeni, ii. 55.
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Ripon, Roger, of, brings forged letters and poison from Rome for Simon of Apulia, iv. 15.

Ripon; Eardulf nearly killed at, i. 12; the church of, burnt in 948, 56; the only manor left to Geoffrey, in 1194, iii. 263; he gives the deanship of York to his brother at, 221.
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Rivau, William de, captured with his men at Champenni, ii. 55.
Roba, claimed by the king of Castile, ii. 126.
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mandy by his father's bequest, 140; divides his father's treasures in masses for his soul, and releases Ulf and Duncan, ib.; is supported by the English barons against William Rufus, 141; commits Normandy to Odo of Bayeux, 142; is attacked by William in 1090, ib.; yields to him the county of Eu in 1091, 143; joins him in besieging Mount S. Michael, ib.; and in his expedition to Scotland, ib.; makes terms between him and Malcolm, 144; deserted by William of Eu, 148; demands the execution of the treaty with William Rufus, ib.; calls France to his aid, ib.; goes on the first crusade, 152, 153; pledges Normandy to William Rufus, 162; kills Curberant at Antioch, 274; on his return in 1101, 157; collects a force for the invasion of England at Treport, 158; lands at Portsmouth and encamps near Winchester, makes peace with Henry I., ib.; visits him in England in 1103, 161; his subjects revolt to Henry I., 162; he visits him at Northampton in 1106, and renew his quarrel, ib.; is defeated and taken prisoner at Tenebrai, 163; sent to England, 164; his son William made count of Flanders, 182.

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Robert'sbridge, abbot of, sent in search of Richard, iii. 198; meets him at Ochsenfurt, 198; returns to England, 205.

Rocca Venais, Christian of Mentz confined at, ii. 195.

Roche, Oliver de, captured at Dol, ii. 52.

Roche Corbon, taken by Philip in 1189, ii. 364.

Rocheford, Hamund de, captured at Dol, ii. 52.

Rochemunt, William de, captured at Gisors, iv. 57.

Roches, les, captured by Richard, ii. 344; recovered by Philip in 1189, 365.

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Rochester, destroyed by the Danes in 841, i. 31; besieged by them in 885, 47; besieged by Ethelred in 986, 66; by the Danes in 999, 96; fortified by Odo against William Rufus, 141; taken by the king, 142; promised by the younger Henry to the count of Flanders, ii. 46.

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Godwin, taken prisoner at Canterbury in 1011, i. 75.

Gundulf, is at the council of Westminster in 1102, i. 160; dies in 1108, 165.

Ralph, abbot of Seez, succeeds Gundulf, i. 165. See Canterbury.
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Ernulf, abbot of Peterborough, elected bishop in 1114, i. 169; consecrated in 1115, 170; dies in 1124, 181.

John, archdeacon of Canterbury, made bishop in 1125, i. 181; is at the council of London in 1129, 185.

Walter, bishop of, assists at the coronation of the younger Henry, ii. 5; is excommunicated therefore, 6; attends a council at Woodstock, in 1175, 78; and at London in 1177, 121; attests the Spanish award, 130.

Walram, bishop of, joins in excommunicating the breakers of peace, 278; dies in 1184, 288.

Gilbert Glaunvil, bishop of, consecrated by Baldwin in 1185, ii. 304; preaches the crusade at Geddington, 338; comes out of Normandy to England, iii. 5; is at Richard's coronation, 8; witnesses the grant of Sadberge, 14; is at the council of Pipewell, 15; and at the pacification at Canterbury, 24; witnesses the treaty with Scotland, 26; mediates between John and Longchamp in 1191, 135; letter from pope Celestine III. to, 170; made a judge delegate in the case of archbishop Geoffrey, 171, 172; is summoned by Richard to Germany, 212; excommunicates John in 1194, 237; is at Richard's second coronation, 247; is at John's coronation, iv. 90; and at the Scottish homage at Lincoln, 141.

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Roger, Pauper, son of Roger of Salisbury, chancellor to Stephen, i. 196; arrested and carried to Devizes, ib.

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Rolleston, Roger, archdeacon of Leicester, judge delegate in the case of Geoffrey, iii. 285; dean of Lincoln, acts for S. Hugh as judge delegate in the Lambeth case, iv. 126; S. Hugh appears to, after death, 145.

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Ruffas, William, itinerant justice in 1176, ii. 88.
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**Vol. IV**
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