CONNECTIONS AND COLLABORATIONS BETWEEN CENTRES OF HISTORICAL WRITING IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON AND SOUTHWARK*

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THE manuscript commonly known as the *Liber de antiquis legibus* is of significant historical value.[1] It was first edited by Thomas Stapleton (1806–49) and published in 1846 by the Camden Society;[2] sections from the *Liber* were also translated into English and published by Henry Thomas

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[1] The *Liber de antiquis legibus* is kept among the records of the City of London Corporation at the London Metropolitan Archives, catalogue reference COL/CS/01/001/001. The title, *Liber de antiquis legibus*, is written in a hand of s. xiv ex./xv in. on a flyleaf at the front of the manuscript. The *Liber* is, however, a thirteenth-century book and there is no evidence that it was known by such a name then.

[2] *De antiquis legibus liber, Cronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum* [cited as *Cron. maior*.], ed. T. Stapleton, Camden Society, Series I, 34 (London, 1846). Stapleton was a more than capable editor who produced a generally accurate and thorough transcription of the manuscript. Unfortunately, however, his edition is altogether unsatisfactory. He re-ordered and omitted material without making this clear to the reader, there is no apparatus to the text, and in his 272-page introduction to the manuscript, Stapleton was more concerned to trace his family's descent from London's first mayor, Henry fitz Ailwyn, and from the barons Beaumont (his older brother Miles assumed the title of 8th Baron Beaumont in 1840 after a 333-year period in which the peerage had been in abeyance) than he was to shed any light on the history

Riley in 1863.[3] The *Liber* is most famous for its "action-packed" "Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London."[4] This chronicle, on fols. 63v–144v of the *Liber,* runs to about 50,000 words covering the years 1188–1274. It is, after the death of Matthew Paris in 1259 to its close fifteen years later, the fullest and most comprehensive British chronicle to have survived. The composer of the chronicle and compiler of most of the *Liber* was the London alderman Arnold fitz Thedmar (1201–74).[5] Descended from German immigrants, Arnold held several political offices in London beside that of alderman. He was sometime chirographer of the Jewish *archae,* keeper of the city's charters, and spokesman of London's German mercantile community.[6] He was, then, uniquely among thirteenth-century

and nature of the manuscript itself, to which he devoted only two pages of his "extraordinary and for the most part absurdly irrelevant" introduction. For a sympathetic and revealing portrait of Stapleton, see N. Vincent, *Norman Charters from English Sources: Antiquaries, Archives and the Rediscovery of the Anglo-Norman Past* (London, 2013), 26–67 (quotation from 30).

[3] *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London A.D. 1188 to A.D. 1274*, ed. and trans. H. T. Riley (London, 1863). Riley was a brilliant classicist who produced an accurate translation. His six-page introduction to the manuscript, however, did little to improve on Stapleton's efforts.

[4] C. M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200–1500* (Oxford, 2004), 42; "Cronica maiorum et uicecomitum Londoniarum et quedam que contingebant temporibus illorum" (*Liber,* fol. ii recto, *Cron. maior.,* 181). This title does not appear on fol. 63r as Stapleton suggests elsewhere (*Cron. maior.,* 1).

[5] "It seems probable that the author of this chronicle might be a person whose name was Arnaldus Thedinarius, or some near friend or connexion of that person" (*General Report of Commissioners on the Public Records* [London, 1837], 465–66, at 465); "there seem to be substantial grounds for believing that his [the author's] name was 'Arnald,' or 'Arnulf, Fitz Thedmar,' an Alderman of London" (Riley, *Chronicles,* viii); "historical collections mainly by and in the hand of Arnald Thedmar" (N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries,* 5 vols. [Oxford, 1969–2002], 1:22); the evidence of Arnold's authorship is "strong, but it is circumstantial and not conclusive" (A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550–c.1307,* 2 vols. [London, 1974], 1:509); Arnold "nowhere acknowledges authorship, but its [the book's] autobiographical element justifies the inference" (J. Catto, "Fitzthedmar, Arnold [1201–1274/5]," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*). For more on Arnold's career, see N. Fryde, "Arnold fitz Thedmar und die Entstehung der großen deutschen Hanse," *Hansische Geschichtsblatter* 107 (1989): 27–42; and I. Stone, "The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar" (D. Phil. thesis, King's College London, 2016), 21–42.

[6] *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews,* ed. J. M. Rigg (Lon-

British historical writers, at the heart of much of the action he described, and his chronicle affords valuable eyewitness testimony written very close in both space and time to the recorded events.[7] Most importantly, Arnold's chronicle is the oldest surviving British historical work written by a secular, civic author and was one of the first of this new kind of municipal historical writing in Western Europe.[8] The *Liber* was, therefore, almost certainly the first book of its kind produced in the British Isles.

This article will begin by examining a text found on fols. 34v–40r of the *Liber:* a historical account of the years 1135–1225. I have transcribed this account in the appendix.[9] Close analysis of this text reveals that in the compilation of the *Liber* Arnold used a manuscript now kept among the Cotton Collection at the British Library, Cotton Faustina A viii. Faustina A viii is a manuscript of Southwark Priory, an Augustinian house situated across the river Thames outside of London's medieval walls.[10] In fact, when this this historical account is studied alongside other material within the *Liber*, it becomes clear that Arnold actually made use of two texts within the Cottonian manuscript: the *Opuscula* of Ralph of Diss and the annals of Southwark Priory. In Faustina A viii the *Opuscula,* which were printed by Bishop Stubbs from another manuscript witness in his edition of Ralph's *Opera historica,* are found on fols. 52r–101v.[11] The Southwark annals are contained on fols. 120v–146v and they remain mostly unprinted.[12] The annals begin at the Nativity and are written up to the year

don, 1905), 1:127–8; "in hoc folio continetur que carte fuerunt in scrineo ciuium anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo, quod scrinium fuit tunc temporis in custodia Arnaldi Thedmari sub clauibus Roberti de Corenhalle et Roberti de Rokesle et Iohannis Addriani draparii" (*Liber,* fol. 159r, *Cron. maior.,* 253; Fryde, "Arnold fitz Thedmar," 27–28).

[7] Stone, "Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar," 100–106.

[8] Ibid., 131–57.

[9] Because of the deficiencies in Stapleton's edition, *Cron. maior.,* all quotations from and references to the *Liber* refer to the original manuscript. I have, however, cited Stapleton's edition as well.

[10] M. Tyson, "The Annals of Southwark and Merton," *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 36 (1925): 24–57, at 25–26.

[11] *Radulfi de Diceto decani Lundoniensis Opera historica* [cited as *Radulfi Opera*], ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1876), 2:176–285.

[12] The Southwark annals are cited below as *Ann. Southwark,* with reference to the manuscript folio. The fullest excerpts have been printed in Tyson, "Annals of Southwark and Merton," 45–57; and M. Brett, "The Annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and

1207 in a hand of s. xiii in.; thereafter they have been continued by a number of hands of s. xiii[1] up to the year 1240.[13] Having established that Arnold made use of a manuscript belonging to Southwark Priory to compile the *Liber,* this article will then show that after Arnold's death the monks at Southwark Priory used the *Liber* for a continuation of their annals to the year 1306. This continuation is to be found in a manuscript now kept at Oxford's Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 177.[14] The other main source used for this continuation was the *Flores historiarum,* which was, in fact, also used for the historical account on fols. 1–72v of the same manuscript, covering the time from the Creation to 464; indeed, Henry Richards Luard even counted Rawlinson B. 177 among his manuscript sources for his edition of the *Flores.*[15]

Any information that can be brought to light concerning the source material used in the compilation of a manuscript as significant as the *Liber de antiquis legibus* is, of course, to be welcomed, but having shown the ways in which Arnold used different sources available to him, and the ways in which his work was used as a historical source, one can then draw several more meaningful conclusions. In the first place, Arnold's use of Faustina A viii, and the subsequent use of the *Liber* by the compiler of Rawlinson B 177 at Southwark, reveals that there must have existed close connections in the thirteenth century between a lay centre of historical writing in London and the monastic scriptorium at Southwark Priory. It is easy to think of Arnold fitz Thedmar, a layman writing history within an urban setting in the age of great monastic chroniclers, as being a man apart from his contemporaries. That is, to an extent, true. But what is also true is that Arnold was very much part of a network of writers who used common sources and each other's texts to compose their own historical works. This study will build and in a small way improve upon over a century of scholarship which has placed the *Liber* within a complex web of manuscript

Merton," in *Church and City 1000–1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, ed. D. Abulafia, M. Franklin, and M. Rubin (Cambridge, 1992), 279–310, at 296–310.

[13] Tyson, "Annals of Southwark and Merton," 26–27.

[14] This continuation is contained on fols. 192r–286v of the manuscript. Material is shared with the *Liber* on fols. 243r–248v (see below, 224–27). The manuscript is catalogued in W. D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ partis quintæ fasciculus primus* (Oxford, 1862), 518–19.

[15] *Flores historiarum* [cited as *Flores*], ed. H. R. Luard, 3 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1890), 1:xxix.

transmission and circulation, involving texts compiled and composed by Ralph of Diss, Matthew Paris, and the historical writers at the monastic houses of Southwark, Waverley, Winchester, Worcester, Hyde, Merton, and Bermondsey. Second, it has recently been shown that the *Liber* soon made its way into London's communal archive, where it was used by famous medieval London writers such as Andrew Horn (ca. 1275–1328) and John Carpenter (†1442), and perhaps too by Robert Fabyan (†1513).[16] While it was there it was subsequently used by the noted antiquarian scholar Dr. Thomas Gale (1635/6–1702), who, in addition to being a good friend of Samuel Pepys, was at that time (1684) also the High Master of St. Paul's School in London; and the great theologian and author, Edward Stillingfleet (1635–99), archdeacon of London (1677) and dean of St. Paul's (1678), as well as holder of various offices at Temple Church and Serjeants' Inn.[17] There has hitherto been no evidence, however, that Arnold's chronicle was used as a historical source by any contemporary writers or by anyone outside of London. That the monks at Southwark Priory knew of Arnold's labours and chose to use Arnold's book to supplement the *Flores historiarum* tells us a great deal about the esteem in which they at least held Arnold's work. Finally, through close analysis of the way in which Arnold's historical narrative deviated from his identifiable source material, this article will conclude by shedding new light on the attitudes of one of the most important chroniclers of the thirteenth century.

The *Liber* is a manuscript of 167 folios, arranged in twenty-three quires, witnessing the hands of nineteen scribes (not including subsequent annotators). It contains much else besides the chronicle; it is the oldest of Lon-

[16] Stone, "Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar," 158–69, esp. 165.

[17] Gale added the following note to his transcript: "Ex Cod. MS^{o}. Guyldhall Lond. intitulatur liber Legum antiquarum (vel de aqua Thamisie) continent quaedam alia precedentium sed ea fere omnia sunt excerpta ex G. Malms. Hoc exemplar factum fuit anno MDCLXXXIIII^{o} mense Junio" (Cambridge, Trinity College MS Gal. O.10.3; M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue,* vol. 3 [Cambridge, 1902], 505, no. 1455). For Stillingfleet's transcription, see London, British Library Harley 690, fols. 1r–179v, especially the note that he copied it "ex codice manuscripto in archiuis ciuitatis Londinensis" (fol. 1r; cf. "ex vetusto Codice qui servatur in archivis Civitatis Londoniensis, descriptum," *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum with Indexes of Persons, Places and Matters,* 4 vols. [London, 1808–12], 1:406).

don's surviving civic custumals now kept at the London Metropolitan Archives,[18] and *inter alia* it contains

i. (fols. 1r–2r, 157r–159r, 163r–v) biographical detail of Arnold himself;[19]

ii. (fols. 3r–34v) a detailed history of Europe 400–1135, compiled from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*, interspersed, on fols. 7r–10v, with a hagiographical text of the life of Secundus the Philosopher and metrical lists of papal and imperial successions;[20]

iii. (fols. 34v–40r, transcribed in the appendix below) a continuation of William's historical account, compiled from two separate yet related sources, covering the years 1135–1225, with a narrower focus on events in Britain;[21]

iv. (fols. 40r–63r) some fourteenth-century annalistic additions, the earliest text of London's assize of buildings, and a series of lists filled with the names of English bishops, as well as sheriffs and mayors of London;[22]

v. (fols. 63v–144v) "The Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London";[23]

vi. (fols. 147r–156v) one of only two contemporary copies of the Statute of Marlborough along with selected statutes of Jewry;[24]

vii. (fols. 160v–161v, 162v) two songs.[25]

[18] Custumals listed in *An Introductory Guide to the Corporation of London Records Office*, ed. H. Deadman and E. Scudder (London, 1994), 9–10.

[19] Printed by Stapleton in an appendix to the chronicle, *Cron. maior.*, 238–42.

[20] Some of this is printed in full but it is mostly summarized by Stapleton in the appendix, *Cron. maior.*, 181–96.

[21] Printed by Stapleton in the appendix, *Cron. maior.*, 196–205.

[22] Printed by Stapleton in the appendix, *Cron. maior.*, 242–3, 244–51, 206–26. See also 175–77. As will be shown, the lists of English episcopal succession also provide evidence of Arnold's use of Faustina A viii.

[23] *Cron. maior.*, 1–173.

[24] Printed by Stapleton in the appendix, *Cron. maior.*, 226–38.

[25] These were not printed by Stapleton.

Notwithstanding the deficiencies in Stapleton's edition, his almost complete transcription of the manuscript has allowed scholars to place the *Liber* into a wider circle of manuscript transmission. Work on this topic began in earnest in the 1860s when Luard published his *Annales monastici*.[26] In the second volume of this series, Luard demonstrated that there existed a relationship between the annals compiled at the monastic houses of Winchester, Waverley and Worcester.[27] Luard believed that this relationship was based on common use by all three of these annalists of British Library Cotton Vespasian E iv. In 1879 Franz Liebermann developed Luard's thesis to show that, in fact, the connection between these three sets of annals was that they all, along with the Vespasian E iv manuscript, witnessed a lost common source, which he called *Wintonienses deperditi*.[28] Importantly, Liebermann brought the annals of Southwark Priory, as preserved in Faustina A viii, into this schema, by arguing that the Southwark annals were one of the sources witnessed in this lost common source, so that via *Wintonienses deperditi* the Southwark annals were witnessed in the annals of Winchester, Waverley, and Worcester. A few years prior to Liebermann's discoveries, in 1874, Luard had noticed in the second volume of his edition of Matthew Paris's *Chronica majora,* albeit unfortunately after "the greater portion of this present volume had been printed," that Paris's *Chronica majora*, too, shared material with the Southwark annals.[29] He believed that this showed Paris used the Southwark annals as one of his many sources, and he published the shared material in an addendum to the preface in this second volume.[30] In his subsequent edition of the *Flores historiarum*, Luard concluded that the Southwark annals were used by Paris as a source for the *Flores* both directly and indirectly (via the *Chronica majora*).[31]

Luard and Liebermann, then, both believed the Southwark annals in Faustina A viii to have been a source exploited quite extensively by his-

[26] *Annales monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1864–69).

[27] Ibid. 2:xxxvi–xl.

[28] *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen,* ed. F. Liebermann (Strasbourg, 1879), 173–202.

[29] *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora* [cited as *Chron. maj.*], ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols., Rolls Series (London 1872–83), 2:xxix n. 2.

[30] Ibid. 2:xlix–l.

[31] *Flores* 1:xxxvii.

torians across England. This was a conclusion unchallenged by Noel Denholm-Young, who, in 1934, published an article that placed the Hyde Chronicle, covering the period from the Creation to 1280, into this scheme.[32] The Hyde Chronicle, also unprinted, is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 91; contained, too, within this manuscript, on fols. 135r–141r, are a number of documents which Denholm-Young calendared.[33] In fact, almost ten years previously, in an article published by the Surrey Archæological Society, M. A. Tyson had first suggested that "an undiscovered earlier copy or parallel manuscript" of the Southwark annals may actually have been the source witnessed in the other manuscripts—certainly it was used by a historical annalist at Merton Priory (another Augustinian house outside of London)—and that the annals compiled at Southwark and Bermondsey Priories shared common source material independently of each other.[34] Furthermore, Tyson was the first to bring the *Liber* into this schema, noting that the *Liber*'s historical account 1135–1225 (iii above), too, bore further witness to the "influence" of the Southwark annals.[35]

[32] N. Denholm-Young, "The Winchester-Hyde Chronicle," *The English Historical Review* 49 (1934): 85–93.

[33] Ibid., 92–93 (appendix C). Denholm-Young calendared fourteen documents. Four of these documents (5, 10, 12 and 13), intriguingly, are also found at various points in the *Liber de antiquis legibus*, although the fact that some of the documents found in both manuscripts are addressed to different recipients (e.g., 10; cf. *Cron. maior.*, 67–69) suggests that two compilers had shared interests rather than a shared source. That said, the two provisions related to Jewry which Denholm-Young calendared (12 and 13) are not widely witnessed; indeed, the only other extant contemporary source containing both is the *Liber*, which might suggest use of a common source at some point. See *Cron. maior.*, 234–38; also *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et acta publica*, ed. T. Rymer, new edition, ed. A. Clark and F. Holbrooke (London, 1816), 1.1:489; *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1906–), *1266–72*, 598; *Select Pleas, Starrs and Other Records from the Exchequer of the Jews, A.D. 1220–1284*, ed. J. M. Rigg, Selden Society 15 (London, 1902), l–lv; and R. Huscroft, *Expulsion: England's Jewish Solution* (Stroud, 2006), 110–11.

[34] Tyson, "Annals of Southwark and Merton," 25, 30–31, 39. The annals of Merton Priory are found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 59, fols. 158v–180r [cited as *Ann. Merton*]. They cover the years 1066–1242 and remain mostly unprinted with sections published by Tyson and by Brett, "Annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton." The annals of Bermondsey Priory were printed by Luard in *Annales monastici*, vol. 3: *Annales monasterii de Bermundseia, 1042–1432* [cited as *Ann. Berm.*].

[35] Tyson, "Annals of Southwark and Merton," 32, 39.

There matters rested until in a collection of essays published in 1992, Martin Brett convincingly showed that there was a common lost source witnessed in the annals of the monastic houses at Southwark, Merton, and Bermondsey, as well as in the *Liber de antiquis legibus*.[36] This text he called the "London annals." Brett suggested that these lost London annals may have originated from Bermondsey Priory and that among the sources preserved within them was a text, itself now lost, which was exploited by Ralph of Diss in his *Opera historica*.[37] Furthermore, Brett proved that these lost London annals circulated much more widely than previously thought in and around London in the first half of the thirteenth century. Contrary to previous conclusions, Brett proved that it was actually these lost London annals, not the Southwark annals, which Matthew Paris exploited in both his *Chronica majora* and *Flores historiarum*. He also showed that the Southwark annals as we have them in Faustina A viii cannot have been the source used by the compiler of the *Annales Wintonienses deperditi*, which was in turn witnessed in the annals of the monastic houses at Winchester, Hyde, and Waverley (and via Waverley, the houses at Tewkesbury and Worcester); rather, it must have been the lost London annals.

It must be noted here that none of these sources preserves the full original text of the lost London annals. Nevertheless, it is clear that they were a historical source of not inconsiderable importance. But there remained something enigmatic about their employment in the *Liber*, which is immediately clear should one turn to the appendix of this article. Why did the first half of the historical account of the years 1135–1225 in the *Liber* seem to share so much material with the Merton annals (shown in italics), whereas in the second half of this section it seemed much closer to the Southwark annals (underlined)? Tyson referred, opaquely, to the "influence" of the Southwark annals, "either directly or through copies," on the *Liber*, and subsequently also concluded that a shared historical source was used to compile sections of the Merton annals and the *Liber*.[38] Brett noted that the *Liber*'s narrative "until 1213" contains "very little of substance which is not in Merton," but that in its account of 1214–16 "seems to be

[36] Brett, "Annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton."
[37] Ibid., 295–96.
[38] Tyson, "Annals of Southwark and Merton," 30, 32, 39.

abbreviating a source very close to Southwark."[39] This led him to conclude that "unless the *Liber* had two very similar sources, turning from one to the other more or less at random," this puzzle actually provided "further evidence of a set of annals near London which was neither the surviving text of Southwark nor Merton, though close to both."[40]

In fact, both Tyson and Brett were closer to the mark than perhaps either realized. Before progressing any further, however, attention should be drawn here to something which has hitherto gone unnoticed: namely that the *Liber*'s historical account was copied by two different scribes. The first section, copied by a scribe who wrote a *textualis libraria* hand of s. xiii^2, is found on fols. 34vb–36vb of the *Liber*.[41] It appears to have been copied in a single stint. These entries, which provide little more than an annalistic summary of the period, begin with the burial of King Henry I at Reading Abbey in 1135 and end with King John's crossing to Normandy, from Shoreham, in the summer of 1199.[42] After this entry, a scribe writing a *cursiva anglicana* hand of s. xiii^2, continued the account on fols. 36vb–40ra.[43] Again, this section appears to have been copied in a single stint. This hand is probably the hand of Arnold fitz Thedmar himself.[44] The first entry scribed by Arnold in this section notes John's marriage to Isabella of Angouleme in 1200.[45] His final entry records the return of Archbishop Stephen Langton to England in 1225 following an unsuccessful attempt to persuade King Louis VIII of France to return Normandy to the young King Henry III.[46]

[39] Brett, "Annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton," 293–94.

[40] Ibid., 294.

[41] For the script classifications, first suggested by Gerard Lieftinck and modified by Albert Derolez, see A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003), 20–24.

[42] "…qui, collecta multitudine magna militum et peditum et nauium apud Scorham, tercio decimo kalendas Iulii transfretauit in Normanniam" (*Liber,* fol. 36v [below, 241 n. 141]); printed wrongly by Stapleton as "iiij^{o} kalendas Julii" (*Cron. maior.,* 200).

[43] For Malcolm Parkes's "Anglicana," see M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500* (Oxford, 1969, rpt. 1979), xiv–xvii.

[44] Stone, "Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar," 33–35, 58–59.

[45] "Anno eodem desponsauit idem rex filiam comitis de Angelaum Isabellam nomine et fecit eam coronari in reginam apud Westmonasterium octauo idus Octobris" (*Liber,* fol. 36v [below, 241 n. 141], *Cron. maior.,* 200).

[46] *Liber,* fols. 39v–40r (below, 247), *Cron. maior.,* 205.

Of course, a change of hand is not of itself necessarily significant, but as is clear from reading the text in the appendix, and as has been noticed by scholars who have previously worked on this account, the first and second sections of this historical summary seem to be closer to two separate surviving manuscript accounts. Brett was correct: the lost London annals were undoubtedly used in the compilation of the *Liber,* but only in the first half of this historical account covering the years 1135–1199. But, as will now be shown, the second half of this account—divided from the first half not at 1213–14 as Brett indicated, but at 1200 and at the change of hand—made use of the Southwark annals as we have them in Faustina A viii. In short, two distinct yet related historical sources were used to compile this section of the *Liber*. Why the *Liber*'s original use of the London annals stops in 1199 is unclear; comparison of common material found in the other witnesses of the lost London annals suggests that they continued to at least 1223, and certainly the Southwark and Merton annals share material to 1240.[47] It cannot be that material has been lost from the *Liber* at this point, as this break at the year 1199 comes halfway down fol. 36vb. Instead, rather than representing a "more or less at random" switching between source material, it is most likely that Arnold's exemplar of the lost annals only went as far as 1199, and that at a point subsequent to his use of the London annals, Arnold obtained a manuscript belonging to the monks of Southwark Priory which he used to continue this account.

Let us begin our analysis of this historical account by turning to its first half, covering 1135–1199. Brett has already shown that none of the surviving witnesses of the lost London annals was the source from which this section of the *Liber*'s historical account was compiled. There is no need to reproduce his work here. Simply put, the numerous occasions on which the *Liber* shares material with the Merton annals only, and not Southwark or Bermondsey, make it clear that neither the Southwark nor the Bermondsey annals can have been the *Liber*'s source. But as Brett also showed, while this section is obviously very close indeed to the Merton annals, it is evident that the Merton annals were not the source either. This can be briefly shown by reference to two reports. The first is the account of the death of Thomas Becket in 1170: here the language of the *Liber* is actually much closer to similar notices in the Southwark and Bermondsey annals

[47] Brett, "Annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton," 288.

than it is to that of the Merton annals.[48] The second is the extended account of the 1179 harvest found in the *Liber,* the text of which is actually closer to that found in the *Ymagines* of Ralph of Diss than it is to that of the Merton annals.[49] In point of fact, the text of the historical account of the years 1135–99 in the *Liber* shares *some* of its readings with *all* of the other witnesses to the lost London annals, but *all* of its readings with *none*. So, unless Arnold used the annals of Southwark, Merton and Bermondsey—along with the *Ymagines* of Ralph of Diss—to produce a composite account on these folios, he must have used a common source independently of all of them. That common source must have been, as Brett argued beyond any reasonable doubt, a copy of the lost London annals.

Comparison of this section of the *Liber* with the text of the Southwark, Merton and Bermondsey annals shows that there is actually very little found in the three monastic annals, beyond ecclesiastical notices, which is

[48] Compare the *Liber*'s "et sanctus Thomas archiepiscopus predictus Cantuarie eodem anno impie occiditur" (*Liber,* fol. 35v [below, 237], *Cron. maior.,* 198) with the Southwark (underlined) and Bermondsey (italics) annals' notice that "*et eodem anno idem Sanctus* Thomas archiepiscopus *impie occiditur in ecclesia sua Cantuarie*" (*Ann. Southwark,* fol. 134vb; *Ann. Berm.,* 443). The Merton annalist has the noticeably different "Martirizatus est sanctus Thomas Cantuarie archiepiscopus in ecclesia Cantuarie" (*Ann. Merton,* fol. 164vb).

[49] See the text in the *Liber* shared with Ralph of Diss (underlined) and Merton (italics) "Et *ut annum* eundem, *annum benignitatis* et fertilitatis *intelligas*, uide qui sequitur; *post hyemis nimiam siccitatem, post asperos prunarum* incursus, post flatos aquilonales toto tempore uerno continuos, post fulgura discurencia circa medium regionis a partibus occidentis in oriente, repente placitus *imber idus Iunii faciem irrigauit agrorum, animos colonorum nullam spem reponencium* consternatos, *felici communicatione* resultans, fructibus arborum, fetibus animalium, qui nunquam prorsus deperierant, grata subministrans fomenta. Temptoriis itaque desuperi lapsa benignius semencia, radici unculis uix aliquantulum in nitentem, roris et pluuie succedaniis irrigationibus fecundata, restituit. Solarius quoque fomes intencior et prouenientibus fructibus per multa accommodus rura prius arancia ad tantam ubertatem ex insperato reduxit, *ut locis in pluribus septem spicas in uno culmo conspiceres. Euentu tali* sitis uobis *esse commonitum aliquid aliud subitum, insperatum, insolitum, tuis imminere diebus*" (*Liber,* fol. 35v [below, 237–38], *Cron. maior.,* 198; *Radulfi Opera* 1:436; *Ann. Merton,* fols. 165vb–166ra). See Brett, "Annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton," 293–96, where he also shows that the similarities between the lost London annals and Ralph's *Ymagines* probably derive from use of shared source, not direct copying.

not also found in the *Liber*. Presumably, then, Arnold exploited his source material quite fully. Notwithstanding the loss of the source, some brief points on its employment by Arnold can perhaps be ventured here. Several readings found only in the *Liber* improve on anything found in the other witnesses of these annals, perhaps evidence of intelligent revisions by Arnold.[50] The Merton and the Southwark annals contain several shared notices on the reign of Frederick Barbarossa which, one supposes, would have been copied from these lost annals.[51] It is perhaps surprising, therefore, that Arnold, descended on both his maternal and paternal side from German immigrants, discarded these notices when he came to compile his account, especially as he had previously made such extensive use of William of Malmesbury's reports on imperial/papal relations on preceding folios of his book.[52] It is also likely that those lost annals contained a report, *s.a.* 1176, of the commencement of work to build the new London

[50] Arnold, in contrast to the other annalists, explained who the Empress Matilda and Henry II were: "sciendum quod ista inperatrix fuit filia predicti regis Henrici, que defuncto imperatore marito suo nupsit Galfrido comiti Andegauensi" and "Henricus dux Normannie filius inperatricis predicte et comitis Andigauie uenit in Angliam" (*Liber*, fol. 35r [below, 235–36], *Cron. maior.*, 197; cf. *Ann. Merton*, fols. 162v–163r, 163vb). Arnold clarified what had led to rebellion against Henry II in 1172, "nam antea magna discordia orta fuit inter ipsos, qui ipsum ante at post in iram et furorem et ad arma et ad bella dense et indesinenter prouocauerunt," and he also explained the reason for the earl of Leicester's capture in 1173, "qui habuit gueram cum ipso rege" (*Liber*, fol. 35v [below, 237], *Cron. maior.*, 198; cf. *Ann. Merton*, fol. 165ra; *Flores* 2:86; *Ann. Southwark*, fol. 134vb; *Ann. Berm.*, 444). His account of the year 1189 made it clear that it was filial treachery that hastened Henry II's death, "unde prefatus Henricus secundus ultramodum motus in iram proprii sanguinis sui perturbatione in lectum incidit, ubi diem clausit extremum" (*Liber*, fol. 36r [below, 238], *Cron. maior.*, 199); cf. the paratactic "Orta est guerra inter Philippum regem Francie et regem Anglie Henricum secundum, et filius eius Ricardus comes Pictau' prius stetit cum eo. Postmodum uero in colloquio de Bonsmolins, presente et nolente patre suo, predicto regi Francie [Philippus *sic Merton*] fecit homagium et ipsi adhesit. [Eodem anno *adds Merton*] obiit Henricus secundus rex" (*Ann. Merton*, fol. 166vb; *Ann. Southwark*, fol. 135vb).

[51] *Ann. Merton*, fols. 164ra, 165va–vb; *Ann. Southwark*, fols. 134rb, 135rb.

[52] On fols. 11r–30v Arnold made use of chaps. 189–94, 263–66, 284, 286, 288–89, and 420–38 in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998–99). See also Stone, "Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar," 81–84, 176–78.

Bridge.[53] It is odd that a thirteenth-century Londoner failed to record this. In Arnold's own day, so much of London's trade depended upon this bridge which stood, too, as a visible symbol of London's wealth, power and development.

It is, furthermore, possible to highlight errors shared by the several manuscript witnesses of the lost London annals which must, therefore, have descended from the common source. For example, most regnal years for the reigns of Stephen and Henry II given in both the *Liber* and the Bermondsey annals are wrong.[54] Two dating errors found in the accounts of the year 1215 in the *Liber* and in the annals produced at Southwark, Merton and Waverley must, too, have originally stood in the lost annals. The first of which concerns the baronial entry into London on Sunday 17 May. In the *Liber* this is recorded thus: "Anno eodem reddita est ciuitas Londoniarum baronibus sexto decimo kalendas Iulii [16 June] in die Dominica ante horam primam."[55] Similar wording with the same dating mistake is found in the Southwark, Merton, and Waverley annals.[56] The second of these errors comes in the accounts of the sealing of Magna Carta, which happened, as is well known, on 15 June.[57] In the *Liber* and in the Southwark, Merton, and Waverley annals, this is dated incorrectly to 23 June, in words similar to the *Liber*'s "die Martis ante festum sancti Iohannis baptiste, facta est pax inter predictum regem et barones in prato qui [*sic*] uocatur Runmade."[58]

Should we now turn to the second half of the *Liber*'s historical account, 1200–25, it is immediately apparent that throughout this section are sev-

[53] "Hoc anno inceptus fuit pons lapideus London' a Petro capellano de Colecherche" (*Ann. Southwark,* fol. 135r [marginal insertion]; *Ann. Merton,* fol. 165va; *Annales monasterii de Waverleia, A.D. 1–1291* [cited as *Ann. Wav.*], in *Annales monastici* 2:240).

[54] E.g. "Anno Domini MCXXXIX [correct], et anno regni regis Stephani quinto [incorrect]" (*Ann. Berm.,* 435 and passim); cf. *Liber,* fol. 35r [below, 235], *Cron. maior.,* 197).

[55] *Liber,* fol. 37v (below, 243). Stapleton changed "Iulii" to "Iunii" without comment (*Cron. maior.,* 201).

[56] *Ann. Southwark,* fol. 140rb; *Ann. Merton,* fol. 172rb; *Ann. Wav*., 282.

[57] D. A. Carpenter, "The Dating and Making of Magna Carta," in idem, *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996), 1–16.

[58] *Liber,* fol. 37v (below, 243), *Cron. maior.,* 202; cf. *Ann. Southwark,* fol. 140rb; *Ann. Merton,* fol. 172rb; *Ann. Wav*., 282–83.

eral readings which together are not to be found in the Merton or Bermondsey annals but which are shared by the *Liber* and the Southwark annals *only*. These include the report in 1210 in which Arnold and the Southwark annalist both give the Cistercian redemption fine total as 33,333 marks,[59] and the accounts of the year 1216 in which only Arnold and the Southwark annalist report that Louis of France took castles at Reigate, Guildford, Farnham, Winchester, and Odiham, before he returned to Lambeth after his unsuccessful attempt on Dover,[60] only Arnold and the Southwark annalist name William Brewer as an attendee at Henry III's coronation,[61] and only Arnold and the Southwark annalist record that Louis took possession of Rye before crossing back to France.[62] Beyond what is shared by the *Liber* and the Southwark Annals, what Arnold did *not* record also suggests that he did not have access to the Merton annals (or a similar source) to compile this section of his historical account. For example, in 1216, the Merton annalist recorded that William Hardel, mayor of London, was second only to Robert fitz Walter in offering homage to Louis of France upon his reception into London.[63] This is not given in the Southwark annals and it would seem almost certain that Arnold, author of the "Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London," would have copied this had it been in his exemplar. In fact, this section of the *Liber* actually shares with the other witnesses of the lost annals nothing of note that is not found in the Southwark annals.

That is not to say, however, that it does not contain a considerable amount of material not shared with the Southwark annals. But this addi-

[59] *Liber,* fol. 37r (below, 241–42), *Cron. maior.,* 201; *Ann. Southwark,* fol. 138vb. Cf Merton's 33,332 (*Ann. Merton,* fol. 170vb) and Waverley's 33,300 (*Ann. Wav.,* 265). Bermondsey does have 33,333 (*Ann. Berm.,* 452), but it shares little else with this section of the *Liber*.

[60] *Liber,* fols. 37v–38r (below, 243), *Cron. maior.,* 202; *Ann. Southwark,* fol. 140v–141r.

[61] *Liber,* fol. 38r (below, 244), *Cron. maior.,* 202; *Ann. Southwark,* fol. 141rb. The Bermondsey annalist does not name William Brewer (*Ann. Berm.,* 454), and the Merton annalist names Philip de Albemarle instead (*Ann. Merton,* fol. 173ra). The Waverley annalist does name William Brewer (*Ann. Wav.,* 286) but cannot be the *Liber*'s source (see n. 59 above).

[62] *Liber,* fol. 38r (below, 244), *Cron. maior.,* 202; *Ann. Southwark,* fol. 141rb; not recorded by the annalists at Waverley or Bermondsey.

[63] *Ann. Merton,* fol. 172vb.

tional material is not found in the other witnesses of the lost London annals. What shall be argued in the final section of this article is that this material was composed by Arnold fitz Thedmar himself and it represents his own very personal recollection of a turbulent period in London's history.[64] For now, it remains to show that the text of the Southwark annals as we have them in Faustina A viii (and not another witness) was the source which Arnold used to compile the *Liber,* and to do this we turn to another section of the *Liber.* On fols. 48v–54v Arnold copied lists of the successions of English bishoprics.[65] That Arnold used a version of the *Opuscula* of Ralph of Diss can be quickly shown, and one example of many, taken from the list of the bishops of Worcester, should suffice to show the close relation between Ralph's text (underlined) and that in the *Liber*:[66]

> Beatus Theodorus archiepiscopus Cantuarie cum consensu Adelredi regis Mericorum[67] dioscesim Saxsulfi episcopi in quinque diuisi[t], cui episcopali sede in ciuitate constituta[68] Leogera; Cudwynum ad Licheffeldam; Edwynum ad Lindesim prouinciam; Edam ad Dorchecestram; Bosel ad Wygorniam ordinauit[69] episcopos.

Ralph's *Opuscula* are fully witnessed in three manuscripts: Faustina A viii, which Stubbs called *F,* and two others which Stubbs called *R* and *T.* They are also partly witnessed in Stubbs's *A* manuscript.[70] Arnold must have used Faustina A viii to compile his episcopal lists, and not Stubbs's *R, T, A,* or their descendants. It is unlikely that Arnold used *R,* because, as we have just seen, in the list of the bishops of Worcester the *Liber* and Faustina A viii both have "ordinauit," whereas *R* has "consecravit."[71] Stronger evidence that Arnold did not use *R,* however, is found in the various lists of the pre-Conquest bishops of Elmham. The *Liber,* Faustina

[64] See below, 227–34.

[65] *Cron. maior.,* 211–21.

[66] *Liber,* fol. 49r, *Cron. maior.,* 212; *Radulfi Opera* 2:200.

[67] "Mericorum" in the *Liber* and Faustina A viii, fol. 60v; "Merciorum" in *Radulfi Opera* and so corrected without comment by Stapleton in *Cron. maior*.

[68] Printed as "constituto" in *Cron. maior*.

[69] "Consecravit" (*Radulfi Opera* 2:200, with the variant "ordinavit" noted for Stubbs's *A* manuscript). "Ordinauit" is also found in Faustina A viii, fol. 60v.

[70] *Radulfi Opera* 1:lxxxviii, xcvii–xcix.

[71] See n. 69 above.

A viii, and Stubbs's *A* manuscript all have twelve names, whereas *R* has only ten.[72] The same list also reveals that *T* could not have been Arnold's source, as *T* omits the following gloss found next to the name "Herebertus" in the *Liber* and other witnesses:[73]

> Hic transtulit sedem episcopalem apud Norewycum.

Nor could Arnold's source have been Stubbs's *A* manuscript, as the following reading in the list of bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury in the *Liber* and in other witnesses of the *Opuscula* is omitted in *A:*[74]

> Deinde in tres parochias diuisa est: unam tenuit Adelwaldus, id est Schireburniam; alteram tenuit Athelmus, id est Wellensem ecclesiam; terciam Eadulfus, id est Cridiensem ecclesiam.

It is, however, in a series of shared errors that the most compelling evidence of Arnold's use of Faustina A viii is to be found. In their lists of bishops of Worcester, both the *Liber* and the Faustina A viii scribe omitted the episcopates of Walter de Gray and Silvester of Evesham (1214–18) after Mauger.[75] In their lists of bishops of Hereford, both Arnold and the Faustina A viii scribe mistakenly call Hugh de Mapenore "Walter."[76] At times, too, Arnold struggled to make sense of the text in the Faustina manuscript, as is shown in the following image:

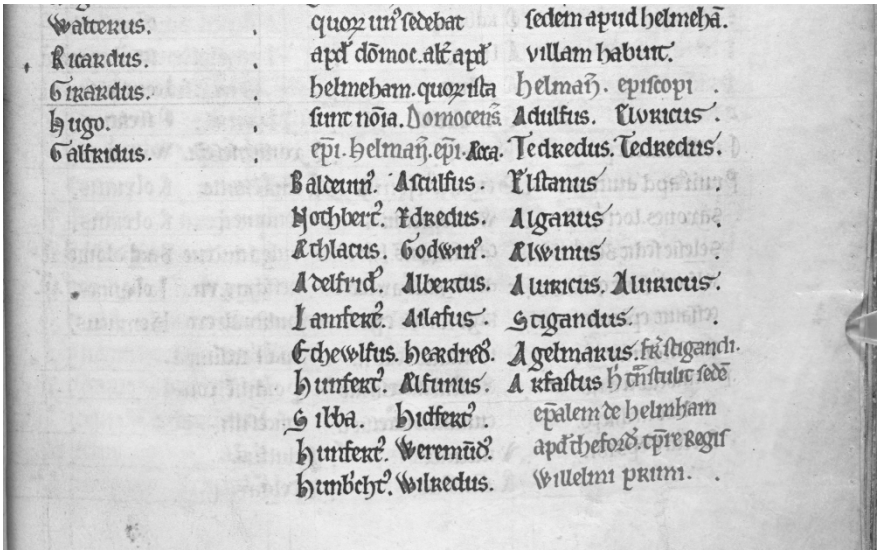
[72] *Liber*, fol. 51r, *Cron. maior.*, 216; *Radulfi Opera* 2:204; Faustina A viii, fol. 62r.

[73] *Liber*, fol. 51r, *Cron. maior.*, 216; *Radulfi Opera* 2:204; Faustina A viii, fol. 62v. Cf. British Library Cotton Tiberius A ix, fol. 32v.

[74] *Liber*, fol. 48v, *Cron. maior.*, 212; *Radulfi Opera* 2:199; Faustina A viii, fol. 60r.

[75] *Liber*, fol. 49r, *Cron. maior.*, 213; Faustina A viii, fol. 60v. Silvester was subsequently added in the margin of the *Liber*. These names were later additions to Ralph of Diss's original list and therefore do not appear in Stubbs's printed edition, *Radulfi Opera* 2:200–201.

[76] *Liber*, fol. 53r, *Cron. maior.*, 218–19; Faustina A viii, fol. 63r, again, a later addition and therefore not found in the list in Stubbs's edition, *Radulfi Opera* 2:206.



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London, British Library Cotton MS Faustina A viii, fol. 62r (detail)
(Reproduced with the permission of the British Library)

In perhaps 672, the bishopric of Dunwich was split into two: Dunwich and Elmham. As the image shows, it is not at all clear at the base of the centre column which of the lists contains the names of the bishops of Dunwich (actually those on the right of the centre column) and which the names of the bishops of Elmham (those on the left of the column).[77] Certainly, Arnold found this confusing, and when he copied these lists he did so incorrectly, reading those of Dunwich on the left and Elmham on the right.[78] Second, Arnold mangled the succession of the bishopric of Elmham after it was restored following the Danish conquests in the mid-tenth century. The names at the foot of the right-hand column, in correct succession,[79] should read

[77] *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. E. B. Fryde et al., 3d ed. (London, 1986), 216.

[78] "Domocenses episcopi: Baldeninus, Nothbertus, Atlacus, Adelfridus, Lamfertus, Ethewlfus, Humfertus, Sibba, Hunfertus, Humbrictus. Helmocenses episcopi: Acca, Asculfus, Edredus, Godwinus, Albertus, Ailafus, Heardredus, Alfunus, Hidfertus, Weremundus, Wlredus" (*Liber*, fol. 50v, *Cron. maior.*, 215).

[79] *Handbook of British Chronology*, 216, 243.

> Adulfus, Eluricus, Tedredus, Tedredus, Elstanus, Algarus, Alwinus, Aluricus, Aluricus, Stigandus, Agelmarus, Arfastus.

For some reason the Southwark scribe entered two names next to each other on the first, second, and sixth lines of the list in the right-hand column but only one name on the remaining lines. This led Arnold to copy the nine names on the left side of the column first, followed by the three names on the right, giving

> Adulfus, Tedredus, Elstanus, Algarus, Alwynus, Aluricus, Stigandus, Agelmarus, Arfastus, Eluricus, Thedredus, Aluricus.[80]

Third, the rubricated material at the foot of the right-hand column is actually two glosses: the first is a note "frater Stigandi" to "Agelmarus"; the second "hic transtulit sedem episcopalem de Helmham apud Theford' tempore regis Willelmi primi" to "Arfastus." Arnold mistakenly read it as one gloss which he copied as "predictus Agelmarus fuit frater predicti Stigandi et ipse transtulit sedem episcopalem apud Thefordiam tempore regis Willelmi primi."[81]

Arnold must, then, have had sight of Faustina A viii. When did Arnold obtain the manuscript? Throughout the lists in the *Liber* there is a consistency in the appearance of both Arnold's hand and the ink which suggests that the bulk of the copying was originally done in one stint, before some were extended by Arnold using a different ink and other scribes. This initial stint of copying can be dated with reasonable certainty to 1270, as Arnold knew that John le Breton had been consecrated bishop of Hereford on 2 June 1269;[82] he wrote that the archbishop of York, Walter Giffard, "sedit anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo";[83] and he was unaware of the death of Walter de la Wyle, bishop of Salisbury, on 4 January 1271, as is shown by his return to this list to note his death by supplying the word "obiit" over an erasure.[84] It requires no great leap of

[80] *Liber,* fol. 51r, *Cron. maior.,* 215.

[81] *Liber,* fol. 51r, *Cron. maior.,* 216; cf. *Radulfi Opera* 2:204.

[82] "Iohannes dictus Brito consecratus anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo nono" (*Liber,* fol. 53r, *Cron. maior.,* 219).

[83] *Liber,* fol. 54r, *Cron. maior.,* 220.

[84] "Walterus obiit [perhaps originally 'sedit'?] anno Domini milesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo" (*Liber,* fol. 49r, printed in *Cron. maior.,* 212, without reference to the erasure).

imagination to conceive how Arnold obtained the manuscript: Southwark Priory was situated just across the river from London, borrowing its manuscript would have presented Arnold with few difficulties. The relationship between Arnold and this priory was presumably good, as after Arnold's death, as will now be shown, the monks at Southwark sought out the *Liber*, which they used in the compilation of a second witness of the Southwark annals, Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson B 177.

Historians and cataloguers have long recognized that other sources besides the *Flores*, hitherto unknown, were employed in this continuation of the annals from 1240 to 1306.[85] It can now be shown that the other main source for the continuation of the Southwark annals in the Rawlinson manuscript was the "Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London" within the *Liber*. This is first evident with the report of the birth of a son, John, to the Lord Edward and his wife Eleanor in 1266. I have transcribed the entry from the Rawlinson manuscript below, and underlined the text shared with the reading in the *Liber:*[86]

> Pridie[87] idus Iulii uxor Domini Edwardi de nocte peperit filium suum primogenitum apud Wyndeleshore, et uocatus est Iohannes.

Thereafter the textual similarities come thick and fast until the last shared reading between the two manuscripts, noting the Council of Lyons in 1274, in which year, of course, Arnold ceased writing.[88] There is no need to reproduce all the shared readings when one or two examples should suffice to show the connections. The text below is that of the Southwark manuscript with the shared text of Arnold's book underlined:

[85] The manuscript's cataloguer wrote that other material had been added "hic et illic breviter" (*Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ partis quintæ fasciculus primus,* 519); according to Luard "it is a compilation from the Flores and other sources" (*Flores* 1:xxix); Denholm-Young wrote that "from 1246 to 1306 they [the annals] are an abbreviated version of the *Flores* with occasional independent additions" ("Winchester-Hyde Chronicle," 91); and Brett concluded that the Rawlinson manuscript's narrative "continues to 1306 from other sources" ("Annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton," 280).

[86] Oxford, Bodleain Library Rawlinson B 177, fol. 243r; *Liber,* fol. 99r–v, *Cron. maior.*, 87.

[87] "Secundo" (*Liber*).

[88] Rawlinson B 177, fol. 248v; *Liber,* fol. 143v, *Cron. maior.,* 172.

> 1268:[89] Postea in festo sancti Andree[90] obiit Clemens papa quartus. Et post obitum suum remansit sedes romana uacua per longum tempus quia cardinales, ad quos pertinet electio, fuerunt discordes; ita quod nullus papa extitit per tres annos et amplius.
>
> 1270:[91] Postea circa[92] festum Translacionis sancti Edwardi uenerunt rumores[93] Londonias quod rex Francie crucesignatus proficiscens uersus terram sanctam mortuus fuit in quadam insula in mari Mediterraneo sita et Sarracenis inhabitata, et quidam filius suus et multi magnates[94] qui secuti sunt eum cum[95] exercitu Christiano, qui relinquentes[96] in mari rectum iter uersus Acon uellificauerunt ad predictam insulam capiendam et ipsam intrauerunt, que insula ualde est opulenta, ut dicitur, et uocatur Tuniz.

Other readings too are instructive. When Arnold recorded the excommunication ceremony of 13 May 1270 he did not know the names of the bishops of Bath and St. Asaph; the Rawlinson manuscript has blanks for their names in its report too.[97] In addition, the Rawlinson scribe left a space blank on fol. 245v next to his account of the birth in Greenwich, in 1271, of a sheep with two bodies and one head, almost certainly to copy the drawing found on fol. 123r of Arnold's chronicle.[98]

It is easy enough to show that the Rawlinson scribe was copying Arnold and not vice versa. First, he wrote a later hand of s. xiii ex. Second, whereas the account of the years 1265–74 in Arnold's chronicle has been copied by several scribes in many different stints, the Rawlinson material has every appearance of having been copied in one stint as a fair copy. Finally, on occasions material from two distinct sections of Arnold's chronicle has been edited down into a single section of the Rawlinson manuscript. For example, in Arnold's chronicle, Robert Kilwardby's

[89] Rawlinson B 177, fol. 243v; *Liber,* fol. 113r, *Cron. maior.,* 110.
[90] Followed by "proximo preteritum" in the *Liber*.
[91] Rawlinson B 177, fol. 245r; *Liber,* fol. 121r, *Cron. maior.,* 125–26.
[92] "Post" (*Liber*).
[93] Followed by "apud" in the *Liber*.
[94] Followed by "et mediocres" in the *Liber*.
[95] "De" (*Liber*).
[96] "Reliquens" (*Liber*).
[97] Rawlinson B 177, fol. 244v; *Liber,* fol. 119v, *Cron. maior.,* 123.
[98] Rawlinson B 177, fol. 245v.

appointment as archbishop of Canterbury on 11 October 1272, and his consecration on 26 February 1273 were recorded by two different scribes writing in two stints very close to the time of the events themselves.

> 1272:[99] Circa iddem tempus uenerunt rumores Londonias quod prior ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis de Cantuaria electus in archiepiscopum, qui moram fecerat per aliquod tempus apud Romam sciens et intelligens se cassari eo quod dominus papa in examinacione sua ipsum non habuit pro sufficienti litterato, resignauit eleccionem suam. Vnde dominus papa contulit illam dignitatem cuidam fratri predicatori qui fuit prior prouincialis tocius ordinis sui in Anglia, Scochia et Walia, nomine Robertus de Killewareby.
>
> 1273:[100] Postea, prima die Dominica quadragesime, tunc temporis uicesimo sexto die Februarii, electus Cantuariensis nomine Robertus de Kylewareby consecratus fuit apud Cantuar' in cathedrali ecclesia Sancte Trinitatis; tunc fuerunt ibi presentes suffragani sui episcopi, scilicet: Laurencius de sancto Martino Roffensis, Nicholaus Wyntoniensis, Godefridus Wygorniensis, Ricardus Lincolniensis, Hugo Elyensis, Rogerus Norwycencis, Willelmus Batonensis, Rogerus Cestrensis, Walterus Exoniensis, electus uero de Salesberia nomine Robertus fuit presens. Et absentes fuerunt: Henricus Londoniensis et Iohannes Herefordensis propter infirmitatem eorum; Stephanus autem Cistrensis adhuc fuit apud Romam ubi missus fuerat per Ottobonum legatum pape, sicut prescriptum est.

These two entries were distilled into a single report in the Rawlinson manuscript copied by a single scribe:[101]

> Eodem anno cito post festum sancti Michaelis preteritum uenerunt rumores Lond' quod prior ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis in Cantuar' electus est in archiepiscopum, qui moram fecerat per aliquod tempus apud Romam sciens et intelligens se cassari eo quod dominus papa in examinatione sua ipsum non habuit pro sufficienti litterato, resignauit electionem suam. Vnde dominus papa contulit illam dignitatem fratri Roberto de Killewareby de ordine predicatorum, qui fuit prior prouincialis tocius ordinis sui in Anglia, Scotia et Wallia. Ipse uero postea prima dominica Quadragesime, tunc temporis uicesimo sexto die Februarii, fuit consecratus apud

[99] *Liber*, fol. 134v, *Cron. maior.*, 154–55.
[100] *Liber*, fols. 135v–136r, *Cron. maior.*, 157.
[101] Rawlinson B 177, fol. 247v.

> Cant' in ecclesia cathedrali Sancte Trinitatis. Tunc temporis fuerunt ibi presentes sui suffragenei episcopi, scilicet Laurencius Roffensis, Nicholaus Wyntoniensis, Godefridus Wygnorniensis, Ricardus Lyncolniensis, Hugo Elyensis, Rogerus Norwycensis, Willelmus Bathonensis, Rogerus Cestrensis, Walterus Exoniensis. Electus uero Sar' fuit presens. Et absentes fuerunt Henricus Lond' et Iohannes Herefordensis propter infirmitatem. Stephanus autem Cicestrensis adhuc fecit moram apud Romam ubi missus fuerat per Octobonum legatum pape sicut in hoc libro prescriptum est.

There can, then, be little doubt that very soon after Arnold's demise, the monks at Southwark Priory sought out the *Liber*. Hitherto, there has been no evidence that Arnold's labours as an author, compiler, and scribe had been noticed by other thirteenth-century historical writers, but it is now clear that the *Liber* was known to others in the thirteenth century as a valuable historical text. Moreover, very little indeed is understood about the level of cultural contacts, beyond testamentary bequests, between London's aldermanic elite and the monks of the abbeys and priories which ringed thirteenth-century London.[102] That manuscripts could move so freely between their respective centres of historical writing suggests another level upon which cultural exchange between the clerical and secular worlds of medieval London was maintained.

All that now remains is to explain satisfactorily why the *Liber*'s historical account of the years 1135–1225 diverges so much from its Faustina A viii source material from 1216 onwards. Indeed, this divergence is of such an extent that Arnold's account of the years 1216–25 must be taken, in the absence of an alternative identifiable source from which it could have been copied, as an original composition. Of course, many of these "divergences" probably represent nothing more than Arnold adding minor detail to entries from Faustina A viii, e.g., to explain why Henry III was

[102] One example would be Arnold's own bequests to the monks at Bermondsey Priory, interestingly Southwark's sister house, and to the Grey Friars of London: *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258–1688*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, 2 vols. (London, 1889), 1:22; C. L. Kingsford, *The History of the Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen, 1915), 163–65; J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London 1221–1539* (Münster, 2004), 418.

crowned at Gloucester and not Westminster,[103] and to make it clear why and of what Prince Louis was absolved.[104] It would, too, be foolish to suppose that the *only* source material available to Arnold to compile this account was the Southwark annals found in Faustina A viii. Arnold was born in 1201 and when composing this account later in life he would, therefore, have quite clearly remembered events from 1216 onwards—especially ones as dramatic as those he described. Moreover, through his various official positions in London, as alderman, chirographer, and custodian of the city's charters, Arnold clearly had access to the city records, something revealed in his accounts of the 1217 and 1225 reissues of Magna Carta,[105] and perhaps, too, in his account of the 1217 *forma pacis* between Louis of France and Henry III, "que quidem forma pacis," in Arnold's own words, "in omnibus sacramento prestito et litteris ex utraque parte fuit confirmata."[106] It would be easy to suppose that copies

[103] "… quia propter gwerram perseuerantem Londonias uenire non potuit" (*Liber,* fol. 38r [below, 244], *Cron. maior.,* 202; cf. *Ann. Southwark,* fol. 141ra; *Liber,* fol. 64r, *Cron. maior.,* 4).

[104] "Ipse uero Lodewycus et milites sui, qui ibidem presentes fuerunt, eodem die fuerunt absoluti. Nam antea dominus papa ipsum Lodewicum et omnes qui steterunt contra regem Anglie excommunicacionis uinculo innodauerat" (*Liber,* fol. 38v [below, 244–45], *Cron. maior.,* 203; cf. *Ann. Southwark,* fol. 141va). Occasionally, Arnold's amendments were less successful. Arnold, *s.a.* 1216, originally copied the Southwark annalist's "William of Cornhill, bishop of Chester" as an attendee at Henry III's coronation, which he then amended wrongly to "Chichester" (*Ann. Southwark,* fol. 141rb; *Liber,* fol. 38r [below, 244 n. 143], *Cron. maior.,* 202). I have found it impossible, too, to corroborate Arnold's claim that Henry III sent William Marshall, fifth earl of Pembroke, as one of the messengers to Louis of France around the time of his coronation in 1223, asking that he make good on his promise to return Normandy (*Liber,* fol. 39v [below, 247], *Cron. maior.,* 205; cf. *Chron. maj.* 3:77–78; *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum,* ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series (London, 1875), 197; and *Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia A.D. 1–1297* [cited as *Ann. Dun.*], in *Annales monastici* 3:81–82, 92–93, 100.

[105] Compare, for example, the *Liber*'s "que quidem carta quia dominus rex nullum proprium sigillum tunc temporis habuit propter minorem etatem, sigillata fuit sigillo predicti legati et sigillo domini Willelmi Marescalli Anglie senioris rectoris predicti regis et regni sui" with the 1217 Magna Carta "Quia vero nondum habuimus Sigillum Hanc Sigiliis Domini Legati predicti et Comiti Willelmi Marescalli Rectoris & Regni nostri fecimus sigillari" (*Liber,* fol. 39r [below, 245], *Cron. maior.,* 203; "Charters of Liberties," in *Statutes of the Realm,* vol. 1 [London, 1810], 19, 26–27).

[106] *Liber,* fol. 39r (below, 246), *Cron. maior.,* 204,.

of letters which confirmed the *forma pacis* would have been deposited in the London archive.

But if all Arnold wanted to do was provide a more detailed account of the years 1216–25, the Southwark annals provided him with an outline narrative which he could have followed in the way he had for the years 1200–1216, perhaps supplemented with additional material. He did not. Rather, he almost entirely dispensed with the Southwark annals' account of these later years, which tells us that his aim was something different. In fact, the text itself reveals Arnold's intent. First, he sought to explain why the 1217 *forma pacis* was not kept; in Arnold's own words, "quia nulla mencio facta fuit in hiis cronicis qua de causa predicta forma pacis non fuit in omnibus obseruata, ideo super hoc uos uolo certificari sicut patebit in subscriptis."[107] Second, to prove, by putting words into the mouth of King Louis VIII of France, that the *forma pacis* collapsed when officers of King Henry III hanged an alderman of London, Constantine son of Athulf, in 1222, and that the consequence of this action was the loss to the English Crown of Normandy and Poitou.[108] This execution was a shocking event at the end of a tumultuous summer month. In July 1222, a riot had broken out in London and Hubert de Burgh, justiciar and regent, had ordered Falkes de Bréauté, one of King John's "evil counsellors," to stamp out the trouble. This was the sort of work which Falkes got out of bed for in the morning: he had the ringleaders arrested and mutilated, took hostages from the city and fined the citizens heavily. During this riot, Constantine had supposedly proclaimed his support for Louis of France.[109] Falkes had him hanged immediately "sine iudicio."[110] Arnold would have been twenty years old when Constantine was hanged; he may well have known him,

[107] *Liber*, fol. 39r (below, 246), *Cron. maior.*, 204.

[108] "Quia rex Anglie formam pacis inter nos compositam quando fui in Anglia non obseruauit, suspendens ciuem Londoniensem sine iudicio Constantinum nomine filium Alulfi, eo quod cum aliis Londoniensibus michi adhesit, ideo non teneor illam composicionem pacis de cetero tenere. Set Normanniam cum terris adiacentibus, quas pater meus michi reliquid, uolo possidere, et ceteras terras regis Anglie cismarinas uolo perquirere pro posse meo" (*Liber*, fol. 39v [below, 247], *Cron. maior.*, 205,). See also "ita dictus rex Francie Normanniam cum pertinenciis et multas alias terras quas postea perquisiuit, possedit omnibus diebus uite sue et reliquid illas Lodewyco filio suo post eum regi Francie" (*Liber*, fols. 39v–40r [below, 247], *Cron. maior.*, 205).

[109] *Ann. Dun.*, 78–79; *Chron. maj.* 3:71–73, 77–78; *Flores* 2:176; *Ann. Wav.*, 297.

[110] *Liber*, fol. 64v, *Cron. maior.*, 5. See n. 108 above.

perhaps even they were friends. Whether that was the case or not, the summary execution of a London alderman by an unpopular, alien royal favourite scarred the collective aldermanic memory for a long time.

Arnold's claim that a king of France would justify his seizure of Poitou and Normandy by reference to an outbreak of disorder and summary justice in London might at first seem to stretch credulity. After all, the Southwark annalist made no mention of either the riot or the subsequent reprisals. Though Arnold's claim is supported by Paris,[111] most other chroniclers disagreed.[112] There is no evidence that Arnold had read these other accounts, but he seems to have known that other interpretations of these events were circulating, which is why he stressed that the *sole* justification Louis gave to Archbishop Langton, who had been sent by Henry to convince Louis to return the lands, was the hanging of Constantine.[113] But for Arnold's story to stand up he had to overcome some rather obvious difficulties. For example, Normandy had clearly been lost in 1204 to Philip Augustus and, following a period of civil war in England, as Arnold himself admitted, Louis had agreed to return the lands his father had seized when he became king.[114] Moreover, what business was it of the king of France if Henry III executed one of his own subjects?

Arnold easily overcame the first hurdle by not recording the loss of Normandy in 1204, notwithstanding the brief notice of these events in Faustina A viii.[115] What he also did was give Prince Louis good reason to have come to England in 1216, by laying the responsibility for England's slide into civil war at the feet of King John, and by showing that Louis was in no way an unwelcome aggressor. One way in which Arnold did this was by ignoring almost everything within the Southwark annals that offered a more balanced picture of John's reign. Unlike Arnold's *post hoc* account

[111] *Chron. maj.* 3:31, 77–78; 4:205–6.

[112] *Coggeshall,* 197; *Ann. Dun.,* 81–82.

[113] "Cum tale uero responsum [*sic*] habito *et non alio* recessit dictus archiepiscopus et uenit in Angliam" (*Liber,* fol. 39v [below, 247], *Cron. maior.,* 205).

[114] "Predictus uero Lodewycus concessit quod quam cito fuisset in regem Francorum coronatus, quod Normanniam et omnes terras transmarinas quas Philippus rex Francie pater suus Iohanni regi abstulerat, predicto regi Anglie restitueret" (*Liber,* fol. 39r [below, 246], *Cron. maior.,* 204).

[115] "Eodem anno Philippus rex Francie castellum de Andeleie, et castellum de Valle Rodali, at alia quedam castella obsidione adquisiuit. Item Rothomagus ei reddita est circa festum Omnium Sanctorum" (*Ann. Southwark,* fol. 137vb).

these annals were probably a contemporary record of John's reign.[116] Arnold was quite clear, writing about John, "multa mala et pessimas crudelitates fecerat."[117] A second way was to discard notices of events that were incidental to the story he was telling.[118] Thus the focus throughout this account remains relentlessly on John's misdeeds and exactions until the consequent outbreak of civil war. A third way was for Arnold to make additions and alterations to his text. For example, the Southwark annalist had written that war had broken between John and his barons because John "noluit iura sua que promiserat firmiter persoluere."[119] Arnold, keeper of London's charters and ever mindful of the authority such documents conveyed, strengthened the vague "iura sua" to "noluit permittere eos [the barons] uti libertatibus suis quas habuerunt per cartas predecessorum suorum regum Anglie."[120] Arnold also added that the barons, "licet fuissent de diuersis partibus regni Anglie, tamen omnes fuerunt uocati Norences."[121] This was more than just an intelligent improvement, it served to stress that the rebellion against John was geographically broadly based. The Southwark annalist, and indeed the Merton annalist too, had written "capta est ciuitas Lond' a baronibus Norrensibus" in 1215.[122] Arnold changed this to the much more consensual "reddita est ciuitas Londoniarum baronibus."[123] Another intelligent addition by Arnold, that to secure peace in 1215 John sealed Magna Carta, "que nuncquam fuit obseruata," also highlighted

[116] For example, Arnold has nothing on John's successes against the Welsh in 1211, nor on his reception "cum magno honore" into La Rochelle in 1214 (*Ann. Southwark*, fol. 139r–v).

[117] *Liber*, fol. 38r (below, 244), *Cron. maior.*, 202.

[118] For example, Arnold ignored the Southwark reports on the frost of 1205 and the eclipse of 1207. He also, extraordinarily for a London chronicler, ignored the notices of the fire in London in 1212 and the construction of a ditch outside London's walls in 1213 (*Ann. Southwark*, fols. 137v–139r).

[119] *Ann. Southwark*, fol. 140rb.

[120] *Liber*, fol. 37v (below, 242), *Cron. maior.*, 201.

[121] *Liber*, fol. 37v (below, 242), *Cron. maior.*, 201; cf. *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1872–73), 2:219: "quoniam ex aquilonaribus partibus pro parte majori venerant, vocati sunt adhuc Aquilonares."

[122] *Ann. Southwark*, fol. 140rb; *Ann. Merton*, fol. 172rb; cf. *Chron. maj.* 2:587; *Coggeshall*, 171; *Walteri de Coventria* 2:220.

[123] *Liber*, fol. 37v (below, 243), *Cron. maior.*, 201.

John's bad faith.[124] In addition, Arnold was quite clear that it was John who first sent overseas for mercenaries, and that "hac de causa" the barons sent for a foreign army under Louis of France.[125]

Having given good reason for Louis to be in England, Arnold now painted a very flattering portrait of the French prince. It is well known that Louis was popular with the Londoners, both during his time in England and after his return to France.[126] Arnold would have been fourteen years old when Louis first arrived in London; these were Arnold's salad days and Louis seems to have made a tremendous impression on him. The Southwark annalist might well write that Louis was bought off with seven thousand marks of silver in 1216; Arnold, however, chose not to record details such as that.[127] Arnold made the unique and remarkable addition that in 1217, despite two military defeats and desertions, Louis dug in his heels to obtain greater protections for his allies.[128] It was this which in turn

[124] *Liber*, fol. 37v (below, 243), *Cron. maior.*, 202,. It is intelligent because subsequent reissues of Magna Carta were never actually the same charter as was agreed in June 1215.

[125] *Liber*, fol. 37v (below, 243), *Cron. maior.*, 202.

[126] "Et sciendum quod predictus Lodewycus quando reuersus fuit in patriam suam mera liberalitate sua transmisit mille libras sterlingorum Londoniensibus quas ipsi ei accomodauerant" (marginal insertion, *Liber*, fol. 39r [below, 246 n. 145], *Cron. maior.*, 204; *Chron. maj.* 2:654, 3:31, 121; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office: 1227–72*, 14 vols. [London, 1902–38], *1227–31*, 383; *The London Eyre of 1244*, ed. H. Chew and M. Weinbaum [London, 1970], 81, 127).

[127] *Ann. Southwark*, fol. 141rb.

[128] "Et sciendum est quod idem Lodewycus potuit licite et secure repatriare et exire de Anglia sine aliqua obligacione cum omnibus suis si uellet permittere regem Anglie capere uindictam de Anglicis qui steterunt contra ipsum et patrem suum in predicta gwerra. Set ipse noluit quod aliquis qui ei adhesit fuisset extra pacem. Vnde ipse Lodewycus, per assensum Londoniencium et per assensum baronum et militum Anglie tunc cum eo presencium, qui uero fuerunt perpauci quia maior pars ipsorum capta fuit in conflictu apud Lincolniam, et plures contra sacramentum quod ei fecerunt quando uenit in Angliam recesserunt ab eo et adheserunt domino regi Anglie, assensum prebuit ad predictam pacem confirmandam sub forma subscripta, uidelicet: quod omnes transgressiones in predicta gwerra facte omnino sint condonate; et quod omnes prisones capti in conflictu Lincolnie et omnes qui capti fuerunt in mare ubi Eustacius dictus Monacus interfectus fuit, exceptis illis qui antea fecerant finem pro redempcione sua, sunt liberati et soluti" (*Liber*, fol. 38v [below, 245], *Cron. maior.*, 203).

gave Louis genuine cause to complain about Constantine's execution. The Southwark and Merton annalists pulled no punches in their accounts of Louis's invasion of Poitou in 1224:[129]

> Rex Francie Ludouicus dolo fraude circumuentione premeditatis, conuocatis ex inopinata excercitibus, Pictauiam aggressus est, occupans eam circa festum Assumptionis beate Marie uirginis, et sic dum suum non recte curat regie magestatis seruare sacramentum, ius attemptare non formidat alienum.

Arnold altered this to a much more sympathetic account:[130]

> Rex Francie Lodewycus predictus conuocatis excercitibus inopinate Pictauiam ingressus est, occupans eam cum terris adiacentibus circa predictum festum Assumpcionis beate Marie contra sacramentum quod fecerat quando pax facta fuit inter ipsum et regem Anglie.

Though Arnold did accept that Louis *had* broken his oath to return the French lands, he went on to allow Louis the chance to justify his actions.[131] Moreover, Arnold like many Londoners clearly held no brief for Falkes de Bréauté. By returning to the Southwark annalist's account of the seizure of Bedford Castle in 1224 by Falkes, and copying some of the unembellished criticism levelled at Falkes by the Southwark annalist into his narrative, Arnold was showing that those, such as Hubert de Burgh, who had supported and encouraged Falkes's behaviour in 1222 had sown dragon's teeth.[132] In fact, what Arnold was trying to do throughout this account, in a remarkable piece of historical writing, was to lay the blame for the loss of Normandy and Poitou fairly and squarely at the feet of John, Henry III, and his minority government.

It is, of course, possible that much of this account was copied from another unidentified source, or perhaps even several sources, and as such is not Arnold's own composition. But if not Arnold, who else was likely to

[129] *Ann. Southwark,* fols. 143v–144r; *Ann. Merton,* fol. 175r–v.

[130] *Liber,* fol. 39v (below, 247), *Cron. maior.,* 204.

[131] "Quia rex Anglie formam pacis inter nos compositam quando fui in Anglia non obseruauit . . . ideo non teneor illam composicionem pacis de cetero tenere" (*Liber,* fol. 39v [below, 247], *Cron. maior.,* 205,.

[132] *Liber,* fol. 39r–v (below, 246–47), *Cron. maior.,* 204–5. Cf. *Ann. Southwark,* fols. 143r–v; *Chron. maj.* 3:86–89; *Ann. Dun.,* 86–88; *Walteri de Coventria* 2:253–54; *Ann. Wav.,* 300; *Flores* 2:180–81.

have composed an account such as this? That well into the 1230s the Londoners had not forgiven the actions taken "sine iudicio" by royal officers in the summer of 1222 has long been known; Matthew Paris wrote that the citizens rejoiced in the fall of Hubert de Burgh in 1232.[133] Who else among contemporary historical writers, besides the London alderman Arnold fitz Thedmar, would have written so fully and forcefully about the unhappy fate of another London alderman? Moreover, when Arnold set down that he wanted to explain why the *forma pacis* was not kept, he very unusually indeed wrote in the first person, "super hoc uos *uolo* certificari sicut patebit in subscriptis," which certainly suggests that this was his own personal view. What now seems clear is that as late as 1270, when Arnold used the Faustina A viii manuscript to help him fashion this historical account, those memories remained raw.

This study began by showing that Arnold fitz Thedmar, an alderman of London probably working at the London Guildhall and compiler of what was almost certainly the first book of its kind to be produced by a layman in the British Isles, and the monks at Southwark Priory, a nearby monastery, used each other's manuscripts to compile their own historical works. In so doing, it revealed a new layer of cultural contact between Londoners and their monastic neighbours. It also added a little detail to over a century of scholarship on a circle of manuscript transmission based around a set of lost London annals. Perhaps the most important conclusion which can be drawn from this study, however, is that once the *Liber*'s source material for the historical account of the years 1135–1225 has been properly identified, it is possible to analyze closely the ways wherein Arnold diverged from his sources to compose an account in which he sought to explain why the kings of England lost Normandy and Poitou. Remarkably, it seems that as far as one Londoner was concerned, the most important factor was the illegal execution of a London alderman in 1222. If this explanation tells us nothing else, that one alderman of London could ascribe such far-reaching consequences to the untimely and unfortunate death of another London alderman, it tells us that the aldermanic elite of thirteenth-century London saw themselves as players on a stage much bigger than that contained by London's walls.

[133] *Chron. maj.* 3:224–26.

APPENDIX

Liber de antiquis legibus, fols. 34v–40r.[134]

[1135] Et *sepultus fuit* in Anglia in conuentuali ecclesia monachorum *apud Redinges* quam ipse construxerat.

De Stephano rege.

Mortuo Henrico rege predicto, *Stephanus comes Bolonie* filius sororis *eius audita morte eius transfretauit in Angliam, et a Willelmo Cantuarie archiepiscopo* inunctus *est in regem apud* Londonias *anno millesimo centesimo tricesimo quinto. Hoc anno ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londoniis conbusta est de illo igne qui accensus ad pontem Londoniarum et perrexit usque ad ecclesiam Sancti Clementis Danorum.*

Anno regni sui quinto *inperatrix* filia predicti regis Henrici *cum Roberto fratre suo comite Glouernie uenit in Angliam in festo sancti Michaelis.*

Postea anno regni sui septimo *captus* est idem *rex in bello* et ductus *ad* predictam *inperatricem et in* castello *de Bristoue* positus *in custodia. Tunc inperatrix a Londoniensibus et ab omni pene gente Anglorum suscepta est in dominam exceptis Cantensibus. Set* tandem *a Londoniensibus expulsa est in die sancti Iohannis baptiste* proximo sequenti. Sciendum quod ista inperatrix fuit filia predicti regis Henrici, que defuncto imperatore marito suo nupsit Galfrido comiti Andegauensi. Anno predicto *statim in* illa *estate obcessa est turris Londoniarum a Londoniensibus quam Willelmus de Magnauilla tenebat et firmauerat. Obsedit eciam inperatrix* castellum *Wintonie cum auunculo suo Dauide rege Scottorum et* predicto *fratre suo Roberto; set Willelmus Ypriensis et regina* regis Stephani *cum Londoniensibus fecerunt* eam *inde recedere. Captus est* tunc *Robertus comes* predictus *cum multis cuius sola* liberatione rex liberatus est; et *sic absolutus est uterque. Captus fuit* igitur *comes* predictus *in die Exaltationis sancte Crucis, et rex liberatus est in festo Omnium Sanctorum et* in *regno restitutus.*

[134] The text transcribed here from the manuscript (n. 1 above) has been printed by Stapleton in *Cron. maior.,* 196–205. Text shared with the Merton Annals is in *italics,* and text shared with the Southwark Annals is underlined; differences in word order, orthography, and other minor variants, e.g., word endings, are treated as shared text.

Anno sequenti *rex Stephanus obsedit inperatricem in Oxonia set* illa *tandem euasit.*

Postea anno regni sui nono *cepit rex Galfridum de Magnauilla in curia sua apud Sanctum Albanum post festum sancti Michaelis, qui ut liberaretur reddidit regi turrim Londoniarum et castella sua; ipse uero postea in Aduentu Domini fecit castellum ecclesiam de Rameseya.*

Anno sequenti *fuit maxima fames.*

Anno regis predicti quarto decimo translatus est *sanctus Erkenewaldus octauo decimo kalendas* Octobris apud Sanctum Paulum Londoniis.

Anno sequenti fuit *hyems maxima,* qui incipiens *quarto idus Decembris* durauit *usque ad* decimum *kalendas Marcii, et Tamisia sic congelata fuit ut pede et equo* transferetur.

Postea anno regni sui nono decimo obiit *filius* suus *Eustacius;* et *Henricus dux Normannie* filius inperatricis predicte et comitis Andigauie uenit *in Angliam in manu ualida* contra regem Stephanum bellaturus *infra octabas Epyphanie et castellum de Malmesberia obsedit et milites intus obcessos ad deditionem coegit.* Postea *facta est pax inter regem et* ipsum *ducem apud Wintoniam* octauo *kalendas Decembris.*

Anno sequenti *obiit Stephanus rex et sepultus est in* abathia de *Fauersham* quam construxerat.

De Henrico rege secundo.

Tunc predictus *Henricus dux Normannie audito* rumore de morte predicti regis *uenit Barbefluum et ibi per unum mensem uentum expectauit; et ueniens in Angliam septimo idus Decembris ab omnibus electus est,* et *apud Westmonasterium in regem* unctus *a Theobaldo archiepiscopo Cantuarie quarto decimo kalendas Ianuarii anno* gracie *millesimo centesimo quinquagesimo quarto.*

Postea idem rex anno regni sui quarto *duxit exercitum in Wallias ubi plures* de *gente sua perdidit, tamen Walenses sibi subiugauit.*

Anno sequenti idem *rex* coronatus est *apud Wigorniam* duo decimo kalendas May, et *post celebrationem diuinorum coronam super altare posuit nec ulterius coronatus est.* Eodem anno *noua moneta* creata *est in Anglia.*

Anno septimo regni predicti regis *Maria abbatissa filia regis Stephani nupsit Matheo comiti Bolonie*.

Anno octauo regni istius *obiit Theobaldus archiepiscopus Cantuarie.*

Et sequenti anno *Thomas cancellarius regis et Cantuarie archidiaconus consecratus est* in *archiepiscopum Cantuariensem tercio nonas* Iulii, *Dominica* proxima *post Pentecosten.*

Anno undecimo regni istius *Thomas archiepiscopus* predictus *subiit exilium orta discordia inter ipsum et regem* et omnis parentela sua expulsa est ab Anglia per preceptum regis.

Anno quarto decimo regni sui *Matildis filia* sua *nupsit Hendrico duci Saxonie* de qua genitus fuit Otho postea imperator Romanorum.

Anno septimo decimo regni sui *Henricus primogenitus filius* eius inunctus *est in regem apud Westmonasterium a Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo* nec tamen unquam regno potitus est; et *sanctus Thomas archiepiscopus* predictus *Cantuarie* eodem anno impie occiditur.

Anno uicesimo istius regis *captus est comes Laycestrie* qui habuit gueram cum ipso rege.

Anno uicesimo secundo *facta est pax inter* ipsum *regem et filios* suos; nam antea magna discordia orta fuit inter ipsos, qui ipsum ante et post in iram et furorem et ad arma et ad bella dense et indesinenter prouocauerunt. Eodem *anno Reginaldus comes Cornubie diem clausit extremum filius* scilicet *Henrici regis primi*, et *apud Redinge sepultus quiescit.*

Anno sequenti *Iohanna regis* predicti *filia*, scilicet *Henrici* secundi filii imperatricis, *transfretauit* Willelmo *regi Siculorum nuptura* septimo *kalendas Septembris*.

Anno uicesimo sexto regni istius *Lodowicus rex Francie uenit ad Sanctum Thomam in peregrinatione* per licenciam regis Anglie; *eodem anno coronatus est Philipus filius* predicti Lodowici adhuc patre suo uiuente. Et *ut annum* eundem, *annum benignitatis* et fertilitatis *intelligas*, uide qui sequitur; *post hyemis nimiam siccitatem, post asperos prunarum* incursus, post flatos aquilonales toto tempore uerno continuos, post fulgura discurencia circa medium regionis a partibus occidentis in oriente, repente placitus *imber idus Iunii faciem irrigauit agrorum, animos colonorum nullam spem reponencium* consternatos, *felici communicatione* resultans, fructibus arborum, fetibus animalium, qui nunquam prorsus deperierant, grata subminis-

trans fomenta. Temptoriis itaque desuperi lapsa benignius semencia, radici unculis uix aliquantulum in nitentem, roris et pluuie succedaniis irrigationibus fecundata, restituit. Solarius quoque fomes intencior et prouenientibus fructibus per multa accommodus rura prius arancia ad tantam ubertatem ex insperato reduxit, *ut locis in pluribus septem spicas in uno culmo conspiceres. Euentu tali* sitis uobis *esse commonitum aliquid aliud subitum, insperatum, insolitum, tuis imminere diebus.*

Anno regni regis predicto *obiit Lodowicus rex Francie* cui *successit Philippus filius eius* in regnum Francie; eodem anno *noua moneta in Anglia*.

Anno tricesimo regni sui *obiit Henricus rex iunior filius regis Henrici* predicti, numquam regno potitus, *tertio idus Iunii*.

Anno tricesimo secundo regni sui *Heraclius patriarcha Ierosolomitanus uenit in Angliam pro auxilia a rege postulando ad succarrendum terram* sanctam.

Anno sequenti *obiit Galfridus* [*comes Britannie*][135] *filius* predicti *regis* apud *Parisius* [*et ibi sepultus est*].[136]

Anno gracie *millesimo centesimo octogesimo septimo* [*capta est crux domini*][137] *a Saracinis in bello et abducta, rex* Ierusalem *captus est, et Acon et omnes fere muntitiones terre* sancte.

Anno sequenti *rex Francie et* predictus *rex Anglie* pace formata inter eos *cruces susceperunt* apud Gisoxium *et multi alii principes, archiepiscopi, episcopi et populus* innumerabilis *eundi* in terram sanctam.

Anno ultimo uite predicti regis *orta est* iterum *guerra inter* ipsum et predictum *regem Francie, et filius* suus *Ricardus comes Pictauie primo stetit cum eo* contra regem Francie. *Postmodum uero* idem Ricardus in parlemento de Beauesiu, *presente et nolente patre suo, predicto regi Francie fecit humagium et ipsi adhesit:* unde prefatus Henricus secundus ultramodum motus in iram proprii sanguinis sui perturbatione in lectum incidit, ubi diem clausit extremum *secundo nonas Iulii et sepultus fuit ad Fonteuerod*. Eodem *anno* extitit *magna fames et mortalitas hominum grandis*.

[135] Manuscript damaged; supplied from *Ann. Merton,* fol. 166rb.
[136] Manuscript damaged; supplied from *Ann. Merton,* fol. 166va.
[137] Manuscript damaged; supplied from *Ann. Merton,* fol. 166va. Marginal insertion: “crux.”

De Ricardo rege.

Predicto rege mortuo *successit* predictus *Ricardus filius eius in regnum* Anglie, *et coronatus est a Baldewino archiepiscopo Cantuarie tertio nonas Septembris apud Westmonasterium* anno gratie millesimo centesimo octogesimo nono. *Nocte sequenti facta est* maxima *strages Iudeorum in Londoniis et domus eorum ex magna parte igne sunt consumpte*.

Anno primo regni sui *Baldewinus archiepiscopus* Cantuarie *celebrauit consilium apud Westmonasterium undecimo kalendas Marcii*, ibique *ualedicens fratribus* uersus *Ierusalem iter arripuit*. Predictus *rex Anglie Ricardus et* predictus *Philippus rex Francie modico elapso tempore post Natiuatem sancti Iohannis* [*baptiste iter aggressi sunt eundi*][138] *Ierusalem et infinitus* [*popolorum numerus*][139] *cum* eis *crucesignatus*. Eodem anno *Willelmus Helyensis episcopus legationem adeptus est et septimo decimo kalendas Nouembris apud Westmonasterium consilium celebrauit*. Illo anno *obiit Fredericus imperator* Romanorum in itinere uersus Ierusalem, et predictus *Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuarie*, et *Ranulfus de Granuilia*.

Anno secundo regni sui idem *rex et rex Francie profecti sunt a Missena* uersus terram sanctam *ante Dominicam Palmarum; et* postea, undecimo *kalendas May, applicuit rex Francie ad Acon, et rex Anglie quarto nonas Iunii* ibidem applicuit; *postea capta est Acon, quarto idus Iunii* a Christianis. Eodem anno coronatus *est Henricus* filius predicti Frederici in *imperatorem a Celestino papa* quinto decimo kalendas Iulii. *Hoc anno Galfridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus Turonis consecratus* ueniens *in Angliam Doobernie* uenit, [*qui*][140] comperiens *sibi insidias preparari a conplicibus* Helyensis episcopi *cancellarii* regis *in ecclesiam se recepit; qui deinde a satellitibus predictis uiolenter abstractus in castellum Dowobernie ductus est et per aliquot dies* ibi *detentus donec a Iohanne comite fratre suo et ceteris iusticiis* regis *liberatus est*. Post breue spacium illius temporis predictus *cancellarius sublimitate quam prius habuit priuatus Dowoberniam uenit, qui dolose transfretare cupiens muliebri habitu se inreueranter occultauit;* quem *quidam comperientes eum deprehenderunt*

[138] Manuscript damaged; supplied from *Ann. Merton*, fol. 167ra.
[139] Manuscript damaged; supplied from *Ann. Merton*, fol. 167ra.
[140] Manuscript damaged; supplied from *Ann. Merton*, fol. 167rb.

et contumeliis affecerunt *et huiusmodi factum iusticiariis nunciauerunt: nec mora postea* idem cancellarius *transfretauit.*

Anno sequenti predictus *rex Ricardus grediens a Ierosolimis interceptus est in Allemannia a duce* de *Hostrice inter festum sancti Andree et Natale Domini et retentus ab imperatore Alemanie;* qui postea *redemptus* fuit pro *centum mille marcis sterlingorum. Ad quam redemptionem perficiendam uniuersi calices ecclesiarum per Angliam confracti sunt et conflati, preter illos qui redempti sunt cum aliis thesauris ecclesiarum*. Eodem *anno Hubertus Walteri Sarenses episcopus* factus *est archiepiscopus* Cantuarie *et intronisatus septimo idus Nouembris*.

Postea anno quinto regni sui *liberatus est* predictus *rex a potestate* predicti *imperatoris,* pridie *nonas Februarii,* et *tercio idus Marcii apud Sanwiz applicuit,* et *feria quarta post apud Londonias cum magno aparatu receptus est.* In kalendario *dies fuit mala quando* iste *rex fuit coronatus, dies mala quando suscepit crucem, dies mala quando exiuit de terra* sua uersus terram sanctam, *dies mala quando captus fuit in Almannea, dies mala quando liberatus est*. Postea idem rex, *quinto decimo kalendas May apud Wintoniam coronatus est* et *quarto idus* eiusdem mensis *transfretauit in Normanniam*.

Anno sexto regni illius regis predictus *Hubertus Cantuarie archiepiscopus secundo kalendas May suscepit legacionem tocius Anglie et Wallie et Scoscie et eciam Eboracensis ecclesie*.

Postea anno septimo regni illius *Willelmus cognominatus* “cum *Barba”* per procurationem Londoniensum *suspensus est octo ydus Aprilis, et cum eo nouem ex sociis eius*.

Anno sequenti *obiit* predictus *Willelmus Heliensis episcopus regis cancellarius kalendis Februarii.*

Postea anno nono regni ipsius, *circa festum sancti Michaelis,* mutate sunt *omnes carte quas* idem *rex prius fecerat nouo sigillo sue*.

Vltimo uero anno regni sui ipse *obsidens castellum de Chaluz uulneratus est a iaculo baliste in humero sinistro septimo kalendas Aprilis; qui statim postea diem clausit extremum septimo idus Aprilis apud Chaluz; et sepultus apud Fonteueraud ad pedes patris sui tertio idus* eiusdem mensis.

De Iohanne rege.

Predicto rege Ricardo pro dolor sic mortuo sine liberis *successit in regnum* Anglie *Iohannes frater eius*, cognominatus *Sineterra, et coronatus est a Huberto Cantuarie archiepiscopo sexto kalendas Iunii, scilicet* tunc temporis *die Assensionis apud Westmonasterium*, anno gratie *millesimo centesimo nonagesimo nono; qui, collecta multitudine magna militum et peditum et nauium apud Scorham, tercio decimo kalendas Iulii transfretauit* in Normanniam.

[141]*Anno eodem desponsauit* idem *rex filiam comitis de Angelaum Isabellam* nomine *et fecit* eam *coronari in reginam apud Westmonasterium octauo idus Octobris*.

Septimo anno regni sui *cepit* idem *rex terciam decimam partem* omnium *catallorum et aueriorum tocius Anglie, tam* de uiris *religiosis quam* de *laicis*.

Eodem *anno electus fuit apud curiam Romanam magister Stephanus de Langedone, pro qua eleccione rex motus* in iram fecit *expelli* omnes de ecclesia *Cantuarie monachos; et expulsi sunt sexaginta quatuor* in *una die*, scilicet *in festo Translacionis sancti Swythuni*.

Eodem *anno natus* est ei quidam *filius nomine Henricus in* festo *sancti Remigii*.

Hoc anno factum est interdictum generale in *Anglia a domino papa Innocencio tercio quia Iohannes rex noluit admittere* predictum *Stephanum archiepiscopum in sede sua* Cantuarie *neque monachos ad institucionem domus sue. Incepit autem interdictum nono kalendas Aprilis*.

Anno predicti regis nono *natus est* ei *filius*, sciiicet *in uigilia Epiphanie, et* uocatus *est Ricardus.*

Anno eiusdem regis decimo idem rex *captiuauit omnes Iudeos per totam Angliam et spoliauit eos usque ad sexaginta sex mille marcarum* argenti.

Item eodem anno destruxit omnes domos alborum monachorum per totam Angliam, circa festum sancti *Martini, ita quod predicti monachi per diuersas domos dispersi sunt; et annumerata est redempcio* eorum *usque ad*

[141] Change of hand.

triginta mille marcarum et tria mille marcarum et trecentas marcas et triginta tres *marcas*.

Hoc eciam anno fecerunt finem uersus eundem *regem omnes domus religionis per Angliam constitute*, tam *monachorum* quam *canonicorum, hospitalarum* et *templariorum circa Pascha*.

Anno predicti regis tercio decimo idem *rex* congregato excercitu *fere tocius Anglie* et Londoniensibus uenit *apud Doueriam*, tercio kalendas Maii, resistendo contra Philippum regem Francorum, qui ad monicionem predicti pape Innocencii magnum excercitum congregauerat in partibus suis ueniendi in Angliam super predictum regem Iohannem.

Vnde statim *facta est* concordia *inter dominum papam et* dictum *regem et iurata a* multis comitibus terre *hoc modo: quod* idem *rex recipiet bona pace Stephanum archiepiscopum Cantuarie et ceteros episcopos Anglie et restituet eis omnia ablata, et satisfaciet sancte ecclesie in omnibus, et clericis* et laicis, *et aliis quibus causa interdicti dampna illata sunt*. Idem uero rex obligauit regna sua Anglio et Hibernio reddendo inde annuatim *Romane ecclesie mille marcarum sterlingorum, scilicet pro regno Anglie septingentas marcas et pro regno Hibernie trecentas marcas;* et tunc *absolutus est* idem *rex prius tamen prestito iuramento* quod *in omnibus satisfaceret sancte ecclesie de ablatis restituendis*.

Anno predicti regis quarto decimo *relaxatum est* predictum *interdictum in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londoniis in die sanctorum Processi et Marcelliani, presente* ibidem *Nicholao apostolice sedis legato et Stephano Cantuarie archiepiscopo et multis aliis; quod interdictum durauit per totam Angliam per sex annos et per quatuordecim ebdomadas et tres dies*.

Anno quinto decimo *cruce signatus est* idem *rex a domino Willelmo Londoniarum episcopo in ecclesia Sancti Pauli* et quamplures magnates Anglie *in Capite* Quadragesime, tunc temporis *quarto nonas Marcii*.

Eodem *anno orta est gwerra inter* ipsum *regem et barones* suos, *circa festum Inuencionis sancte Crucis, quia* ipse *noluit* permittere eos uti libertatibus suis quas habuerunt per cartas predecessorum suorum regum Anglie. Qui uero barones, licet fuissent de diuersis partibus regni Anglie, tamen omnes fuerunt uocati Norences; *qui, in uigilia sancti Iohannis Ante Portam Latinam, defidere fecerunt* eundem *regem per quendam canonicum nigrum apud Redinges*. Ipsi autem fecerunt Robertum filium Walteri et

Galfridum de Maundeuile marescallos excercitus eorum, quem excercitum ipsi uocauerunt exercitum Dei.

Anno eodem reddita *est ciuitas Londoniarum baronibus sexto decimo kalendas Iulii in die Dominica* ante *horam primam nullo resistente nec ictum apponente; qui barones cum Londoniensibus confederati* sunt et iurati *se nullam pacem facturos cum rege sine assensu utriusque partis*. Postea, *die Martis ante* festum *sancti Iohannis baptiste, facta est pax inter* predictum *regem et barones in prato qui uocatur Runmade inter Stanes et Wyndleshoram, domino Stephano archiepiscopo mediante cum aliis* suis *coepiscopis suffraganeis:* et super hoc fecit idem rex cartam suam que nuncquam fuit obseruata.

Postea eodem *anno, post festum sancti Bartholomei, apud Stanes* captum est parlamentum ubi predictus *archiepiscopus et fere omnes episcopi Anglie et* predicti *barones conuenerant*, et fecerunt ibi moram *per tres dies continuos*. Idem uero *rex absentauit se et noluit* ibi *uenire*, set misit nuncios suos in partes transmarinas pro militibus et seruientibus ut uenissent cum equis et armis in Angliam bellaturi cum dicto rege contra dictos barones.

Et hac de causa ipsi barones miserunt pro Lodewyco filio primogenito Philippi regis Francie ut ueniret eis in auxilium et fecerunt ei securitatem et per cartas et per obsides missos ei ultra mare; et similiter et eodem modo fecerunt Londoniences.

Anno sexto decimo regni sui *applicuit* idem *Lodewycus apud Tanatos* in *Insulam septimo kalendas Iunii, qui* ueniens uersus Londonias cepit *castellum* de *Roucestria*, et, *die Iouis in ebdomoda Pentecostes*, uenit *Londonias et ibi cum magna processione in ecclesia Sancti Pauli receptus est; et* in crastino *barones et ciues* Londoniarum fecerunt ei *homagia apud Westmonasterium*. Postea multa castra uel reddita sunt ei uel ab eo capta, scilicet: castellum de Reigate, castellum de Geldeford, castellum de Farenham, ciuitas Wyntonie cum castro, castrum de Odiham. Postea ipse Lodewycus, die Lune post festum sancte Margarete, duxit magnum excercitum apud Doueriam et moram fecit in obsessione dicti castri per quindecim septimanas, set nichil adquisiuit; set recessit et uenit apud Lambeheth die Veneris ante festum sancti Leonardi, et, in festo sancti Leonardi, reddita est ei turris Londoniarum in hora uespertina. Postea ultimo anno regni sui, *quarto decimo kalendas Nouembris*, ipse *rex* dum portaretur super feretrum caballinum egrotus, ut dicitur, *obiit* inter *Stanford* et Muncerel, et ita

ipse qui cognominatus erat Sineterra obiit sine terra. *Regnauit autem in Anglia* idem rex *septendecim annis et mensibus quinque et diebus quinque* qui multa mala et pessimas crudelitates fecerat que non sunt scripta in libro hoc.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo sexto decimo.

[*H*]*enricus*[142] statim post mortem dicti regis, *in* festo *Simonis et Iude*, scilicet *filius* suus *primogenitus*, quia propter gwerram perseuerantem Londonias uenire non potuit, *coronatus fuit apud Glouuerniam*, presentibus ibidem *domino Gallo domini pape legato; dominis Petro Wyntoniensi, Iocelino Batoniensi, Willelmo* Cicestrenci[143] *episcopis; domino Willelmo Marescallo, comite de Ferrariis*, et Willelmo Briwere *et Isabella regina matre eius. Fuit autem puer* tempore *quo coronatus est etatis nouem annorum et uiginti* septem *dierum.* Postea predictus Lodewycus cum excercitu suo cepit castellum de Herteford et castrum de Berkamstede circa festum sancte Lucie; et tunc facte sunt treuge *inter* iuuenem *regem et* predictum *Lodewycum;* qui uero Lodewycus capta uilla de Rya in comitatu Susexie ibidem transfretauit. Postea *anno millesimo ducentesimo septimo decimo* uenit *iterum* dictus *Lodewycus* in Angliam *cum magno excercitu*.

Anno eodem, *in crastino sancti Dunstani, apud Lincolniam* regales et barones confliexerunt, ubi regales habuerunt uictoriam, *et capti sunt* de baronibus *numero duo et quinquaginta, et comes Percie occisus est*.

Eodem tempore *Eustacius* dictus *Monacus* dux excercitus predicti Lodewyci ueniens in Angliam per mare cum innumerabili populo peditum et equitum armatorum, qui *in mare* interfectus est antequam applicuisset, et omnes quos duxerat secum occisi sunt siue capti ab Anglicis.

Anno eodem, tercio idus Septembris, *facta est pax inter* predictum *regem Henricum et* predictum *Lodewycum* apud *Kingestonam per dominum Gallonem legatum* domini pape, existente ibidem et congregato per preceptum domini regis maximo excercitu militum et liberorum tenencium ab omni parte tocius Anglie, qui omnes fuerunt crucesignati in pectore per predictum legatum eundi super predictum Lodewycum et Londonienses et complices eorum. Ipse uero *Lodewycus* et milites sui, qui ibidem presentes fuerunt, eodem die fuerunt *absoluti*. Nam antea dominus papa ipsum Lo-

[142] A space is left for an illuminated H.
[143] Supplied over an erasure, originally “Cestrensis.”

dewicum et omnes qui steterunt contra regem Anglie excommunicacionis uinculo innodauerat, eo quod ipse rex fuit in proteccione domini pape, quasi firmarius suus de terra sua Anglie et de terra Hybernie per concessionem Iohannis regis patris sui, sicut prescriptum est. Et sciendum est quod predictus papa Innocencius tercius semper in litteris suis uocauit predictum regem Anglie uasallum suum.

Postea, nono kalendas Octobris, *uenerunt apud Mertonam dominus legatus, dominus*[144] *Lodewycus et* omnes *fere magnates Anglie, comes Britannie et multi alii de Francia* ubi *firmata est pax inter* ipsos. Et sciendum est quod idem Lodewycus potuit licite et secure repatriare et exire de Anglia sine aliqua obligacione cum omnibus suis si uellet permittere regem Anglie capere uindictam de Anglicis qui steterunt contra ipsum et patrem suum in predicta gwerra. Set ipse noluit quod aliquis qui ei adhesit fuisset extra pacem. Vnde ipse Lodewycus, per assensum Londoniencium et per assensum baronum et militum Anglie tunc cum eo presencium, qui uero fuerunt perpauci quia maior pars ipsorum capta fuit in conflictu apud Lincolniam, et plures contra sacramentum quod ei fecerunt quando uenit in Angliam recesserunt ab eo et adheserunt domino regi Anglie, assensum prebuit ad predictam pacem confirmandam sub forma subscripta, uidelicet: quod omnes transgressiones in predicta gwerra facte omnino sint condonate; et quod omnes prisones capti in conflictu Lincolnie et omnes qui capti fuerunt in mare ubi Eustacius dictus Monacus interfectus fuit, exceptis illis qui antea fecerant finem pro redempcione sua, sunt liberati et soluti.

Dominus uero rex Anglie concessit et carta sua confirmauit omnibus liberis hominibus regni sui omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines quas habuerunt tempore predecessorum suorum regum Anglie, cum augmentacione aliarum libertatum in predicta carta contentarum, que quidem carta quia dominus rex nullum proprium sigillum tunc temporis habuit propter minorem etatem, sigillata fuit sigillo predicti legati et sigillo domini Willelmi Marescalli Anglie senioris rectoris predicti regis et regni sui.

Dicta uero carta postea anno regni predicti regis nono fuit renouata et sigillo suo proprio sigillata, et tunc temporis idem rex fecit eis cartam de foresta per quam multum fuerunt alleuiati de grauamine et molescia; nam antea quilibet homo pro una fera capta fuit oculis uel uita priuatus, qui

[144] All instances of "Dominus" before Louis's name were subsequently erased from Faustina A viii.

postea pro tali transgressione fuerunt tantummodo incarcerati et grauiter redempti. Pro predictis uero cartis dedit uniuersitas Anglie tam clerici quam laici dicto regi *quintam decimam partem omnium mobilium* suorum.

In predicta uero pace concessit predictus Lodewycus quod ipse et omnes quos adduxerat in Angliam statim exeundi de Anglia festinarent nuncquam cum equis et armis in Angliam reuersuri.

Predictus uero Lodewycus concessit quod quam cito fuisset in regem Francorum coronatus, quod Normanniam et omnes terras transmarinas quas Philippus rex Francie pater suus Iohanni regi abstulerat, predicto regi Anglie restitueret. Que quidem forma pacis in omnibus sacramento prestito et litteris ex utraque parte fuit confirmata.

Post hoc dictus *Lodewycus* uenit *Londoniis* capiens licenciam a Londoniensibus et a boro qui ei adheserunt, et transfretauit in patriam suam.[145]

Vbi inueneris talem figuram[146] require residuum de hiis que contingebant temporibus predicti regis in cronicis in ultima parte huius libri scriptis de maioribus et uicecomitibus Londoniarum. Et quia nulla mencio facta fuit in hiis cronicis qua de causa predicta forma pacis non fuit in omnibus obseruata, ideo super hoc uos uolo certificari sicut patebit in subscriptis.

Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo uicesimo tercio mortuo *Philippo rege Francie coronatus est in regem Francorum* predictus *Lodewycus* filius suus.

Anno sequenti quidam alienigena nomine *Faukes de Briaute*, quem Iohannes rex cum aliis *alienigenis* fecit adduci in regnum Anglie, cui eciam dederat comitissam de Insula in uxorem cum omnibus possessionibus suis et multas terras ablatas a baronibus Anglie dederat ei, *contra regem et regnum et pacem* eius *et regni tranquillitatem castrum de Bedeford iure alterius fundatem et tempore* gwerre *pro uoluntate regis Iohannis alienatum, et alia que de dominicis regis et de terris baronum ui et uiolenter extorta possidere uidebatur, restituere contradixit et regiis mandatis obedire contempsit*. Vnde dominus *rex predictum castrum armis et armatis munitissimum obsedit* per plures septimanas, et tandem cepit et penitus in

[145] Marginal insertion: “Et sciendum quod predictus Lodewycus quando reuersus fuit in patriam suam mera liberalitate sua transmisit mille libras sterlingorum Londoniensibus quas ipsi ei accomodauerant.”

[146] Marginal insertion: .ʌ. A similar sign found on fol. 64r.

terra prostrauit *in uigilia Assumpcionis* beate Marie, *uniuersis cuiuscumque condicionis* in castro inuentis *suspendio interemptis*, numero plusquam sexaginta decem.[147]

Dum uero Henricus rex Anglie fuerit in obsidione dicti castri, *rex Francie Lodewycus* predictus *conuocatis excercitibus* inopinate *Pictauiam* ingressus, *est occupans eam* cum terris adiacentibus *circa* predictum *festum Assumpcionis beate Marie* contra *sacramentum* quod fecerat quando pax facta fuit inter ipsum et regem Anglie.

Vnde dominus rex statim misit ad predictum regem Francie nuncios solempnes, scilicet Stephanum Cantuarie archiepiscopum et Willelmum Marescallum Anglie iuniorem deferentes secum litteras domini regis. Cum autem constaret regi Francie de aduentu predicti Willelmi Marescalli prohibuit ne ipse ueniret in presencia sua uocans ipsum periurum et fidei sue transgressorem, eo quod ipse recessit ab eo quando fuit in Anglia contra sacramentum suum post mortem Iohannis regis Anglie et adhesit dicto Henrico regi filio suo. Veniente autem dicto archiepiscopo coram rege Francie et litteris regis quas tulerat lectis et intellectis, rex Francie sine aliquo colloquio cum consilio suo habito statim respondit, dicens "Quia rex Anglie formam pacis inter nos compositam quando fui in Anglia non obseruauit, suspendens ciuem Londoniensem sine iudicio Constantinum nomine filium Alulfi, eo quod cum aliis Londoniensibus michi adhesit, ideo non teneor illam composicionem pacis de cetero tenere. Set Normanniam cum terris adiacentibus, quas pater meus michi reliquid, uolo possidere, et ceteras terras regis Anglie cismarinas uolo perquirere pro posse meo."

Cum tale uero responsum habito et non alio recessit dictus archiepiscopus et uenit in Angliam; et ita dictus rex Francie Normanniam cum pertinenciis et multas alias terras quas postea perquisiuit, possedit omnibus diebus uite sue et reliquid illas Lodewyco filio suo post eum regi Francie.

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[147] Marginal insertion: "Predictus uero Faukes abiurans regnum exiit a terra."