## The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar

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#### **Abstract**

Arnold fitz Thedmar (1201-74) was a wealthy merchant and a second generation German immigrant who rose to the position of alderman and became the spokesman of the German merchants in London. He was also responsible for the production of a book which was the first of its kind in the British Isles. Arnold's book is most famous for its 'Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London': a unique lay source and the first British secular, civic chronicle. This chronicle recounts in compelling detail various events in the period between Magna Carta and the parliamentary state, when the country was torn apart by civil war, and when London was divided by internal strife and communal revolution. This chronicle, the original autograph of the author, accounts for roughly half of his book's 167 folios; also included within his book is a detailed history of Europe 400-1225, biographies, poems, songs and other material, written in Latin and French.

This thesis offers, for the first time, a complete transcript of the manuscript with a textual apparatus (printed in appendix i) and an extended commentary to the text. It also provides the first comprehensive introduction to the manuscript and the man who produced it. It shows, beyond any reasonable doubt, that Arnold was the compiler and composer of this book, and how Arnold went about this process – including a detailed study of his use of historical sources. This thesis also offers the first detailed analysis of Arnold's authorship, and places both the man and his work within the contemporary European culture of historical writing, and the literary tradition of medieval London.

#### **Acknowledgements**

My first and greatest debt is to my primary research supervisor, David Carpenter. The idea for this project was first floated by David in 2005 when I was an undergraduate at King's College London. This thesis would never have seen the light of day without David's support, encouragement, advice and belief at every step of the way. *Tibi gratias multas ago*.

I owe a great debt of thanks to Caroline Barron, my second research supervisor. Her encyclopaedic knowledge of everything London has been freely and generously available to me. Julia Crick has been, in many ways, a third supervisor to me, and I am grateful for her time and advice throughout the last three years; I owe her and Alice Taylor particular thanks for my humbling MPhil upgrade. This thesis was examined by Chris Given-Wilson and Nicholas Vincent. I am obliged to them both for their careful reading of the text and appendices, and for their many suggestions to improve this thesis. I am also beholden to Daniel Hadas, *magister optimus*, and to Richard Cassidy, who has helped me time and time again with *non subtilia sed utilia*.

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#### **Abbreviations**

Albus Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis; Liber Albus, Liber

Custumarum et Liber Horn, ed. H.T. Riley, 4 vols. (Rolls Ser.,

1859-62) i.

Ann. Berm. Annales Monasterii de Bermundseia, 1042-1432, Ann. Mon. iii.

Ann. Burton Annales Monasterii de Burton, 1004-1263, Ann. Mon., i.

Ann. Dun. Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia A.D. 1-1297, Ann. Mon., iii.

Ann. Lond. Annales Londonienses, Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I

and Edward II, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (Rolls Ser., 1882), i.

Ann. Merton The Annals of Merton Priory 1066-1242, Cambridge, Corpus

Christi College, MS 59 fos. 158v-180r.

Ann. Mon. Annales Monastici, ed. H.R. Luard, 5 vols. (Rolls Ser., 1864-

69).

Ann. Osney Annales Monasterii de Osneia, 1016-1347, Ann. Mon., iv.

Ann. Paul. Annales Paulini, Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and

Edward II, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (Rolls Ser., 1882), i.

Ann. Southwark The Chronicle of Southwark Priory A.D. 1-1240, BL Cotton MS

Faustina A viii fos. 120v-146v.

Ann. Tewk. Annales Monasterii de Theokesberia, Ann. Mon., i.

Ann. Wav. Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, A.D. 1-1291, Ann. Mon., ii.

Ann. Wig. Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, A.D. 1-1377, Ann. Mon., iv.

Ann. Wint. Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519-1277, Ann. Mon., ii.

Barron, London C.M. Barron, London in the Later Middle Ages: Government

and People, 1200-1500 (Oxford, 2004).

Bateson, Collection Bateson, M., 'A London municipal collection of the reign of

John', EHR, xvii, No. 67 (Jul., 1902), 480-511; EHR xvii, No. 68

(Oct., 1902), 707-730.

BL British Library

Carpenter, *Minority* D.A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990).

Carpenter, *Reign* D.A. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London, 1996).

CChR Calendar of Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record

Office (H.M.S.O., 1903-27).

CFR Calendar of the Fine Rolls of Henry III, Fine Rolls Project

Website.

Cheney, *Handbook* A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History, ed. C.R.

Cheney, new edn. revised. M. Jones (Cambridge, 2000).

CIM Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous Preserved in the Public

Record Office, i, 1219-1307 (H.M.S.O., 1916).

CM Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica

Majora, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols. (Rolls Ser., 1872-83).

Coggeshall Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum, ed. J.

Stevenson (Rolls Ser., 1875).

Councils and Synods Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the

English Church, II, i and ii, eds. F.M. Powicke and C.R, Cheney

(Oxford, 1964).

CPR Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office

(H.M.S.O., 1906-).

CR Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public

Record Office: 1227-72, 14 vols. (H.M.S.O., 1902-38).

Cron. Maior. De Antiquis Legibus Liber, Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum

Londoniarum, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Soc., 1846).

Cron. St Albans Chronica Monasterii S. Albani, ed. H.T. Riley, 12 vols. (Rolls

Ser., 1863-76).

Croniques de London depuis l'an 44 Hen. III. jusqu'à l'an 17

Edw. III, ed. G.J. Aungier (Camden Soc., 1844).

Crowland Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols.

(Rolls Ser., 1872-3), ii.

Cust. Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis; Liber Albus, Liber

Custumarum et Liber Horn, ed. H.T. Riley (4 vols., Rolls Ser.,

1859-62) ii and iii.

DBM Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and

Rebellion, 1258-67, ed. R.F. Treharne and I.J. Sanders (Oxford,

1973).

Diceto Radulfi de Diceto Decani Londoniensis Opera Historica, ed. W.

Stubbs, 2 vols. (Rolls Ser., 1876).

EHD English Historical Documents, 1189-1327, ed. H. Rothwell

(London, 1975).

EHR English Historical Review

Eyre, 1244 The London Eyre of 1244, eds. H. Chew and M. Weinbaum

(London Rec. Soc., 1970).

Eyre, 1276 The London Eyre of 1276, ed. M. Weinbaum (London Rec.

Soc., 1976).

*Flores Historiarum,* ed. H.R. Luard, 3 vols. (Rolls Ser., 1890).

Flores Southwark Annales Angliae ab Incarnatione Domini ad annum 1305,

Oxford, Bodleian Rawlinson B MS. 177 fos. 192ff.

Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Acta Publica, ed. T. Rymer,

new edn, ed. A. Clark and F. Holbrooke (Record Comm.,

1816).

Gervase The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, ed. W. Stubbs,

2 vols. (Rolls Ser., 1879-80).

Gesta Regum William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum, ed. and

trans. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2

vols. (OMT, 1998-9).

Gransden, Writing A. Gransden, Historical Writing in England c.550 - c.1307, 2

vols. (London, 1974) i.

Guisborough The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, ed. H. Rothwell

(Camden ser., lxxxix, 1957).

*HBC Handbook of British Chronology,* 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. eds. E.B. Fryde, D.E.

Greenway, S. Porter and I. Roy (London, 1986).

Historical Charters The Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the

City of London, ed. W. de Grey Birch, rev. edn. (London,

1887).

Howden, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hovedone*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols.

(Rolls Ser., 1868-71).

Jacob, Studies E.F. Jacob, Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform and

Rebellion, 1258-67 (Oxford Studies in Social and Legal

History, vol. viii, no. 14; Oxford, 1925).

Ker, Manuscripts, N.R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, 5 vols.

(Oxford, 1969-2002), i.

LBA-LBE Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved Among the Archives of the

Corporation of the City of London, 1275-1498, Books A-E, ed.,

R.R. Sharpe, (London, 1899-1903).

Maddicott, *Montfort* J.R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, 1994).

MGH SS Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores

Newburgh William of Newburgh, Historia Rerum Anglicarum in

Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, ed.

R. Howlett, 4 vols. (Rolls Ser., 1884-9) i and ii.

ODNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography online edition.

OMT Oxford Medieval Texts.

Riley, Chronicles Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London A.D. 1188 to

A.D. 1274, ed. and trans. H.T. Riley (London, 1863).

Rishanger The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the Barons' Wars

and the Miracles of Simon de Montfort, ed. J.O. Halliwell

(Camden Soc., 1840).

RLC Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londoniensi Asservati,,

ed. T.D. Hardy, 2 vols. (Record Comm., 1833-4).

Sheriffs List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the earliest times

to A.D. 1831, compiled from documents in the Public Record

Office, repr. (New York, 1963).

TCE Thirteenth-Century England

TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

Williams, London G.A. Williams, Medieval London from Commune to Capital

(London, 1963).

Wykes Chronicon Vulgo Dictum Chronicon Thomae Wykes, 1066-

1288, Ann. Mon., iv.

Wills Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting,

London, A.D. 1258-1688, ed. R.R. Sharpe, 2 vols. (London,

1889), i.

#### **Glossary**

Arnold fitz Thedmar referred to himself within his book variously as 'Arnulfus Thedmarus',¹ 'Arnulfus filius Thedmari',² 'Arnaldus Thedmarus',³ 'Arnaldus filius Thedmari',⁴ and 'Arnoldus Tedmar'.⁵ In this introduction I have employed the following methodology for translating names: 'son of' is used rather than 'fitz'; where surnames refer to identifiable English placenames, I have used 'of' followed by the place in its modern English form; where I have not been able to identify the place, I have retained the contemporary form preceded by 'de'; and identifiable places in France, Italy and Germany are given in their modern English form, preceded by 'de', 'di' and 'von' respectively. I have translated professional names into modern English, e.g. Ivo the Linendraper not Ivo le Lingedraper. However, I have not applied the above rules in cases where modern conventional usage dictates otherwise, or if someone's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* conflicts with this practice, e.g. I have given Hubert *de* Burgh not Hubert *of* Burgh. As such, I refer to Arnulf/Arnald/Arnold as 'Arnold fitz Thedmar', shortened to 'Arnold'.

In an essay on the organisation of the medieval book, Malcolm Parkes made great use of the vocabulary employed by medieval writers themselves, I have, for the most part, followed classifications found there.<sup>6</sup> I have used the terms 'scribe' and 'copyist' (and their verbal cognates) to denote the man, who, in the words of St Bonaventura (1221-74), 'aliquis enim scribit aliena, nihil addendo vel mutando'.<sup>7</sup> 'Compiling', done by a 'compiler', is the process by which material is selected, rearranged and organised for copying into the book. For various reasons, including the awkwardness of finding a noun substantive for the process of writing one's *own* material for a text, I have decided not to follow Bonaventura and use the term 'author' [auctor] for the man who did this; instead, I have chosen to call this activity 'composition' done by a 'composer'.<sup>8</sup> All of these terms are by no means mutually exclusive; when Arnold selected and arranged material for copying into his book, he was acting as a compiler; when he wrote the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 704.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 729.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. i.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 1133

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M.B. Parkes, 'The influence of the concepts of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* on the development of the book', in idem, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991), 35-70, at 58-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Bonaventura called him a 'scriptor', quoted in Parkes, 'Ordinatio and compilatio', 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Quoted in Parkes, 'Ordinatio and compilatio', 59.

chronicle, his family history or anything else which was original composition he was acting as a composer; and when he copied this or any other material into his book he was a scribe.

Each scribe has been numbered (1-19) according to the first appearance of their hand in the main text of the manuscript; scribes responsible *only* for marginal notations have not been classified. As we shall see, scribe 1, who wrote the hand most frequently witnessed in the manuscript was almost certainly Arnold fitz Thedmar. When a scribe embarked upon a stretch of continuous writing within the manuscript, this is described as a 'stint'. I cannot improve upon Parkes's distinction between 'script' and 'hand' so I shall just reproduce it here: 'a *script* is the model which the scribe has in his mind's eye when he writes, whereas a *hand* is what he actually puts down on the page'.¹ Where necessary scribal hands are classified as a 'script' according to the terms first suggested by Gerard Lieftinck and modified by Albert Derolez, with the addition of Parkes's Anglicana.² In dating the hands within the manuscript, 's. xiiiin', 's. xiii', 's. xiii', 's. xiii', 's. xiiiex', and 's. xiii/xiv' represent respectively the beginning, first half, the middle, the second half, the end and the turn of the thirteenth century.

I have chosen to use 'quire' to describe the grouping together of a small number of folios; and I have opted to use the plural 'folios' as opposed to 'folia', although do note that the word 'bifolium' (pl. bifolia) is employed to describe two folios formed of one piece of parchment.

Printed in the appendices is a complete transcription of 'The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar', with a textual apparatus keyed by Latin letters, along with brief biographies of several leading Londoners whose names appear in Arnold's book, but whose lives and careers will be unfamiliar to many readers. I have introduced paragraph numbers into the transcription. This introduction is keyed to the transcription by these chapter numbers (c. and cc.) and Greek letters, where necessary.

<sup>2</sup> Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands*, xiv-xvii; A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003), 20-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> M.B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500*, repr. (Oxford, 1979) xxvi.

#### The Manuscript

Kept among the records of the City of London Corporation at the London Metropolitan Archives is a manuscript of 167 folios.¹ Numbered '001' within the Corporation's collection of London custumals, it is the oldest of its kind amid these valuable records.² It measures 245 x 170 mm and remains in its medieval binding of wooden boards covered in white leather, upon which can still be seen the vestiges of two formerly-attached strap and pin fastenings. On the first of four medieval fly-leaves at the front of the manuscript, a hand of s. xivex/xvin has written 'De Antiquis Legibus Liber' (The Book of Old Laws), by which name the manuscript is now commonly known.³ However, this is a thirteenth-century codex and there is no evidence that it was known by such a name then. This thesis will, therefore, call the manuscript after its compiler, the London alderman, Arnold fitz Thedmar.⁴

'The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar' was almost certainly the first book of its kind produced in the British Isles. Certainly it is the oldest to have survived. In its current form, it is a manuscript of twenty-three quires, the printed text of which runs to just over 100,000 words. Table 1 (overleaf) provides an at-a-glance summary of the book's contents. On the remaining fly-leaves at the start of the manuscript are found a contemporary table of contents (unusually for this time, a part of the book itself rather than added in a separate booklet at a later date),<sup>5</sup> and the continuation of an account, begun at the end of the book, which sets forth Arnold's financial contributions towards certain royal demands for money between 1265 and 1274.6 Thereafter, on fos. 3r-34v, one finds a detailed history of Europe from 400-1135, deftly compiled from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, interspersed, on fos. 7r-10v, with a hagiographical text of the life of Secundus the Philosopher and metrical lists of the papal and imperial succession. This history as a whole is presented in two clearly distinct ways: in cc. 55-62 (fos. 3r-7r) preternatural subject matter was chosen from three books of the Gesta Regum for its thematic consistency; in contrast, cc. 70-156 (fos. 11r-34v) offer a fairly comprehensive chronological European history. The Gesta Regum was of no use to any

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London Metropolitan Archives (hereafter LMA) COL/CS/01/001/001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Custumals listed in *An Introductory Guide to the Corporation of London Records Office*, eds. H. Deadman and E. Scudder (London, 1994), 9-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Fo. i recto.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For Arnold fitz Thedmar's life, career and connection to this book, *infra*, 21-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 1-47. For this development, Parkes, 'Ordinatio and compilatio', 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 48-53, continued from cc. 1291-6.

compiler for events after 1135, and this historical account is then continued to cover the years 1135-1225 on fos. 34v-40r with a narrower focus on events in Britain, compiled from two separate yet related sources.

Table 1: The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar.

Quire <sup>1</sup>	Folios	Material
Fly-leaves	i-ii, 1-2	ir, title page; iv-iiv, table of contents, cc. 1-47; 1r-2r, cont. (from cc. 1291-6) summary
-		of Arnold's tax dispute with his fellow citizens, 1265-74, cc. 48-53; 2v blank.
1 <sup>8</sup> ij	3-10	3r-7r, excerpts from <i>Gesta Regum</i> , cc. 55-62; 7r-9r, Secundus the Philosopher, cc. 64-5;
•		9v-10v, metrical lists of popes and emperors, cc. 67-69.
2 <sup>8</sup> iij	11-18	Excerpts from Gesta Regum, cc. 70-93.
3 <sup>8</sup> iiij	19-26	Excerpts from Gesta Regum, cc. 94-117.
44	27-30	Excerpts from Gesta Regum, cc. 118-138.
5 <sup>8</sup> ix	31-38	31r-34v, excerpts from <i>Gesta Regum</i> , cc. 139-156; 34v-36v, annals 1135-1199, cc. 157-
		198; 36v-38v, Arnold's summary account of 1200-1225, cc. 199-222.
$6^6$	39-44	39r-40r, cont. Arnold's summary account of 1200-1225, cc. 223-32; 40r-40v, brief
		notices 1312-26, cc. 233-245; 41r-41v, account of Edward the Confessor's deathbed
		vision, cc. 246-51; 42r, four lines on the death of Henry III, c. 252; 42v-43r, a loving
		concord between the citizens of London and the dean and chapter of St Paul's, c. 253;
<b>7</b> 8	45 502	43v-44v, brief notices 1308-15, cc. 254-74.
7 <sup>8</sup>	45-52 <sup>2</sup>	45r-48r, London's Assize of Buildings, cc. 275-311; 48v-52v, bishops lists, cc. 312-326.
04	53-56	53r-54v, cont. bishops lists, cc. 327-335; 55r brief notices 1318-22, cc. 336-40; 55v, metrical list of archbishops of Canterbury, c. 341; 56r s. viv <sup>in</sup> notices on weights and
		measures, cc. 342-5; 56v, London's wardens, mayors and custodians 1265-1308, cc. 346-351.
94+2	57-62	57r-57v, cont. London's wardens, mayors and custodians 1265-1308, cc. 352-72; 58r-
91 -	57-02	60v, London's sheriffs 1188-1299, cc. 373-486; 61r-62v, brief notices 1299-1308, cc.
		487-513.
10 <sup>8</sup> xiij	63-70	63r, mayors of London 1189-1265, cc. 514-68; 63v-70v, Chronicle of the Mayors and
10 Allj	03-70	Sheriffs of London 1188-1274 (1188-1257), cc. 569-693.
118	71-6, 78-9	Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London 1188-1274 (1257-60), cc. 694-734.
12 <sup>12</sup> XV	80-91	Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London 1188-1274 (1260-64), cc. 735-815.
13 <sup>8</sup> xvi	92-99	Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London 1188-1274 (1264-66), cc. 816-883.
14 <sup>8</sup> XVij	100-107	Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London 1188-1274 (1266-68), cc. 884-938.
15 <sup>8</sup> xviij	108-115	Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London 1188-1274 (1268-69), cc. 939-994.
16 <sup>6</sup>	116-121	Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London 1188-1274 (1269-70), cc. 994-1025.
17 <sup>6</sup>	122-127	Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London 1188-1274 (1270-71), cc. 1026-1049.
1810	128-137	Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London 1188-1274 (1271-73), cc. 1050-1124.
198	138-145	138r-144v, Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London 1188-1274 (1273-4), cc.
- )	130 143	1125-68; brief notices 1309-14, cc. 1169-73.
204	146-149	146r, brief notice 1319, c. 1174; oath sworn by Londoners and barons 1264, cc. 1175-
	-10 -17	6; account of the 'Anagni Outrage' 1303, cc. 1177-8; account of the robbery of the
		royal treasury 1303, cc. 1179-80; 146v, computistical table, cc. 1181-3; 147r-149v,
		Statute of Marlborough, cc. 1184-1242.
<b>21</b> <sup>5</sup>	150-154	150r-153v, cont. Statute of Marlborough, cc. 1243-74; 154r-154v, Statutes of Jewry, cc.
	3 51	1275-77.
224	155-158	155r-156v, cont. Statutes of Jewry, cc. 1278-81; 157r-158r, Arnold's family history, cc.
		1283-4; 158v, notice on Edward II's deposition and death 1326, c. 1285.
235	159-163	159r, list of charters in Arnold's possession 1270, c. 1286; 159v-160r blank; 160v-
-		161v, song 'Eynes ne soy/Ar ne kuthe, c. 1287; 162r, verses on deaths of SS Peter and
		Paul, c. 1289; 162v, fragment of office to be sung at Becket's translation, c. 1290; 163r-
		163v, summary of Arnold's tax dispute with his fellow citizens, 1265-74, cc. 1291-6.
Fly-leaves	164-166	Three blank medieval fly leaves

<sup>1</sup> Arabic numerals indicate number of leaves; Roman numerals indicate medieval quire-numeration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Fos. 48-9 bifolium, remainder singletons.

Across fos. 40r-63r is found a variety of material including some fourteenth-century annalistic additions; the earliest text of London's assize of buildings; and lists filled with the names of English bishops, as well as sheriffs and mayors of London. What then follows, on fos. 63v-144v, is the material for which the book is most famous, its 'actionpacked' 'Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London', a title which is contemporary with the book's compilation.<sup>1</sup> This chronicle, over 50,000 words long covering the years 1188-1274 and copied by six different scribes, was *the* first surviving British chronicle to be written by a secular, civic author, and was one of the first of this new kind of municipal history in Western Europe. For the years 1188-1232, the chronicle's reports are terse indeed, offering little more than a register of the succession of London's municipal officers supplemented with occasional notices of variable accuracy.<sup>2</sup> From 1232-1257, it begins to provide fuller accounts of local, national and some international affairs, although still averaging under 350 words each year.<sup>3</sup> From September 1257 onwards, however, the chronicle explodes into life, and thenceforth until its close in July 1274, the chronicle, now mostly the original autograph of Arnold fitz Thedmar himself, averages over 2,500 words per year. Indeed, from 1259, the year of the death of Matthew Paris, until its close in 1274, it is the fullest and most comprehensive British chronicle to have survived. As we shall see, many of its reports are eyewitness testimony, written very close in both space and time to the events which they record.

It seems safe to state that the chronicle was the work of one composer. Throughout it is structured around the framework of London's shrieval year with each year's report beginning at Michaelmas (29 September), the day when London's sheriffs were presented and sworn at the exchequer.<sup>4</sup> Attention is always paid to the succession of London's municipal officers, how and by whom the city should best be governed, and the chronicle always remains close to London's Husting court.<sup>5</sup> Distinctive phrases, such as the 'tandem multis altercacionibus factis' used to conclude summaries of court cases, recur repeatedly in the narrative copied by different scribes.<sup>6</sup> As we shall see below, that single composer was – beyond any reasonable doubt – Arnold fitz Thedmar.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Barron, *London*, 42; 'Cronica maiorum et uiceomitum Londoniarum et quedam que contingebant temporibus illorum', c. 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 569-637.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 638-696.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Barron, *London*, 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> London's municipal officers are recorded throughout the chronicle; for the governance of London, cc. 702-8, 772-6, cc. 1071-86; for London's Husting court, *infra*, 42-3, 93-4.

 $<sup>^{6}</sup>$  ε-ε, c. 669; β-β, c. 671; δ-δ, c. 684; β-β, c. 690; α-α, c. 692; ζ-ζ, c. 702; γ-γ, c. 703; α-α, c. 718; α-α, c. 746.

On the remaining twenty or so folios at the back of the book one finds, *inter alia*, one of only two contemporary copies of the Statute of Marlborough along with selected statutes of Jewry; two songs, one of which, commonly known as 'The Prisoner's Prayer', is uniquely witnessed within the book's folios; other fourteenth-century annalistic additions; a history of Arnold fitz Thedmar's family; and the beginning of Arnold's summary account of his taxation affairs, 1265-74, which is continued at the start of the book. Perhaps the most remarkable item hidden away among this assorted material is a small scrap of parchment, measuring 110mm x 160mm, stitched to the recto of fo. 146r. Copied onto the recto of this scrap is a copy of an oath of mutual aid taken by twenty-one prominent Montfortians, including the mayor and commune of London, on 31 March 1264; onto its verso, scribed in Arnold's own hand, is a note detailing how this oath was to be sworn in the wards of London by all those aged twelve or over.<sup>1</sup>

Arnold reported the taking of this oath in his chronicle.<sup>2</sup> Yet historians had made little of this previously uncorroborated and rather jejune entry, as, remarkably, both of Arnold's previous editors ignored the scrap of parchment containing the oath itself. In fact, the two texts on this scrap, together, provide evidence of who was with, and for, Simon de Montfort at a crucial time in the period of baronial reform and rebellion, as well as just how tightly bound the Londoners were to the reformist cause on the eve of the Battle of Lewes. That Arnold's own hand appears on the verso of this document, moreover, sheds new light on the attitudes of the man responsible for the compilation of this book.<sup>3</sup> I have translated and published these two texts with a fuller discussion of their value elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

Arnold would have been, *ex officio*, frequently at the London Guildhall, and that his book, as we again shall see, found its way there so quickly after his death in 1274 suggests that he left it there himself.<sup>5</sup> It was used by great London writers who worked at the Guildhall, Andrew Horn (*c.* 1275-1328), John Carpenter (*d.* 1442), and perhaps too by Robert Fabyan (*d.* 1513), and was listed among a register of manuscripts kept among the city archives *temp*. King Henry VI.<sup>6</sup> It was certainly at the Guildhall in 1684 when a partial transcript of the manuscript was made for the noted antiquary, Dr Thomas Gale,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 1175-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **α-α,** c. 792.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Arnold's attitudes are discussed fully, *infra*, 97-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I. Stone, 'The rebel barons of 1264 and the commune of London: an oath of mutual aid', *EHR*, cxxix, No. 536 (Feb, 2014), 1-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Infra*, 164-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *Infra*, 165.

a good friend of Samuel Pepys, who was at that time the High Master of St Paul's School in London.<sup>1</sup> Around the same time Edward Stillingfleet, the great theologian and author, also had a transcript of sections of the manuscript made, to which he appended a note, in his own hand, that it was copied 'ex codice manuscripto in archiuis ciuitatis Londoniensis'.<sup>2</sup> Stillingfleet held various posts at churches in London – including that of archdeacon of London (1677) and dean of St Paul's (1678) – as well as at Temple Church and Serjeants' Inn.

The first printed edition of Arnold's book, prepared by Thomas Stapleton (1806-1849), was published in 1846 by the Camden Society with the title De Antiquis Legibus Liber, Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum. The Camden Society intended that Stapleton would edit Arnold's book as well as Horn's Annales Londoniensis for publication.<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Vincent has reconstructed detail of Stapleton's life and career and shown that he 'was a great deal more interesting and a great deal more influential than the drudge that his previous biographers have portrayed.'4 He was perhaps a lawyer, certainly he was called to the bar from Lincoln's Inn on 5 February 1830. He had, by this time, developed a keen interest in Anglo-Norman history and was admitted as a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 5 February 1829, of which Society he served as vicepresident from 1846-8. His indefatigable exertions among the archives of England, France and Italy led to the publication of several volumes besides his edition of Arnold's book.<sup>5</sup> Stapleton was, therefore, an editor of considerable talent, something which is not, unhappily, evinced by his edition of Arnold's book. To be sure, Stapleton's transcription of the manuscript was sound enough, but his edition offers little more than just this transcription. Fewer than two pages of his two hundred-and-seventy-one-pagelong 'extraordinary and for the most part absurdly irrelevant' introduction have anything whatsoever to do with the manuscript itself; he provided no apparatus and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cambridge Trinity College MS Gal. 0.10.3. Gale made the following note to this transcript: 'Ex Cod. MS°. 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° mense Junio', M.R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, iii (Cambridge, 1902), 505, no. 1455.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> BL MS Harley 690. The transcription from Arnold's book is on fos. 1-179v, note on fo. 1r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Croniques, ii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For what follows, N. Vincent, *Norman Charters from English Sources: Antiquaries, Archives and the Rediscovery of the Anglo-Norman Past* (London, 2013), 26-67, quote at 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Plumpton Correspondence: a series of letters, chiefly domestick, written in the reigns of Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII and Henry VIII, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Soc., 1839); Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae, ed. T. Stapleton, 2 vols. (London, 1840-4); Chronicon Petroburgense nunc primum typis mandatum, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Soc., 1849).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Vincent, Norman Charters, 30.

only an unsatisfactory index; he selectively discarded and reordered material without making it clear to the reader; he did not even deign to count the number of folios, instead relying on the late medieval foliation, which finishes at fo. 159, to conclude that this was a manuscript which contained '159 leaves of parchment' (this despite the fact that he printed material written on fos. 161v-163v!).¹ Indeed, his edition betrays all the signs of the madness that was, unfortunately, to kill him three years after the publication of this work.²

The next editor to work on 'The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar' was Henry Thomas Riley (1816-78). In 1863 he published an edition in which he translated selected articles from the manuscript, along with material from the French Chronicle of London, so that a reader 'taking some interest in the realities of social life in those dark days', who had not the 'necessary leisure, opportunity or qualifications, for reading them in the original Latin or French' could 'become acquainted with the history of the middle and lower classes'.3 Riley was a prize-winning classicist; he graduated from Clare College, Cambridge, in 1840; and he was incorporated at Exeter College, Oxford, on 16 June 1870.4 He served as a schoolmaster at the City of London School from 1839, where he would have worked with another translator and literary editor, John Allen Giles, who served an unhappy four-year term as headmaster of the School from 1836-40. Riley was himself then appointed as headmaster of Morpeth grammar school in Northumberland from 1841-56. Like Stapleton he, too, was called to the bar, but from Inner Temple, on 23 November 1847. His scholarly output as an editor and translator of both classical and medieval works was prodigious: he translated works by Ovid (1851-2), Plautus (1852), Lucan, Terence, Phaedrus's translation of Aesop (all 1853) and Pliny the Elder (6 vols. 1855-7); as well as Roger of Howden's Annals (1853) and The Chronicle of the Abbey of *Croyland* (1854); and from 1863-76 he published in twelve volumes his edition of seven works written by Thomas Walsingham, William Rishanger and other monks from St Albans.<sup>5</sup> He was also, from 1869, employed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission 'to inspect the archives of municipal corporations, the muniments of Oxford and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cron. Maior, i, 239-42, 253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'He died on 3 December 1849; the cause of death was 'Monomania – Disease of the Brain – Certified', Vincent, *Norman Charters*, 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Riley, Chronicles, iii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For much of what follows, W.P. Courtney, 'Riley, Henry Thomas (1816-1878)', rev. K.A. Manley, *ODNB*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Annals of Roger de Hoveden, comprising the history of England and of other countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201, ed. H.T. Riley, 2 vols. (London, 1853); Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with continuations by Peter of Blois and anonymous writers, ed. and trans., H.T. Riley (London, 1854); Cron. St Albans.

Cambridge colleges, and the registries of several bishops and chapters'. He is, however, most famous for his work with the records of the city of London; from 1859 to 1868 he published editions and translations, in seven volumes, of the city's chronicles, custumals and letter books.<sup>2</sup> His translation of sections from Arnold's book was, as one would expect from so eminent an editor and linguist, accurately done; but as is also clear Riley was a very busy man and his edition was the work of a man in somewhat of a hurry. Riley criticised Stapleton for not making any attempt 'by Notes, Glossary or explanation, to trace its [the manuscript's] origin, illustrate its history, or elucidate its manifold obscurities', yet few would argue that his six-page introduction to Arnold's book went any significant way to remedying the deficiencies in Stapleton's edition.<sup>3</sup> In fact, his introduction was, for the most part, rather cobbled together from Joseph Hunter's 1837 report on the manuscript, and where Riley came to his own conclusions, they were frequently in error.<sup>4</sup> Like Stapleton, Riley made no effort to count the number of folios.<sup>5</sup> Riley's apparatus to his text was minimal, and indeed, at times misleading.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, he actually discarded even more material from his printed edition than Stapleton had, considering it 'of little of no value in a historical point of view', again with little explanation or elucidation.<sup>7</sup>

Both of these printed editions are clearly inadequate. It is a sobering truth that one could read both editions from cover to cover and have no idea whatsoever that Arnold's book contains two songs. Neither the publication of brief sections from the manuscript which were considered of interest to German scholars in 1888, nor the reproduction of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'Riley, Henry Thomas', *ODNB*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> His four volume series of Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum et Liber Horn (Rolls. Ser., 1859-62); Liber Albus: the white book of City of London compiled A.D. 1419, by John Carpenter, Common Clerk, Richard Whitington, Mayor, trans. H.T. Riley (London, 1861); Arnold's chronicle was published in a single volume with The French Chronicle of London, 1259-1343 in 1863, Riley, Chronicles; and Memorials of London and London life in the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth centuries: being a series of extracts, local, social, and political from the early archives of the City of London, A.D. 1276-1419, ed. and trans. H.T. Riley (London, 1868).

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$  Riley, Chronicles, xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Infra, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Arnold's book 'is a small closely written folio volume, partly in mediæval Latin and partly in early French, containing 159 leaves of parchment', Riley, *Chronicles*, v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See his 'marginal note' explaining why London's sheriffs were not admitted at the exchequer in September 1265, 'because his lordship the King had then taken the City into his own hands: because the citizens had been adherents of the Earl of Leicester in the disturbances of the realm; and he retained the same for nearly six years', Riley, *Chronicles*, 81, n.1. First, heretofore, the king had not officially taken London into his hand, there would have been no shrieval election if he had. Second, this 'marginal note' is actually to be found thirty-six folios away on fo. 59r. The real reason that they were not presented is that that particular *adventus vicecomitum* took place at Windsor, cc. 845-6; The National Archives (hereafter TNA) E 368/40 m. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Riley, *Chronicles*, vii.

Riley's translation of the years 1259-66 in *English Historical Documents* did anything to improve on these deficiencies.<sup>1</sup> This thesis, then, offers what is intended to be the first satisfactory edition of the complete text of Arnold fitz Thedmar's book. It provides a transcript of all the material within its folios, alongside an apparatus and a commentary to this text; a comprehensive introduction to the manuscript and to the man responsible for its production; and a discussion of its place among the contemporary literary cultures of London and other European towns.

By contrast to the sorry story of the editing of Arnold's book, those studying it have been helped by the excellent efforts of Joseph Hunter, Neil Ker and Pamela Robinson, who all either described or catalogued the manuscript, and Antonia Gransden, who concluded the first volume of her study of the writing of history in medieval Britain with her perceptive analysis of both Arnold and his book.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding the deficiencies of the two previous printed editions, the value of Arnold's book means that it has often been used by historians, most frequently by those looking for a window onto the dramatic events of the thirteenth century, particularly the period of baronial reform and rebellion 1258-67.<sup>3</sup> Two modern historians of medieval London, Gwyn Williams and Caroline Barron, made extensive use of Arnold's book for their studies of the medieval city, as did Natalie Fryde and Joseph Huffman for their analyses of Anglo-German connections in the thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ex Arnaldi Cronica Londoniensi, MGH SS, xxviii, eds., F. Liebermann and R. Pauli (Hanover, 1888), 527-47; EHD, 159-97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Although Hunter's belief that the manuscript was called *The Book of Old Laws* because 'it contains the oldest body of ordinances for the government of the city' is wrong; a number of ordinances for the governance of London are found in a manuscript which predates Arnold's book by at least fifty years, commonly known as the *Leges Anglorum Londoniis Collectae*, now divided between Manchester, John Rylands Library Latin 155 and BL Add. MS 14252, *General Report of the Commissioners on Public Records* (Record Commission, 1837), 465-6; Ker, *Manuscripts*, 22-7; P.R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 888-1600 in London Libraries*, 2 vols. (London, 2003), i, 32; Gransden, *Writing*, 508-17.

<sup>3</sup> Ernest F. Jacob, Reginald F. Treharne, David Carpenter, John Maddicott, Adrian Jobson and many others.

<sup>4</sup> Williams, *London*; Barron, *London*; N. Fryde, 'Arnold fitz Thedmar und die Entstehung der großen deutschen Hanse', *Hansische Geschichtsblatter*, cvii (1989), 27-42; J.P. Huffman, *Family, Commerce and Religion in London and Cologne* (Cambridge, 1998).

#### **Arnold fitz Thedmar**

Historians have long accepted that Arnold fitz Thedmar was almost certainly the compiler of what became known as the *De Antiquis Legibus Liber*.<sup>1</sup> Arnold never directly makes such a claim, but he was not unusual among contemporaries in that respect.<sup>2</sup> In what follows it will be shown beyond any reasonable doubt that Arnold was responsible for the compilation of this manuscript. But first, it is necessary to set forth what is known about Arnold himself.

The best place to begin a study of Arnold's life is with the history of his family within his book.<sup>3</sup> This tells us that Arnold's maternal grandparents, citizens of Cologne named Arnold and Oda, came to England to pray at the shrine of Thomas Becket in Canterbury for a child. Having prayed at Canterbury, they decided to visit London, 'of which city, so noble and famous, they had heard report in their own land'. Doubtless, genuine piety played its part in encouraging this visit to Canterbury, but it is quite likely that Arnold and Oda came to London, where they perhaps already had some mercantile connections, for the purposes of trade. Between 1174 and 1179 King Henry II granted two important trading privileges to the merchants of Cologne who, by this time, were a sizeable community within London with their own established guildhall.<sup>4</sup> Arnold's grandparents subsequently bought a house in London and became citizens, although nothing is known of the date or means by which this occurred. They had two children: a son called Thomas, named in honour of Becket's intercession, and a daughter called Juliana. Thomas died on crusade in 1203/4; Juliana, on the other hand, married a citizen of Bremen called Thedmar, and bore him eleven children. According to the family history, four daughters survived to adulthood, all of whom married 'nobly' in London. But of their five sons, only one, the youngest, reached maturity. That son was Arnold, and he was born 'at the ninth hour' (around 3 p.m.) on 9 August 1201.

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¹ 'It seems probable that the author of this chronicle might be a person who name was Arnaldus Thedinarius, or some near friend or connexion of that person', *Report of the Commissioners*, 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', Ker, *Manuscripts*, 22; the evidence of Arnold's authorship is 'strong, but it is circumstantial and not conclusive', Gransden, *Writing*, 509; Arnold 'nowhere acknowledges authorship, but its [the book's] autobiographical element justifies the inference', J. Catto, 'Fitzthedmar, Arnold (1201-1274/5)', *ODNB*.

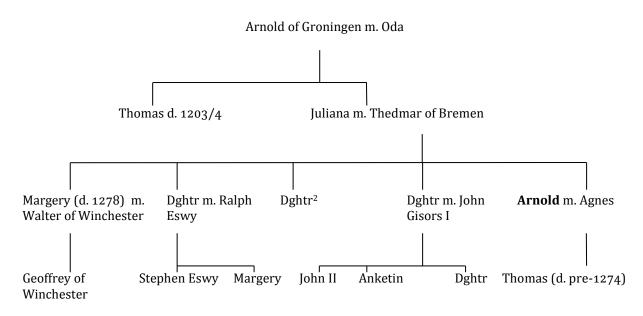
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: the Writing of History in Medieval England* (London, 2004), 147-52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 1283-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Huffman, *Family, Commerce, and Religion*, 13-19.

From 1258 onwards various Londoners' wills, enrolled at London's court of Husting, survive; using these alongside the family history, it is possible to reconstruct Arnold's family tree.1

Fig.1: Arnold's family tree.



Of Arnold's early life very little is known. As the youngest of five sons, he was possibly destined for an ecclesiastical career, which may explain where he learnt his Latin, but his book provides no evidence of such a calling, nor indeed of an attachment to a particular religious house. It is just as likely that he learnt his Latin and his French, too, in one of London's grammar schools.<sup>3</sup> Perchance Arnold spent some of his youth overseas, conceivably as a business agent for his father, perhaps in Germany? After all, towns across thirteenth-century Europe were home to alien communities of merchants and bankers and Arnold was absolutely a part of that social, cultural and economic milieu. Such a theory would explain both Arnold's absence from the early thirteenth-century London sources, and why he learned not just to read but to write too. In the 1230s

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For this tree, *Wills*, 22, 31, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gwyn Williams confusingly showed a marriage link between Arnold and William son of Richard (genealogical table D), yet that William's wife was a daughter of John Viel (genealogical table B) in the appendices of Williams, London. William son of Richard was married to Amice, Eyre, 1276, 96, to the best of my knowledge, there is no evidence that she was Arnold's sister. Did Arnold marry William's sister? <sup>3</sup> In his stylized account of twelfth-century London William fitz Stephen wrote that there were at least three schools in London; there may have been more in the early thirteenth century: Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, ed. J.C. Robertson 7 vols., (Rolls Ser., 1875-85) iii, 4-5; N. Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages (London, 1973), 168-9. It is unclear whether Arnold's mother tongue was English or German. It was almost certainly not French, which by the early thirteenth century was a learned language in England: S. Lusignan, La Langue des Rois au Moyen-Age: le Français en France et en Angleterre (Paris, 2004), 191-6, 210-217.

Arnold's brothers-in-law rose to prominence in London and, as we shall see, it is quite possible that Arnold was able to profit from his connections to these men.¹ Arnold's first known appearance in the records is dateable to 1245, where, acting as an alderman alongside his son, Thomas, he destroyed a house owned by Robert the Cordwainer as it was 'full of ribalds and prostitutes'.² This sole reference, from a *querela* made at Hugh Bigod's special eyre of 1258, unprinted and hitherto unknown to historians who have analysed Arnold's career, is, to the best of my knowledge, the only surviving evidence that Arnold was father to a son called Thomas. Our source does not say of which ward Arnold was alderman, but one would assume Billingsgate Ward, as not only did Arnold control that ward at a later date, but at a subsequent judicial enquiry Robert the Cordwainer was accused of beating a woman in that same ward.³ This assumption is, however, not without its difficulties, as Ralph Sperling may have been alderman of this ward until 1253.⁴ Perhaps Arnold had briefly stood in for Ralph or taken temporary control of the ward.

The London of Arnold's day was a bustling city with a population of perhaps 60-80,000 people, making it one of the largest cities in western Europe.<sup>5</sup> The Romans had founded London on the north banks of the river Thames as an urban centre, recognising its advantageous geographical position as both a domestic and international port. Its importance as a trading centre was bolstered by the Roman road network in Britain, which radiated out from London as its hub. These roads continued to be used in the Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup> London was also an important religious centre. From the seventh century onwards it had been the seat of a bishop; and it was adjacent to Westminster, one of the country's richest monasteries, endowed and promoted by several English kings from at least the reign of Edward the Confessor onwards. Two of England's most far-sighted and dynamic monarchs, on either side of the Norman Conquest, recognised London's

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ralph Eswy, sheriff 1234-5 and 1239-40, royal chamberlain 1236, mayor of London 1241-4; John of Gisors, royal chamberlain/royal butler 1235-6 and 1253-6, sheriff 1240-1 and 1245, mayor 1246 and 1258-9; Walter of Winchester, sheriff in 1229-30, Fryde, 'Arnold fitz Thedmar', 33-4, 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> TNA Just 1/1187, m. 9.

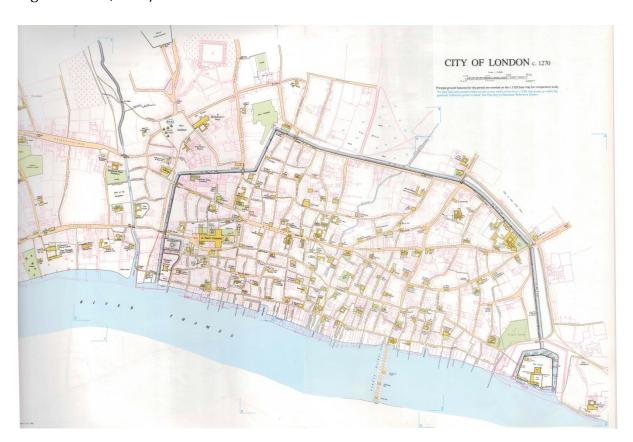
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Eyre, 1276, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ralph had connections to this ward and witnessed a deed in 1253 as 'alderman', although of which ward is not specified, TNA E 40/1912; Cf. J.A. McEwan, 'The aldermen of London, *c*.1200-80: Alfred Beaven revisited', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* (2012), 177-203, at 190, 194. <sup>5</sup> Derek Keene estimated London's population, *c*. 1300, at a potential 80,000 people; Pamela Nightingale has suggested a figure closer to 60,000, D. Keene, 'London from the post-Roman period to 1300', in D. Palliser, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, 3 vols., (Cambridge, 2000), i, 187-216, esp. 195; P. Nightingale, 'The growth of London in the medieval English economy', in R. Britnell and J. Hatcher, eds., *Progress and Problems in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1996), 89-106, esp. 97-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Barron, London, 46-7.

significance: in 878 King Alfred ensured that London remained under Saxon control when he made peace with Guthrum; and William the Conqueror used both the carrot – he issued two brief charters of liberties to the Londoners which to this day remain among the records of city – and the stick – by building the White Tower – to control the city.¹ London clearly emerged as the administrative and financial head of the realm during the twelfth century. During Stephen's reign Winchester declined in importance with the temporary loss of Normandy to the English crown, and the establishment of the exchequer and the royal court of king's bench at Westminster drew lords, spiritual and lay, to acquire houses close to the heart of royal government. Increased foreign trade throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries served only to reinforce London's dominant position among the towns of medieval England.

Fig.2: London, c. 1270.<sup>2</sup>



The Londoners themselves were keen to acquire a political role commensurate with their economic importance. In 1141, the citizens chased the Empress Matilda out of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> LMA COL/CH/01/001/A; COL/CH/01/002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reproduced from *The British Atlas of Historic Towns*, iii, *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c.* 1520, ed. M.D. Lobel (Oxford, 1989).

city and thereby prevented her coronation.<sup>1</sup> The Londoners' first comprehensive charter of liberties, probably granted by King Stephen, confirmed existing franchises, set the farm of London and Middlesex at £300, and allowed the citizens to appoint their own sheriff and justiciar.<sup>2</sup> At some point during the twelfth century the citizens formed a commune, which was recognised by King Richard's government in 1191.<sup>3</sup> The Londoners won a series of concessions from Richard and his brother John, most notably the right, granted in May 1215, to 'choose to themselves every year a mayor', in return for hefty payments to the crown.<sup>4</sup> These payments, along with other aspects of John's rule, were resented by the Londoners, who in May 1215 threw in their lot with the baronial rebels, and it was this, more than any other immediate event, which forced John to come to terms at Runnymede. London's mayor was one of the twenty-five barons sworn to help enforce Magna Carta; in the Charter it was agreed that London was 'to have all its ancient liberties and free customs', and limits were placed on the crown's ability to raise money from the city.<sup>5</sup>

The government of thirteenth-century London was in the hands of its mayor, sheriffs and aldermen. The city was divided into no more than twenty-four wards, all of which were under the control of, by Arnold's day at least, an elected alderman.<sup>6</sup> The title 'alderman' was an ancient one in London and as bearer of this title, Arnold would have been keenly aware of his own importance within the city. Within his ward an alderman would fulfil a judicial role: he determined the seriousness of wrongdoing, deciding whether an offence was a crown plea or should be heard in the sheriffs' courts; he presided over the wardmote, an assembly of all the men of the ward perhaps best understood as the urban equivalent of the hundred court; at visitations of the royal justices he had to summon all those listed to appear, and produce records of all pledges and attachments in his ward; and he supervised the beadles and constables in addition to maintaining law and order in the ward.<sup>7</sup> An alderman exercised a judicial role without his ward too; six aldermen always had to be present at a sitting of London's

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury, *The Historia Novella*, ed. and trans. K. Potter (Oxford, 1955), 96-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> H.G. Richardson, 'Henry I's charter to London', *EHR*, xlii, No. 165 (Jan., 1927), 80-7; C.N.L. Brooke, G. Keir and S. Reynolds, 'Henry I's charter for the City of London', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, iv, no. 7 (Apr., 1973), 558-78; the charter is printed in English translation in *Historical Charters*, 3-4.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  S. Reynolds, 'The rulers of London in the twelfth century', *History*, lvii (1972), 337-357, at 347-353.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Historical Charters,* 7-20, quote at 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> D.A. Carpenter, *Magna Carta* (London, 2015), 42-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In 1249 Alexander le Ferrun was elected by the men of his ward, **γ-γ**, c. 671. The exception to this rule was the ward of Portsoken, whose alderman was *ex officio* the prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For this and much of what follows on the duties of aldermen, Barron, *London*, 136-46.

oldest court, the court of Husting.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, an alderman had administrative responsibilities: he was responsible for the collection of taxes within his ward, he witnessed deeds and transfers of land, and he saw that strangers in his ward, who stayed longer than three nights, were brought into frankpledge. Beyond this, an alderman had to maintain the fire-fighting equipment in each ward; he had to ensure that the men in his ward were properly armed, that 'as many as possible have horses', and that he himself have a banner, which the men of his ward were to follow in 'the city's defence'.<sup>2</sup> These were onerous responsibilities indeed. But the role had its perks, beyond the obvious prestige that came with such exalted municipal office. Aldermen did not pay the customary fees to enrol their own deeds, recognizances and will, nor did they pay a fee to enrol their apprentices. They received a share of the fines paid in the wardmote, and no doubt charged citizens to witness deeds.

It is possible to speak with some certainty of Arnold's responsibilities as alderman of Billingsgate Ward; it is much harder to be sure about the precise significance of the title 'alderman of the Germans', which Arnold first appears bearing in 1251, witnessing a settlement between merchants of London and Lübeck.<sup>3</sup> He appears again with this title in 1260, which should probably be understood as denoting a position as chief representative of the German merchants in London. That Arnold maintained close connections with Germany is also evidenced by a letter of 1276, sent from the citizens of Bremen, from which we learn that Arnold had employed a certain Hermann of Bremen as a servant.<sup>4</sup> The years between 1251 and 1260 were a formative period in the history of the German mercantile community in England, as during these years, and very much connected to Richard of Cornwall's bid for the German throne, merchants from the towns of Lübeck, Hamburg and Bremen increased their influence and broke the Cologners' stranglehold on English trade. By 1260, the guildhall formerly known as the 'guildhall of the Cologners' was now styled the *gildhalla Teutonicorum*, and the liberties once enjoyed by just the men of Cologne had been extended to all German merchants. This process culminated in 1266, when King Henry III allowed the merchants of Lübeck and Hamburg to form their own individual Hansa. Arnold, 'alderman of the Germans',

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For good summaries of the history of the court of Husting, *Calendar of Early Mayor's Court Rolls Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of City of London, 1298-1307,* ed. A.H. Thomas (London, 1924), xiii-xiv; *Wills,* i-xlviii; Barron, *London,* 127-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bateson, *Collection*, 727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Fryde, 'Arnold fitz Thedmar', 27-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Foedera, I, ii, 534.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Huffman, *Family, Commerce and Religion*, 23-32.

with his family and members of his household hailing from both Cologne and Bremen, appears to have performed an important, if not fully understood, role in this process.

Hitherto it has generally gone unnoticed that in the Easter term of 1253 Arnold was one of the chirographers of the Jewish *archae* in London; subsequently, in April 1266, he was named among a list of Londoners charged with ensuring the safety of London's Jews.<sup>1</sup> When King Henry III purged the opposition to his rule in London early in 1258, he removed all the aldermen of London, including Arnold from office on 13 February; Arnold would not be recalled to office and favour until 5 November 1259.<sup>2</sup> Arnold may have left London to lick his wounds following his degradation. It is odd that despite being the chronicler geographically closest to the action, he has no record of the Westminster parliament of April-May 1258, when an armed group of magnates confronted the king and demanded the expulsion of the Lusignans; reports from this parliament circulated in a newsletter and two letters patent of 2 May 1258.<sup>3</sup> It is surprising, too, that the chronicle has no record of how, following the conclusion of this parliament, the reformist nobles worked alongside the Londoners to draw up the Petitio baronum for presentation at Oxford in June.<sup>4</sup> This can only be the stuff of speculation, however, and if Arnold did leave London for a while, he seems to have returned soon enough and stayed throughout the period of baronial reform and rebellion: his chronicle returned to its usual comprehensive service from June 1258. Arnold appeared in front of Hugh Bigod on Tuesday 17 December 1258 in London's Husting court; he administered the oath taken by the Londoners to support the baronial rebels in March 1264, and he witnessed a property transaction in Southwark on 8 November 1264.5

Following the king's victory at Evesham, on 27 September 1265 Arnold was named as one of six Londoners given a safe-conduct to travel to Windsor to negotiate London's fate.<sup>6</sup> How much this safe-conduct availed Arnold is open to question. From 4-22 October, according to Arnold, forty 'de ualidioribus' of London's citizens were

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, ed. J.M. Rigg, (London, 1905), i, 127-8; CPR, 1258-66, 577.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 702-708, 729.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Ann. Tewk.,* 163-5; *CM,* v, 689; *CPR,* 1247-58, 626 *bis*; *DBM,* 72-7; D.A. Carpenter, 'What happened in 1258?', in Carpenter, *Reign,* 183-197, at 188-90; H.W. Ridgeway, 'The Lord Edward and the Provisions of Oxford (1258): a study in faction', *TCE,* i, 89-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Petition printed in *DBM*, 76-91. For the Londoners' involvement, cl. 22, 23 and 26 of the petition; P. Brand, *Kings, Barons and Justices: The Making and Enforcement of Legislation in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2003), 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> TNA Just 1/1187 m. 9; cc. 1175-6; LMA CLA/007/EM/02/C/011; J.A. McEwan, 'Medieval London: The Development of a Civic Political Community, c. 1100-1300' (Univ. of London D. Phil. Thesis, 2007), 216. <sup>6</sup> *CPR*, 1258-66, 457.

imprisoned in Windsor Castle, 'litteris regis de conductu nichil eis ualentibus'. Even Thomas Wykes, no friend to the Londoners, rebuked the king for imprisoning men who had come to him in peace.<sup>2</sup> Arnold may have been one of these forty, and this perceived injustice may very well have motivated Arnold to obtain a song for his book, the lyrics of which are the lament of an innocent man wrongfully imprisoned.<sup>3</sup> One can well imagine that at or shortly after such a time, lyrics such as 'sanz decerte en prisun sui' and 'tut pur autri mesprisun, sumes a hunte liueré' would have taken on a special resonance for him. To obtain a royal pardon, the Londoners promised to pay the king a fine of 20,000 marks.<sup>4</sup> This fine caused no end of trouble in London, and Arnold inserted into his book a lengthy account, 1,700 words long, of his payments towards this fine and the resulting clashes with his fellow citizens over its assessment.<sup>5</sup> According to this text, in 1266-7 Arnold contributed 132 marks – an amount roughly equivalent to what an earl or baron would pay to enter his fee - towards this sum. Yet still Arnold's fellow citizens complained that Arnold had been under-assessed! Elsewhere we read that the citizens paid a quarter of the value of their annual rents towards this fine.<sup>6</sup> Arnold's neighbours and assessors, then, judged his property to be worth £350 annually, at a time when an annual income of £15 was considered the threshold for knighthood. Such wealth, and, as we shall see from a study of Arnold's writing, haughtiness, probably made him a difficult man to like. Nor was this fine troublesome for Arnold alone: in the Trinity term of 1266 Arnold was named alongside three other leading Londoners as an arbiter in a related dispute between the citizens and two wealthy Londoners, Thomas of Basing and Geoffrey of Winchester (Arnold's nephew), over a sum in excess of 2.000 marks.8

In 1270 the chest of the citizens of London, containing several city charters, was in Arnold's possession.<sup>9</sup> The safe-keeping of London's records was entrusted, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the common clerk and the city chamberlain. The situation in the thirteenth century is less clear. Full lists of incumbents of these offices

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 851-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wykes, 176-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 1287.

<sup>4</sup> c. 859

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 48-53, 1291-6; I. Stone, 'Arnold fitz Thedmar: identity, politics and the City of London in the thirteenth century', *The London Journal*, xl, No. 2, (Jul., 2015), 106-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ann. Lond., 70-1,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Infra, 118-21.

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  TNA E 159/40, m. 14; TNA E 368/40, m. 10. I am grateful to Richard Cassidy for drawing these to my attention.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> c. 1286.

only exist from 1274, the year of Arnold's death. This concurrence of dates may of course be just coincidental, or simply reflect the explosion in written source material during the reign of Edward I. But it may also suggest that, prior to 1274, Arnold held some as yet undefined role equal to that of common clerk or city chamberlain. As we shall see, Arnold made great use of royal letters sent to the city, the vast majority of which would have gone to either the sheriffs or the mayor, and Arnold never held either of those offices. Perhaps he was passed these letters 'unofficially' by the sheriffs and mayors who knew that he was composing his chronicle; or, as an alderman, he was accountable for their promulgation in his ward; or he was somehow 'officially' responsible for their preservation. Towards the end of his life Arnold made a bequest, not evident in his will, of the handsome sum of £100 to the Grey Friars of London for the extension of their precinct.<sup>2</sup> Arnold's will was proved and enrolled at London's court of Husting on 10 February 1275.<sup>3</sup> However, it could take months for a will to be proved at London's Husting, and Arnold's successor as alderman of Billingsgate Ward, Wolmar of Essex, was elected alderman on 15 October 1274.4 It seems most probable that Arnold died in August or September 1274.<sup>5</sup> Arnold's will is now incredibly faded and is, in many places, illegible. Nevertheless, what can be made out suggests that the printed, calendared version, quoted in full below, omitted little of substance:6

To Stephen Eswy, his kinsman [Arnold's nephew, son of Ralph Eswy], shops in the parish of All Hallows at the Hay, rendering annually to the monks of Bermundeseye three shillings, and to his [Arnold's] aforesaid (*sic*) wife for life twenty shillings for one fifth part of her dower. Also to Agnes his [Arnold's] wife divers lands, tenements, and rents for life, by way of dower and free-bench, so long as she shall remain unmarried; remainder to the aforesaid Stephen. No date.

It is a hard text to read, but nevertheless Riley reached some astonishing conclusions from Arnold's will. The first of these was that 'in this Enrolment, the name of his wife is not given; but it seems not improbable that it was "Dionysia," (Riley based this assertion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Barron, London, 176-188, 361-2, 364.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> C.L. Kingsford, *The History of the Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen, 1915), 163-5; J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London* 1221-1539 (Münster, 2004), 418.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> LMA CLA/023/DW/01/007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 'Probi homines de warda que fuit Arnoldi Thedmari eligunt Wolmarum de Essexie in Aldermannum suum et admissus est', LMA CLA/023/CP/00/001, m.9; McEwan, 'Aldermen', 196, 202, n.239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Arnold was still alive on 11 June 1274, *CR, 1272-9,* 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Wills, 22.

on a will of 1292 which mentioned a Dionysia as 'formerly the wife of Tedmar the Easterling').¹ Notwithstanding mention of a widow, Agnes, in Arnold's will, Dionysia had been married to a man called Tedmar, not Arnold. The second of Riley's conclusions was that a reference to a 'John Tedmar' in 1309 meant that it was 'not unlikely' that he 'may have been a son of Arnald'.² This is clearly nonsense: if Arnold had a surviving son he would have been mentioned in his will, and most probably known as 'John son of Arnold', not John Tedmar. As his son Thomas is not mentioned in this will, we should probably assume that Arnold had, unhappily, been predeceased by his children. Riley's errors here have led subsequent historians into error.³

Where Arnold was buried is unknown, and now, almost certainly unknowable. It is most likely that it was in the church of All Hallows the Great, as not only was his primary residence within this parish, but All Hallows was also the church of the German mercantile community in London. There is no surviving account of tombs in London churches until c. 1500, and the heralds responsible for this work did not even visit All Hallows.<sup>4</sup> The brass from the inscriptions on the gravestones at All Hallows was sold off during Edward VI's reign, long before John Stow's Survey in 1598 noted five tombs there.<sup>5</sup> The church was then destroyed in the Great Fire. Excavations within the parish allowed Derek Keene to use Arnold's will to draw some firmer conclusions about Arnold's properties. He showed that Arnold owned 'an extensive property', located thirty metres to the east of the guildhall of the German merchants, which was 'probably twice the size of the guildhall' itself.<sup>6</sup> This property comprised five shops on its Thames street frontage, behind which was a group of cellars used as a tavern. There was a main dwelling with an adjacent kitchen next to Windgoose Lane, behind which was a wharf next to the river. This riverside property, with its cellars, wharf and shops would suggest that Arnold was a merchant of substantial standing who, made the most of his connections in both London and Germany to amass a considerable fortune. The Anglo-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Riley, Chronicles, ix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Riley, *Chronicles*, x.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 'Arnold's estate was then divided between his wife (perhaps named Dionysia), his son John Tedmar, his brother-in-law [*recte.* nephew] Stephen Eswy, and the monks of Bermondsey', Huffman, *Family, Commerce and Religion*, 194; 'He [Arnold] was married, perhaps late in life, to a woman called Dionysia', 'Arnold Fitzthedmar', *ODNB*.

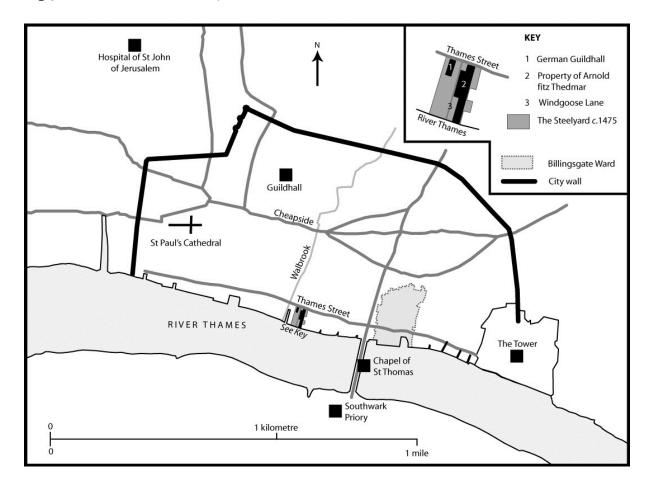
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A.R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1960), 150-157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A Survey of London by John Stow, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1908), I, 235; H.B. Walters, London Churches at the Reformation with an Account of their Contents (London, 1939), 93-100. I am grateful to Christian Steer for his advice on the burial customs of medieval Londoners.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> D. Keene, 'New Discoveries at the Hanseatic Steelyard in London', *Hansische Geschichtsblatter*, cvii (1989), 15-25, at 23.

German trade route was, by this time, firmly established and huge quantities of wine, metal goods, furs, wool and fish passed both ways along the rivers Thames and the Rhine before making the short trip across the North Sea.

Fig.3: Arnold's London, c. 1270.



What evidence is there, then, that Arnold was also responsible for the compilation of a book which was the first of its kind in the British Isles? In the first place, taken as a whole, the book is clearly a secular production. Notwithstanding the obvious interest of the compiler in imperial/papal relations, the historical summary compiled mostly from the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* is clearly more secular than religious: it began not with the Nativity or the Creation but with the coming of the Anglo-Saxons to Britain.<sup>1</sup> The careers of prominent churchmen are little touched upon (there is, for example, nothing on the controversy between Anselm and Rufus); monastic or church foundations are seldom

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> True, the *Gesta Regum* began with the coming of the Anglo-Saxons, but Arnold *chose* this source material and made no attempt to reach further back in time.

noted; and there is only one instance where church canons were copied. The chronicle itself continues in the same vein: s.a. 1261, recording neither the death of one pope (Alexander IV) nor the consecration of another (Urban IV);<sup>2</sup> and in 1272 it is the *only* chronicle source to take the side of the citizens of Norwich in reporting the outburst of violence between the citizens on one hand, and the prior and convent on the other.<sup>3</sup> It is, furthermore, clearly a secular book produced within London. It contains lists of London's mayoral and shrieval successions, a copy of London's first assize of buildings and a chronicle called 'The Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London'. This chronicle is structured around London's shrieval year and frequently refers to issues such as policing of the river Thames, the regulation of London's bakers and the correct use of weights and measures throughout the city.4 What is more, as these thematic consistencies suggest, it is a book which was compiled and composed under the controlling hand of one man. As we shall see, three different sources were used to compile a historical account of the years 400-1225.<sup>5</sup> This was skilfully done over nine quires with no duplication of material nor obvious breaks in the historical narrative: certainly suggestive that one man was responsible for this process. Moreover, that the same source was used to compile and compose the historical account for the period 1200-1225 *and* to compile the lists of episcopal succession, and that both of these texts were then copied in the same hand, indicates that the same man was responsible for the presence of both of these in the book.

It is clear, too, that the compiler of this book must have been a member of London's elite. In the first place, to write anything in the Middle Ages was no mean feat; to compile and compose a book such as 'The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar' was an impressive achievement.<sup>6</sup> The hands of nineteen different scribes appear within its folios, fourteen of which were contemporary with the book's original compilation. There would have been few people better placed in London, than one of the city's governors and administrators, with their easy access to a pool of scribes at the Guildhall or the Husting

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 115.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Alexander died in May 1261, Urban was consecrated in September 1261. The chronicle only notes these events in its account of events in Lent 1262, c. 754.

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$  α-α, β-β, γ-γ, c. 1067; α-α, β-β, c. 1069; α-α, c. 1070.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For the seizure and destruction of illegal fishing nets, cc. 646 (1237), 682 (1254), 996-8 (1269), 1123 (1273); for a jurisdictional dispute with the men of Surrey in November 1258, c. 718. Arnold's book formerly contained a copy of the assize of bread, c. 37; for actions taken against London's bakers, cc. 719 (1258), 1005 (1269/70), 1066 (1272), 1112 (1273); for weights and measures, cc. 667, 691, 1002. <sup>5</sup> *Infra*, 53, 81-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the 'technology' of writing in the Middle Ages, M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1993), 114-44

court, to employ so many scribes.<sup>1</sup> A similar resourcefulness is evident in the use of such varied source material to compile the book.<sup>2</sup> It is hard to believe that someone outside of the urban elite would have been able to source a copy of the Gesta Regum Anglorum and a set of London annals, to borrow a manuscript from the monks of Southwark Priory, and enjoy such easy access to London's judicial and governmental records. Second, the language and style of the chronicle contained within the book is distinctly 'aldermanic'. In 1258 the 'populus' are described as 'sons of various mothers, many of whom were born outside of the city and were of a servile condition' who acted against the city's privileges and liberties in refusing to let the aldermen of the city clear themselves by oath, as was the custom in London, against charges of peculation levelled by the king.<sup>3</sup> In 1263 the populist mayor, Thomas fitz Thomas, is condemned for giving the 'communam ciuitatis' the first voice in the city, letting the 'small people' have 'dominacionem' over the leaders of the city, not maintaining good order, and granting 'abominable' and 'intolerable' privileges to London's craft workers.<sup>4</sup> The disorderly mayoral election of 1272 is set out at considerable length, and the 'populus' criticized for caring little or nothing for the welfare of the city and 'showed no reasoning' (nullam racionem ostendentes) in claiming that they had the right to elect their mayor; whereas the aldermen, who, we are informed, were the head of the body politic and delivered judgment in all civic pleas, 'showed by many reasons' (ostenderunt multis racionibus) why this right should fall to them.<sup>5</sup>

One should not be surprised at this aldermanic voice. The majority of civic chroniclers across Europe were drawn from what might be termed a patrician class.<sup>6</sup> As Jacques Heers has noted, it was 'sa présence au cœur de toutes les affaires, de tous les organes administratifs' which provided the urban administrator with the opportunity to write.<sup>7</sup> Nor should we be surprised that such opportunities were taken. In an essay on lay literacy, Malcolm Parkes highlighted how it was during Arnold's lifetime that the practitioner of law and administration increasingly began to 'look beyond his immediate

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'At the beginning of the fourteenth century the city of London appears to have employed a civil service of about eight people', Barron, *London*, 196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Infra, 80-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **β-β**, c. 705.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 772-6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For the full account of this election, cc. 1071-86, quotes in c. 1075.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> E. Van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles* (Turnhout, Belgium; Brepols, 1995), 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> J. Heers, 'Le notaire dans les villes italiennes, témoin de son temps, mémorialiste et chroniqueur' in D. Poirion ed., *La chronique et l'histoire at moyen âge: Colloque des 24 et 25 mai 1982* (Paris, 1986), 73-84, at 74.

professional horizons' in choosing material to read, and these administrators developed 'the habit of having at their elbows a book to which they could refer for information'. The very name 'alderman' (elder-man) itself within London denoted seniority of age, position and wealth – Arnold's first appearance as alderman came when he was at least forty-four years old, and as Chris Given-Wilson has shown, *all* late-medieval English chroniclers were male and generally well into middle age (upwards from the age of fifty) when they began to write: 'without exception, every monk, secular clerk or layman who wrote a chronicle in late medieval England had either been born into the landholding classes or wrote for a landholding audience, whether lay or spiritual'.<sup>2</sup>

The book itself, moreover, contains a great deal of evidence that the alderman responsible for its compilation was Arnold fitz Thedmar. First, as we shall see, this was a book that was compiled and composed between 1257 and 1274, when Arnold was alive and one of the men best placed in London to complete such a task.<sup>3</sup> Second, it contains a remarkable history of Arnold's family and his rise to the position of paterfamilias, along with a lengthy account of Arnold's battles with his fellow citizens over taxation in the years 1265-74.4 It is hard to believe that anyone other than Arnold would have been responsible for these two texts. Similarly, who else but Arnold, or someone very close to him, would have recorded within the chronicle Arnold's restoration to aldermanic office in 1259, twice, in language which stridently defends Arnold against accusations of misconduct.<sup>5</sup> Third, on fo. 159r of his book is a list of several charters of the city, which, we are told, were within a chest 'tunc temporis [1270] in custodia Arnaldi Thedmari'.6 Even if this register does not imply, as previously discussed, that Arnold held some role equivalent to that of town clerk, at the very least possession of these charters would have facilitated the production of his book.<sup>7</sup> Fourth, other material within the book reflects Arnold's particular interests. Arnold was both a chirographer of the chest of the Jews and one of the Londoners ordered to ensure the safety of London's Jewish community: events and legislation relating to England's long-suffering Jewish community are frequently recorded within the book's folios.8 It is particularly

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> M.B. Parkes, 'The literacy of the laity', in idem *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, 275-97, at 283, 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 61-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Infra, 36-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 1283-4, 1291-6 cont. in cc. 48-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 708, 729-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 1286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Supra, 28-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> cc. 673, 687, 762, 793, 837, 1275-81.

noticeable, too, that a substantial amount of what might be termed 'German history' was selected from the *Gesta Regum* and copied into Arnold's book; this would, one assumes, have been of distinct interest to Arnold.<sup>1</sup>

Last, the family history, taxation account, register of civic charters and references to Arnold's 'unjust' removal from aldermanic office were all copied by the same scribe: scribe 1. His hand is the one most frequently witnessed in the manuscript. In addition to the texts above, this scribe was responsible for copying the vast majority of the chronicle from 1257-74;<sup>2</sup> he also copied the assize of buildings and the lists of episcopal office holders.<sup>3</sup> In point of fact, his hand is the only one to appear in every single list contained within the book. It is highly likely that this was Arnold's own hand. It is a cursive hand of s. xiii-xiii<sup>2</sup>;<sup>4</sup> and there is not a single entry made anywhere in the entire book by this hand which is dateable after July/August 1274, i.e. the time that Arnold fitz Thedmar went the way of all flesh. The last entries to the chronicle by this hand concern the preparations being made for Edward I's coronation on 19 August 1274.<sup>5</sup> This scribe probably stopped copying the chronicle in late July 1274: the chronicle has, despite its obvious proximity to Edward in the years 1269-74, no record of Edward's landing in England (2 August), nor arrival in London (18 August), nor coronation; and although it was the only contemporary chronicle to take any substantial interest in the Flemish trade dispute 1270-4, this scribe added nothing on its resolution on 28 July 1274.7 Outside of the chronicle, the last dateable entries made by this hand to the episcopal lists noted the consecration of John of Chishull as bishop of London, on 29 April 1274, and the death of Laurence de St Martin, bishop of Rochester in June 1274; the subsequent death of Robert of Stichill, bishop of Durham, on 4 August 1274, and the enthronement of Robert of Wickhampton as bishop of Salisbury on 16 September 1274, are, however, not noted by this hand.8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 86-93, 102-3, 109-110, 117-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 695-1168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 275-311, 312-24, 327-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Infra, 58-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 1163-68

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ann. Wint., 118; Ann. Wig., 465; Wykes,, 259-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Foedera, I, ii, 513-4; news of this would have reached London within a week, if not sooner.

<sup>8</sup> cc. 313, 326, 329, 334.

### **Compilation and composition**

Having shown who was responsible for the compilation and composition of 'The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar', in what follows it will be shown how Arnold did this: something never before satisfactorily shown. Hunter simply catalogued the material.<sup>1</sup> Stapleton's analysis of how the book came together, that 'the original portion of the manuscript will have been written throughout in Latin in the year of our Lord 1274, 2 Edward I., and the remainder added at different intervals in French', was inadequate and incorrect.<sup>2</sup> Riley's offered no improvement: he, too, wrote that 'the portion of the volume supplied (mainly in Latin, with occasional insertions in Norman French) by the hand of the original compiler, though composed probably from time to time at earlier dates, seems to have been written shortly before, or in, the year of Our Lord 1274'. Elsewhere in his edition, however, he contradicted that in an unfathomable note, writing that an entry for 1266, which must have been written before November 1268, 'tends to shew that the latter part of this Chronicle is by the hand of a writer previous to that date [1268]'!4 The conclusions of two cataloguers, that 'Thedmar was writing in 1269 (art. 19) and probably before 1269, his collaborator perhaps not before 1270' and that 'Thedmar seems to have been writing at intervals from least (sic) as early as 1268' are not wrong, but can be improved upon.<sup>5</sup> To date the most accurate deduction has been Gransden's, that Arnold wrote in stages from 'about 1258 to 1272'.6

#### In what follows it will be argued that:

- In the 1230s Arnold began taking notes and keeping records, perhaps facilitated/encouraged by a position of responsibility which he may have held in London's Husting court.
- 2. In 1257 he fashioned these notes/records into a chronological narrative covering the years 1188-1257, and employed scribe 6 to copy it out.
- 3. Arnold continued to take detailed notes, and in 1264, immediately following the Battle of Lewes, he composed the chronicle account of the years 1257-1264, which he then copied in his own hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Report of the Commissioners, 465-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cron. Maior, i.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Chronicles, v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Chronicles, 88, n.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ker, *Manuscripts*, 27; Robinson, *DDML*, i, 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gransden, Writing, 509.

- 4. Thereafter, until 1270, Arnold returned frequently to the chronicle, often bringing it up to date several times a year. He did this entirely in his own hand.
- 5. At some point/points, certainly before 1270, perhaps between 1257 and 1264, Arnold compiled a substantial history of Europe *c*. 400-1199, from the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and a set of now lost London annals. He employed scribes 5, 7 and 8 to copy this out.
- 6. In 1270, Arnold acquired a manuscript from the monks of Southwark Priory, which he used to continue the historical narrative above, from 1200 to 1225, and to copy the lists of English episcopal successions.
- 7. Between 1270 and 1274 he continued to compose and copy the chronicle, also employing several scribes to help with the laborious copying. He further added other material on what are now the final five quires of his book (18-23), to complete a remarkable manuscript.

Of all the material contained within Arnold's book, the chronicle and the securely dateable entries found in many of the book's lists, by their very nature, offer the most clues with which to reconstruct the chronology and manner of the book's compilation. My analysis, therefore, began with these items, and used the following methodology. I noted every change in the appearance of the text in the manuscript. These of themselves prove nothing; after all, a change in ink may only evidence a scribe using two different inks in one stint, and a change in the appearance of one hand may only signal a sharpening of a quill. However, combined with other evidence, these changes can support much firmer conclusions. Furthermore, I have carefully read every word of the manuscript to find evidence of hindsight, or lack thereof, to provide dateable ranges when certain material must have been copied into Arnold's book. What is more, careful analysis of the physical structure of the manuscript, including making full use of the medieval quire numeration and cross-referencing between quires, sheds light both on how the manuscript came together, and what has subsequently been lost. Arnold's book contains a contemporary table of contents, too, which has been particularly useful in reconstructing the manuscript's compilation. Last, I have palaeographically examined all the hands witnessed in Arnold's book. As the palaeographical study of the hands is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 1-47.

fundamental to my argument I have reproduced my analysis of twelve different hands, alongside images of the hands, at the end of this chapter.<sup>1</sup>

I used Ker's codicological analysis, with which I found no fault, as a starting point for my own study of the physical composition of the manuscript.<sup>2</sup> Of the twenty-three quires of Arnold's book in its current form, sixteen are what might be called 'regularly' formed, i.e. there are four quires of four leaves, eleven of eight leaves and one of twelve leaves. One can say a little about five of the seven 'irregularly' formed quires. The sixth quire, fos. 39-44, wants leaves between fo. 41 and fo. 42; in its current form it comprises three bifolia, perhaps a bifolium has been lost?<sup>3</sup> The ninth quire, fos. 57-62, was originally a quire of four leaves, to which two smaller leaves, fos. 61-2, were added early in the fourteenth century. Unless Arnold's book was disbound to facilitate this addition, Arnold must have left his book unbound and its medieval binding took place after his death. Fos. 124-7 in the seventeenth quire are two bifolia, and fo. 127 is only wide enough to contain one column of writing. Fos. 152-3 in the twenty-first quire are a bifolium. Fos. 160-2 of the twenty-third quire contain the two songs in the manuscript; these three leaves (one can see where a fourth leaf was cancelled) were enveloped by fos. 159-63 to form a quire of five leaves.

The contemporary table of contents contains several chapter headings which are not found in Arnold's book. Stapleton concluded, consequently and wrongly, that 'the first chapter and three others in the body of the manuscript were left blank, though since written over by matter of later insertion'.<sup>4</sup> Rather, some material has been lost from the manuscript. Indeed, at its greatest extent, Arnold's book perhaps comprised twenty-seven or twenty-eight quires. It is possible to reconstruct where much of this lost material once stood in the manuscript. For example, the table of contents tells us that c. 1 of Arnold's book should contain 'questiones que tangunt in parte augorismum' [questions which touch in part on mathematics]. This is not found in Arnold's book. Instead, the first quire of Arnold's book in its current form begins with the second entry in the table of contents and has the medieval quire mark 'ij' at the foot of fo 10v, its last leaf; therefore, this first missing chapter must have completely filled a now lost first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Infra, 57-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ker, *Manuscripts*, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Infra*, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cron. Maior, i.

quire.¹ Also absent from the manuscript is a history of England from the coming of the Anglo-Saxons to the Norman Conquest, cc. 26-32 as listed in the table of contents. The preceding material in the table on contents, a list of the names of the bishops and patriarchs of Jerusalem (c. 25) is found on fo. 30v, the last leaf of what *was* the fifth quire (now the fourth) of Arnold's book. This is followed, on fo. 31r, by a history of the Norman kings since the Conquest (c. 33 in the table of contents) beginning *in medias res*, in 1188. This quire, now the fifth of Arnold's book, is marked 'ix' at its end. Therefore, three quires, probably marked 'vj-viij' have been lost from Arnold's book, and this history of England, cc. 26-32 and the first part of c. 33, must have been copied onto these three missing quires.

Thus at least four complete quires have disappeared from Arnold's book since the table of contents was written. We have seen, too, that the sixth quire of Arnold's book in its current form, fos. 39-44, is missing leaves.<sup>2</sup> If we turn once more to the table of contents, we see that c. 35, 'Genealogia regis Anglie Henrici secundi usque ad Noe, ut dicitur', and c. 36, 'Nomina regum qui regnauerunt in Anglia a predicto Eylbrittho [Brihtic, 786-802) per ordinem scripta usque ad obitum predicti regis Henrici [II, d. 1189]' have been lost. However, c. 34 in the table of contents, the 'Visio Sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris quam uidit quando laborauit in extremis', is found in Arnold's book, in cc. 246-51, where it ends imperfectly on fo. 41v, and is followed on fo. 42r by four lines of verse on the death of Henry III.<sup>3</sup> These four lines of verse almost certainly represent Arnold's continuation of the list of English kings in c. 36, the first part of which, along with the final part of c. 34 (the vision text) and all of c. 35 (the genealogy) must have stood in the manuscript on missing leaves between fos. 41-2. The vision text is abridged from Ailred of Rievaulx's Vita Sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris.4 As well as the Vita, Ailred also wrote a Genealogia Regum Anglorum, which traced Henry II's genealogy back to biblical times.<sup>5</sup> It would be a fair surmise that the source material for Arnold's 'Visio' and 'Genealogia' texts was a single manuscript containing a selection of Ailred's works: not only did these two Ailredian texts stand next to each other in Arnold's book, but both Ailred's and Arnold's 'Genealogia' originally ended with the reign of Henry II.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 2, 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Supra, 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 252

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Vita is printed in Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores, X, ed. R. Twysden, (London, 1652), 369-414.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Printed in *ibid.*, 347-70; A. Hoste, *Bibliotecha Aelrediana: A Survey of the Manuscripts, Old Catalogues, Editions and Studies Concerning St Aelred of Rievaulx* (Steenbrugge, 1962) 111-3.

The last material clearly missing from Arnold's book is referred to in c. 37: 'qualiter procedendum est in assayo quod fit quolibet anno in ciuitate ad exemplar pistorum ut sciant quantum panes illorum debent ponderare per totum illum annum'. The assize of bread was used to fix the size of a loaf of bread according to the price of corn each year.¹ That this material was of great interest to London's medieval governors is of little doubt, since copies of the assize or records of its proceedings are found in manuscripts compiled in London which both pre- and postdate Arnold's book.² Whether this assize was also contained on lost leaves from the sixth quire, or, more likely, it filled a fifth missing quire entire of itself, remains unclear.

To return to what does stand in Arnold's book to this day, there are good grounds to believe that the current tenth quire, which contains 'The Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London' for the years 1188-1257, was in fact, chronologically, the first quire produced for Arnold's book, and that it was composed and copied in early 1257. This material was copied by scribe 6, who wrote a small, neat textualis libraria hand of s. xiii<sup>2,3</sup> The chronicle begins on fo. 63v (the recto having been left blank, perhaps, to make it into a title page) and continues until fo. 70v with no change in either the appearance of the ink or the hand.<sup>4</sup> In short, it appears to be a fair copy, perhaps completed in a single stint, concluding with a judicial presentation of the London vintners in early 1257. There is then a distinct change in both the appearance of the ink and of the hand in cc. 693-4, where Richard of Cornwall's letter of May 1257 is introduced and then copied. This letter, which cannot have arrived in London before June 1257, was so long that it became necessary to continue it on the first leaf of a new quire, what is now the eleventh of Arnold's book in its current form. This change in the appearance of the page, coinciding with a break of three to four months in the chronological narrative, would prima facie suggest that the initial stint of copying took place between January and June 1257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A.S.C. Ross, 'The assize of bread', *The Economic History Review*, ix, No 2 (1956), 332-342; J. Davis, 'Baking for the common good: a reassessment of the assize of bread in medieval England', *The Economic History Review*, Ivii, No 3 (Aug., 2004), 465-502.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Constitutio et Ponderatio Panis, BL Add. MS 14252 fos. 85v-86r, printed in W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, 5th edn., i, (Cambridge, 1922), 567-9, Cf. Bateson, *Collection*, 482; the record of the assize 1276-1292 in London's *Letter-Book A*, fos. 110v-129r, Cf. *LBA*, 207; the record of the assize from 1292 onwards in London's *Liber Assisa Panis*, LMA COL/CS/01/004, mostly unprinted although Riley printed a selection in *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, iii, 411-429; the *Assisa Panis et Cervisie*, BL Cotton Claudius MS D ii, fo. 252v, printed in *Statutes of the Realm*, i, 199-200; and references to the regulation of London's bakers in *Cust.*, ii, 104-5, 284; *Albus*, 265-6, 349-58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Infra*, 66-7; I disagree with Ker's suggestion that scribe 11 copied this section, Ker, *Manuscripts*, 23. <sup>4</sup> cc. 569-692.

This is a conclusion supported by considerable textual and contextual evidence. In the first place, there is no evidence whatsoever that this section of the chronicle was being composed continuously. Indeed, it can be very quickly shown that several entries within this section of the chronicle were composed with some advantage of hindsight: s.a. 1231, recording Andrew Bukerel's admission to London's mayoralty, the chronicle noted that he would be mayor 'per septem annos'; 1 and in a similar vein, the chronicle detailed that in 1241 'hoc anno factus est maior Radulfus Eswy [Arnold's brother-in-law] qui durauit per tres annos'.2 There is, however, no evidence that this section of the chronicle was composed with any hindsight of events after 1257, something revealed quite clearly in this section's innocence of two events of 1258 of great significance both locally and nationally. The first of these came in January and February 1258, when King Henry III moved against his opponents in London.<sup>3</sup> He removed all the municipal officers from their positions and arraigned several leading Londoners, including Arnold, on charges of peculation in the collection of a tallage in 1255. Many of those arraigned are mentioned in this first quire of the chronicle, yet not once is there an entry which suggests the composer of the chronicle was aware of these men's later fate. Nor indeed, s.a. 1255, does the chronicle even mention the contentious tallage. It is most unlikely that had Arnold known that the levying and collection of the tallage in 1255 would go on to cause such trouble for him personally and the city generally just three years later, he would have omitted to record it in his chronicle. The second event was the collapse of Henry III's personal rule, in April 1258, when a cohort of armed baronial reformers marched in on the king, and afterwards forced him to agree to a package of reforms which went further even than Magna Carta. The chronicle contains not a single entry for the years 1188-1257 to suggest that it was composed with knowledge of these events to come. Indeed, the man who would emerge as the leading baronial reformer, and subsequently even assume control of the government, Simon de Montfort, is never mentioned in the chronicle before the summer of 1258. John de Warenne's marriage in 1247 to the king's uterine sister, Alice, is noted, but there is no mention of Simon's controversial marriage in 1238 to the king's sister, Eleanor, despite the fact that this marriage led to a shortlived baronial revolt. The chronicle notes both of Henry III's departures for Gascony, but has no record of Simon's troubled term as royal lieutenant from 1248-52. It is hard to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 637. Andrew was in fact mayor of London 1231-7, I. Stone, 'Bukerel, Andrew (d. 1237)', ODNB.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **β-β**, c. 656.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 702-8.

believe that a chronicle account written after the events of 1258 would fail to notice the career of man who would come to dominate the political scene for the next seven years.

Taken together, then, the palaeographical, textual and contextual evidence gives every reason to suppose that this first section of the chronicle was copied in one stint in the first half of 1257. It must have been composed from a substantial corpus of notes and municipal records: the mayoral presentations in 1240, 1242, 1244 and 1245 are too precisely dated to have been done from memory over ten years later;1 the chronicler evidently had a detailed knowledge of cases from the London Husting court;<sup>2</sup> and it is hard to believe that entries as exact as 'uicesimo die Februarii [1247], factus est terre motus apud Londonias circa horam nonam', were not composed from notes made at the time of the earthquake itself.<sup>3</sup> As we have seen, Arnold's brothers-in-law all began to appear holding municipal office from 1229 onwards.4 Perhaps Arnold obtained some unknown administrative office at the Husting Court through their good offices, which gave him access to a great deal of source material - some of which subsequently found its way into the chronicle.<sup>5</sup> A fleeting late-medieval record tells us that the Husting Court was recording at least some of its business on rolls from 1233-4, although the plea rolls only survive from 1272 onwards.<sup>6</sup> Alternatively, Arnold's first appearance as an alderman in the historical record comes in the year 1245, and it is only from around 1247 onwards that his chronicle betrays obvious use of Husting Court records. Did he begin to acquire these records through his aldermanic responsibilities in the court? It is quite easy to imagine how obtaining any role in London's civic administration could have prompted Arnold to begin keeping notes. If we are looking for a time at which Arnold began to keep notes, then c. 1232 would be a safe enough presumption: from that year onwards the chronicle's entries start to become fuller. Arnold would have been thirty-one years old in 1232, roughly the same age that the fourteenth-century chronicler, Adam of Murimuth, was when he too began to keep notes. Indeed, this comparison bears closer inspection, for although both Arnold and Adam kept notes from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 652, 658, 662, 665.

 $<sup>^{2}\,\</sup>pmb{\delta-\delta},\,c.\,667;\,\pmb{\gamma-\gamma},\,c.\,669;\,\pmb{\alpha-\alpha},\,\pmb{\gamma-\gamma},\,c.\,671;\,\pmb{\beta-\beta},\,c.\,675;\,\pmb{\gamma-\gamma},\,\pmb{\delta-\delta},\,c.\,682.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **β-β**, c. 667.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 22-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For Arnold's use of Husting court records, *infra*, 93-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> G.H. Martin, 'Records and record-keeping in medieval London', in M.V. Roberts, ed., *Archives and the Metropolis* (London, 1998), 73-82, at 80.

the age of thirty, neither began to use these notes to compose his chronicle until he was twice that age.<sup>1</sup>

The first appearance of Arnold's own hand in the chronicle, on fo. 71v, reports Henry III's Welsh expedition of August to September 1257.2 Thenceforth, Arnold's is the only hand responsible for copying the chronicle until the report of Boniface of Savoy's death in July 1270, on fo. 120v.3 Thereafter, until the chronicle's final entry on fo. 144v, Arnold's hand is the one most frequently witnessed in the chronicle, although alongside the hands of other scribes. There is no substantial change in either the appearance of Arnold's hand or the ink Arnold used across fos. 71v-90r, which contain the chronicle's account of the period from August 1257 to May 1264.4 This suggests that Arnold's initial stint of composing and copying took place in 1264. Moreover, this section was clearly composed with the benefit of considerable hindsight. When he recorded his own deposition from aldermanic office in February 1258, Arnold could include within the main text an account of his recall to office in November 1259.5 Arnold knew when he wrote his account of the formulation of the Provisions of Oxford in June 1258, that the setting aside of the Provisions would lead to civil war in 1263: 'memorandum quod occasione predictorum prouisionis et statuti per dictum parlamentum Oxonie factorum non obseruatorum processu temporis fuit regnum Anglie ultra modum perturbatum et multa milia hominum perierunt, sicut in hoc libro inferius notatur'.6 When Arnold wrote of the agreement made in November 1261, 'pacificata est predicta dissencio inter dominum regem et barones', he knew it would not stand, so could add that 'que pax non stetit'. Finally, Arnold's use of the imperfect and perfect tenses to describe the 1263 'tempus perturbacionis regni' suggests that this entry must have been composed after the civil war was temporarily pacified in 1264.8

Yet it is also clear that in this section Arnold can only cast his eye forward to 1264 and no further. We have just seen that Arnold knew when he composed his report of the November 1261 peace that this peace 'non stetit'; yet he clearly knew *not*, when he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Adae Murimuth Continuato Chronicarum, Robertus de Avesbury De Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii, ed. E.M.Thompson (Rolls Ser., 1889), 3-4; Given-Wilson, Chronicles, 61-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 695; infra, 58-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 1014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 695-800.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **α-α**, c. 708, Cf. c. 729.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 712.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 752.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **α-α**, c. 773.

recorded the terms of the short-lived provisions of the May 1264 Mise of Lewes, that it would collapse within three months, as he returned to this entry to add 'quod numquam peruenit ad effectum' in a different ink.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Arnold's account of Gilbert of Preston's judgment 'imperpetuum' in favour of the Londoners in their dispute with the abbot of Westminster, on 9 October 1263, must have been composed before the king recovered his power in 1265 and set this judgement aside; Arnold returned to this entry, too, to add 'quod postea non stetit' in a different ink.<sup>2</sup> What is more, the section of the chronicle on these folios is entirely innocent of the Battle of Evesham in 1265, when Montfort's regime collapsed on a blood-soaked battlefield. Had Arnold known, when he wrote his account of the capture of the Lord Edward and King Henry III at Lewes on 14 May 1264, that in just over a year's time Edward would escape from custody, defeat Montfort in battle and restore his father's position, it is almost inevitable that his testimony would indicate such knowledge.<sup>3</sup>

Knowing all this means that the change of ink within the main text at c. 801, coming just after Arnold's report on the battle of Lewes, can be better understood: rather than simply evidencing a change of ink mid-stint, it instead shows a definite pause in the course of the chronicle's composition. One can well imagine that the significance of the battle of Lewes, particularly to a Londoner such as Arnold, was such that it prompted him to fashion his notes for the years 1257-1264 into a chronicle narrative which, to judge from his ignorance of the fate of the Mise of Lewes, he probably committed to parchment within weeks of the battle itself.

Thereafter, from 1264 to 1274, the evidence that the chronicle was being composed and copied on an on-going basis is overwhelming. First, there are the frequent changes in the appearance of both Arnold's hand and the ink he used, alongside, from 1270 onwards, the use of other scribes to copy the narrative. The scribe who copied the most material into the chronicle, after Arnold, was scribe 2, whose hand first appears in the main text of the chronicle, on fo. 129r, copying the letter of il-Khan Abagha to the Lord Edward, the arrival of which in London is dated to March 1272.<sup>4</sup> Arnold clearly worked very closely with all these scribes: both Arnold and scribe 2 copied a record of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 795; for the slow death of the Mise, Maddicott, *Montfort*, 292-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> α-α, a-a, c. 782.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 794-800.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 1061-2.

tempestuous events of autumn 1272 in London;<sup>1</sup> on two occasions Arnold introduced royal letters in his own hand, before scribe 2 copied the letters themselves;<sup>2</sup> and on fo. 121r Arnold corrected, by supplying the word 'comitissa' over an erasure, scribe 3's marginal note.<sup>3</sup> All the palaeographical indicators point to numerous small stints of copying by first Arnold alone, and then several scribes throughout 1264-74.

Second, certain entries within this section of the text can only have been made within a range of dates. The most obvious example is Arnold's report of the events of Easter 1266, where he is clear that Guy Foulquois 'nunc est papa' (Pope Clement IV), and that Ottobuono Fieschi 'nunc est legatus'.<sup>4</sup> Clement IV died on 29 November 1268; Ottobuono was legate until July 1268: Arnold could not have composed this entry after July-November 1268.

Third, there is the distinct change in Arnold's attitude towards the baronial reformers, which is discussed more fully below.<sup>5</sup> In his reporting of events between 1258 and 1265 there is no outright or overt criticism whatsoever of the reformers or their ambitions; indeed, at times Arnold seems rather sympathetic to the cause of reform, if not rebellion. During these years Arnold wrote that the Provisions of Oxford were agreed to 'abolish the evil customs which had oppressed the realm', that it was their non-observance which caused the civil war, and that the rebel barons in 1263 attacked only their enemies and otherwise maintained the peace. However, beginning almost immediately after the report on the Battle of Evesham (4 August 1265), the chronicle frequently criticises the barons and their allies. In autumn 1265 Arnold referred to the 'stulti uero et malicisosi qui antea adheserunt comiti Leicestrie contra regem'. Under March and April 1266 Arnold criticised the bishops 'quia tam tepide se gerebant in dicta turbacione regni non reprehendentes neque corripientes illos malisicos qui dominum regem expungnabant'.8 In 1269 Arnold called the Londoners who had allied with Montfort 'iniqui uiri Belial'. Indeed, such was the shift in Arnold's attitudes that he even returned to his report of the 1258 Oxford parliament to call it 'insane', an entry completely out of

<sup>1</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Scribe 2 copied c. 1071, on fo. 132r, *after* Arnold had copied c. 1091 on fo. 134v, **b**, c. 1071. Yet Arnold scribed c. 1094, on fo. 134v, in a different ink *after* scribe 2 had written cc. 1071-86, **g**, c. 1094.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 1109-10, 1116-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Marginal ins. **d**, c. 1020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Infra*, 112-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **α-α**, c. 710; c. 712; **α-α**, c. 770.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **α-α**, c. 848.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **β-β**, c. 865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> **β-β**, c. 992.

keeping with the rest of the report, over an erasure.<sup>1</sup> Such a marked and obvious change of attitudes can only be satisfactorily explained by understanding that the chronicle was being composed continuously, either side of August 1265.

Fourth, throughout the chronicle's account of 1264-74, there are repeated examples of a lack of authorial hindsight. When Arnold described the submission of the Marcher barons to Montfort in December 1264, he was evidently unaware that the Marchers would not keep to the terms of their submission and leave the realm in January 1265; Arnold's use of future participles, the future and future perfect tenses all suggest that he wrote fully expecting the Marchers to go.<sup>2</sup> When it became clear to him that this agreement had come to naught, which would have been apparent as early as March 1265, Arnold returned to this entry, updated it with 'quod non stetit' in a different ink, and then continued the chronicle in that same ink.3 Arnold concluded his lengthy and valuable account of Montfort's famous parliament of January to March 1265 by relating, at length, the provisions which were agreed to secure the release of the Lord Edward.4 Arnold again composed this without the benefit of hindsight, as is shown by his return to this section after the battle of Evesham to add the marginal note in a different ink that 'et sciendum est quod omnes predicte littere domini regis et filii sui cassate fuerunt post prelium de Euesham sicut patet inferius in hoc libro'. 5 When Arnold noted, in September 1267, the royal installation of John Adrian and Luke de Battencourt as bailiffs of London, he was unaware that they would be removed at Easter 1268; Arnold returned to this entry, too, which he updated, once more in a different ink, with 'remanserunt balliui usque ad Pascam proximam sequens'.6 The chronicle's original account of Louis IX's death on 25 August 1270 at Tunis, and the Lord Edward's sailing to Tunis in October, was originally scribed before news came of the crusader army's withdrawal to Trapani in Sicily in November, as is again made clear by a later addition to the text.<sup>7</sup> When Arnold recorded John Adrian's presentation as mayor of London to the barons of the exchequer in October 1270, he was not aware that John would subsequently be presented to the king in January 1271: this was added in a different ink also.8 The

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **c**, c. 710; *infra*, 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 824, esp. **α-α**.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **c-c**, c. 824.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 825-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Marginal ins. **a**, c. 830.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **c-c**, c. 907.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **b-b**, c. 1019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **a-a**, c. 1023.

chronicle's notice of the election of London's sheriffs in September 1273, too, was seemingly ignorant of the fact that they would be removed just two months later.<sup>1</sup>

These entries all provide compelling evidence for just how frequently the chronicle was updated between 1264 and 1274 – often within weeks of the events it records. To this more evidence can be added. In June 1272 there was a famous attempt on the Lord Edward's life in the Holy Land.<sup>2</sup> In Arnold's chronicle, by contrast to others written some time after the event, there is no attempt to report this incident in its proper chronological place; rather, it is inserted after the events of January 1273, and before those of February 1273.3 This suggests two things: that Arnold had already composed and copied his summary of events from June 1272 to January 1273, before the news came to London; and that it was William de Valence, one of the executors of Edward's will who was with Edward in Palestine, who brought news of this assassination attempt to London in January 1273, which Arnold then inserted almost immediately into the chronicle.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the chronicle recorded in three separate entries on three different folios and in two different hands that Robert Kilwardby was appointed (11 October 1272), consecrated (26 February 1273), and then enthroned (17 September 1273) as archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>5</sup> Had the chronicle for October 1272 to September 1273 been scribed after all three events, then two or three of these events would probably have been condensed into one entry, which is exactly what the Winchester, Worcester and Dover annalists all did.6

Last, there is the evidence that Arnold could be driven to pick up his pen by certain, identifiable episodes. On fo. 113v (c. 988) Arnold recorded the Lord Edward's journey to see Louis IX of France, and Richard of Cornwall's return to England in August 1269. This is continued, firstly on fo. 113v (989-990), and then on fo. 114vb (c. 994) in a different ink, when Arnold noted Edward's return to England in September and the accord which Edward and Louis made while in France. The reason why this could not be continued on fo. 114r-va is that Arnold had already copied material there, cc. 991-3: a report of an improbable plot to kill forty leading royalists in London in August 1265. Thus, Arnold

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **b-b**, c. 1121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 1104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Flores, iii, 23-4; Wykes, 248-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> William de Valence and Henry of Sandwich returned to London in January 1273, cc. 1102-3; the chronicle then records the June 1272 assassination attempt, c. 1104; then two provisions of January/February 1273, cc. 1105-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 1095 (Arnold) fo. 134v; c. 1107 (scribe 2) fos. 135v-136r; c. 1118 (Arnold) fo. 137r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ann. Wint., 115; Ann. Wig., 464; Gerv, Cant., ii, 273.

brought the chronicle up to date in or shortly after August 1269, which he concluded with his account of this nefarious plot. When he returned to continue the narrative after September 1269, in a different ink, he could only enter a small amount of text on fo. 113v (c. 989-90) with the rest continued on fo. 114vb (c. 994). To make this clear to his reader, Arnold scribed in the margin of fo. 113v 'uerte folium et lege ubi inueneris talem figuram #', and placed this device on fo. 114v.

Arnold had good reason to break his chronological narrative here. In 1269 the pressure in London was, once more, rising: around 17 February the king committed custody of the city and Tower of London to the Lord Edward.¹ On 9 March, London's former mayor and leading rebel, Thomas fitz Thomas, whom Arnold detested, was released from Edward's custody.² Hard upon this, on 28 April, the king ordered a new inquiry into the arrears of the 20,000 mark fine which the Londoners had agreed to recover his goodwill in December 1265.³ Arnold was already engaged in a long-running dispute over his contributions to this fine with his fellow citizens.⁴ No doubt the launch of a new commission led to further pressure on Arnold, and others like him, to pay more. It must have been a time of no little anxiety for Arnold; anxiety that would have been exacerbated by fear of the consequences which might arise from Thomas's release. It was this which may have prompted Arnold to recount a devilish plot, of which he had made no mention in 1265, to remind his audience of the 'crudelitates, malicie, perfidie et nequicie' which Thomas fitz Thomas, whom Arnold specifically named, and the other 'iniqui uiri Belial' had perpetrated during the time of civil war.

Taken together, then, all of the above evidence points to the following conclusions. The first section of the chronicle, covering the years 1188-1257 was composed and copied in 1257. Then, in 1264, Arnold committed to parchment his continuation for the years 1257-64. Thereafter, the recurrent changes in the appearance of Arnold's hand and of ink, the shift in Arnold's attitudes towards reform, the repeated lack of hindsight remedied by numerous later additions to the main body of the text, the textual and physical evidence from the manuscript itself, all suggest that between 1264 and 1274 Arnold was updating 'The Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London' on an on-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 979; *CFR, 1268-9,* nos. 169-72

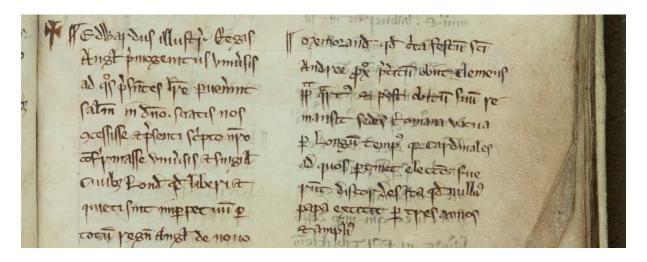
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 328; CR, 1268-72, 103-4; Ann. Lond., 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 335.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 48-53, 1291-6; *supra*, 28.

going and frequent basis. There is just one entry which contradicts this summary, namely, Arnold's account of the death of Pope Clement IV on 29 November 1268.

Fig.4: fo. 113r.



Memorandum quod circa festum sancti Andree [30 November] proximo preteritum obiit Clemens papa quartus et post obitum suum remansit sedes romana uacua per longum tempus quia cardinales, ad quos pertinet eleccio, fuerunt discordes, ita quod nullus papa extitit per tres annos et amplius.<sup>1</sup>

Arnold in this report appears to know that it would be 'three years and more' before a new pope, Gregory X, would be elected, and this is certainly the conclusion which Ker reached.<sup>2</sup> If this were true, the consequence would be that Arnold's report of November 1268 was not composed until 1271. However, the sheer weight of all the other evidence makes it clear that Arnold did not wait until 1271 to begin composing and copying this section of the chronicle. This is a conclusion supported by the language of this entry itself. First, there is the tautology of the vague 'per longum tempus' and the more definite 'per tres annos et amplius'. If Arnold knew the seat would be vacant for three years, why not simply say so instead of saying 'per longum tempus'? Second, St Andrew's Day [30 November] is referred to as 'last past' (proximo preteritum), which suggests that this was scribed before 30 November 1269. It is not immediately clear in the manuscript, but what is most likely is that the last clause from 'ita quod' must be a later addition to the text in a very similar looking ink.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'Thedmar wrote at intervals ... but f. 113 not before 1271', Ker, Manuscripts, 24.

There are, besides the chronicle, many other securely dated/dateable entries within Arnold's book which can help us to reconstruct the processes of the book's compilation and composition. To begin with, there are many lists, the first of which is a metrical register of the papal succession on fos. 9r-10r. This was copied by the same scribe who copied the first section of Arnold's chronicle: scribe 6, writing a less cursive hand, who, we have seen, was employed by Arnold in 1257. His last contribution to this list was to note Pope Urban IV's installation as pope in 1261. Urban died on 2 October 1264, and his successor, Clement IV, was consecrated in 1265, detail which Arnold added to the list in his own hand. Arnold then added a line on the papal vacancy 1268-71 in a different ink, in yet another ink two further lines summarising the list, before scribe 2 added one line on Gregory X's consecration in 1272. It would seem a fair enough surmise, then, that scribe 6 originally copied this list between 1261 and 1264; Arnold returned to it between 1265 and 1268 to add Clement IV's name; then again between 1268 and 1271 to note the vacancy; before scribe 2 completed the list between 1272 and 1274.

A list of London's mayors, royal wardens and bailiffs provides similar clear evidence of a process by which such lists were compiled and copied over time.<sup>6</sup> The original list, scribed in Arnold's own hand on fo. 63r, must have been composed and copied between 28 October 1264, when Thomas fitz Thomas was elected for a final time as mayor, and 16 June 1270, when London's mayoralty was restored by Henry III, as the list concluded originally with a note that Thomas fitz Thomas 'fuit *ultimus* maior Londoniarum, factus in festo Simonis et Iude anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo quarto'.<sup>7</sup> Arnold subsequently continued this list on fo. 56v with the names of the royal wardens and bailiffs who administered the city during the suspension of the mayoralty, 1265-70.<sup>8</sup> This continuation began with an account running from the suspension of the mayoralty in September 1265 to February 1269, when the king granted custody of the city to the Lord Edward, and Edward made Hugh son of Otto custodian.<sup>9</sup> Then in a different ink, on fos. 56v-57r, Arnold added detail of Hugh's reinstallation in September 1269, and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 66-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Infra*, 66-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 67, lines 126-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 67, line 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 67, lines 130-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 514-68, cont. cc. 346-72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 567.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Arnold directed the reader to this continuation with the note in c. 568, before fos 61-2 were added in the fourteenth century.

 $<sup>^{9}</sup>$  cc. 346-350. There is a noticeable change of ink at  $\alpha$ , c. 350.

Adrian's election as mayor in July 1270; before adding in yet another ink, a note on John's re-election in October of the same year. Arnold added one more entry to this list, before it was completed by scribes 2 and 4 to 1308. The finality of the original list, that Thomas was the 'last' mayor of London, alongside these changes of ink and hands, must indicate that this, too, was a list being compiled in frequent stages from 1264 onwards.

On fos. 48v-54v are lists of the episcopal successions in England.<sup>2</sup> All of these lists, apart from the ones which set out the succession at Canterbury and London on a single folio (fo. 52, copied by scribe 11), were originally copied by Arnold himself. In the vast majority of entries made to these lists there is a consistency in the appearance of both Arnold's hand and the ink which suggests that the heft 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 early 1270, as Arnold knew that John le Breton had been consecrated bishop of Hereford on 2 June 1269;<sup>3</sup> he wrote that the archbishop of York, Walter Giffard, 'sedit anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo';<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, a few words should be included about the list of London's sheriffs from Michaelmas 1188-1271, on fos. 58r-60r, copied by scribe 13,6 This list certainly looks as though it was originally copied by scribe 13 in one stint, before it was continued, this time in Arnold's own hand and by a fourteenth-century continuator.<sup>7</sup> Close reading of the text shows this to be true, and that the list could not have been have been compiled and copied before 1270, as the entry detailing the suspension of London's liberties in September 1265 noted that they would remain suspended 'fere per sex annos'.<sup>8</sup>

In sum, the evidence from these lists serves to substantiate the conclusions reached above about the chronicle's composition. The only scribe who clearly did copy anything into any list prior to 1264 was scribe 6, the same scribe employed by Arnold in 1257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 350-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 312-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Iohannes dictus Brito consecratus anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo nono', c. 327.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> **α-α**, c. 333

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'Walterus obiit [perhaps originally 'sedit'?] anno Domini milesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo', c. 313.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 373-460.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 461-486.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> c. 451.

Prior to 1264, Arnold was not scribing material either into his chronicle or the lists; however, from 1264 onwards, Arnold returned to his book at frequent intervals to add material in his own hand. From 1270 onwards Arnold began to employ scribes to help copy material into the chronicle, whose hands appear in the lists too. In the chronicle on fo. 120v, scribe 12 noted the death of Boniface of Savoy (14 July 1270), the Winchester parliament which began in the same month, and Edward's departure on crusade in August 1270.1 His hand's only other contribution to Arnold's book was to update two lists of the episcopal succession at Canterbury with news of Boniface's death.<sup>2</sup> It seems safe enough to conclude, then, that scribe 12 was employed by Arnold in, or just after, the summer of 1270. Similarly, scribe 13's only two contributions to Arnold's book suggest that he was employed towards the end of 1271: he copied the list of shrieval succession which concluded in September 1271, and added two paragraphs to the chronicle, on fo. 128v, concerned with events of autumn 1271 in the on-going Flemish trade war.<sup>3</sup> Scribe 2's hand appears frequently in the chronicle and in many of the lists, but only from 1272 onwards, and he appears to have ceased copying material into Arnold's book in 1274.

Besides the lists, other entries also provide us with useful chronological points of reference. Scribe 2 copied the table of regnal years, on fo. 146v in the twentieth quire, in what appears to have been a single stint; he must have done this after November 1272, as his stint ended with Henry III's death (16 November 1272).<sup>4</sup> Thus, the following material on fos. 147r-153v of the twentieth and twenty-first quires, comprising the Statute of Marlborough (issued 18 November 1267), was probably copied into Arnold's book after 1272 too. The first two Jewish provisions (of four) on fos. 154r-156v, the remainder of the twenty-first quire and the first leaves of the twenty-second quire, are dated 1271, these cannot have been copied until after 1271.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, one can assume that Arnold's family history, on the remaining folios of the twenty-second quire was also copied after 1271. Some of the final material which Arnold added to his book was the account of how much he had paid towards the royal fines 1265-74.<sup>6</sup> He began this on fo. 163 of the twenty-third quire and continued it on fo. 1. Within this text is detail of an agreement made between Arnold and his fellow citizens during the mayoralty of Henry

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 1014-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 325, c. 341, lines 29-32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 1057-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 1181-3.

<sup>5</sup> cc. 1275-81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 1291-6, 48-53.

le Waleys, 28 October 1273 to 28 October 1274, which exempted Arnold from further financial demands that could be made before 1 May 1274. This then must have been written between 28 October 1273 and 1 May 1274.

We can now use *all* the above conclusions to reconstruct, at least in part, the process by which the remaining material in Arnold's book, the account of European history for the years 400-1199, fos. 3r-9r and 11r-36v, which Arnold subsequently continued in his own hand to 1225, fos. 36v-40r, was brought together. Besides Arnold's continuation, this material was copied by scribes 5, 7 and 8, all of whom wrote textualis libraria hands of s. xiii<sup>2</sup>.<sup>2</sup> If the metrical list of papal succession on the last leaves, fos. 9r-10r, of the first quire (fos. 3-10) of Arnold's book in its current form was copied before 1264, then it is almost certain that the preceding material in that quire, mostly preternatural stories drawn from the Gesta Regum was copied by scribe 5 prior to 1264 also.<sup>3</sup> Does it then follow that the other material copied by scribe 5 in Arnold's book, an account of the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I, on fos. 31r-34v of the fifth quire, also taken from the Gesta Regum, was copied at or around the same time?<sup>4</sup> Certainly this is possible, perhaps even probable, but this cannot be corroborated. What does seem more certain, however, is that Arnold must have compiled the whole historical account 400-1199, and then had it copied by scribes 5, 7 and 8 on fos. 11r-36v, before 1270. Why? Because in 1270, as we have seen, Arnold compiled his lists of episcopal succession.<sup>5</sup> His source material for these lists was a manuscript now kept at the British Library, Cotton MS Faustina A viii, and Arnold also used this same manuscript to compose his continuation to his historical account, on fos. 36v-40r of the fifth and sixth quires, covering the years 1200-1225.6

Of course, the question of compilation and composition extends beyond 'how?' and 'when?' to 'where?'. Perhaps Arnold worked in a study at home? Although it is perhaps easier to imagine that he worked at the Guildhall, where many of his sources were, and where, too, there would have been many clerks. It is quite conceivable, indeed, that scribes 2, 6, 12 and 13, all of whom wrote hands of s. xiii², were clerks employed at the Guildhall or in the Husting Court. It is also quite possible that scribes 5, 7 and 8 were

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 55-66, 70-232.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Infra, 64-5, 68-71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 55-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 139-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Supra*, 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 199-232; *infra*, 88-91.

clerks, too; many clerks, like scribes 6 and 13, would have had the ability to write more formal textura hands. But the folios which scribes 5, 7 and 8 copied look and feel very different to those elsewhere within the book: they were copied by scribes writing textura hands *only*; they are the only folios *anywhere* in Arnold's book which contain any illuminated material; and whereas Arnold's hand, and those of scribes 2, 6, 12 and 13 appear scattered throughout the book, often irregularly and with the appearance of working together, the hands of scribes 5, 7 and 8 only appear sequentially in this discrete section, and their hands seldom appear on the same folio together: 1 all of which suggests that they were employed at a given time for the sole purpose of copying this section only.

One must also remember that the material which they copied was compiled from two distinct sources, the Gesta Regum and the lost London annals, which were very unlikely to have come Arnold's way in the normal course of his affairs. Presumably he went looking for this material. Thirteenth-century London was ringed by abbeys and priories with libraries, and Arnold had links to several of these houses. As we shall see, Arnold's connections with Southwark Priory, were close; he used one of their manuscripts in the compilation of his book, and after his death the Southwark monks in turn made use of his book.<sup>2</sup> Arnold made provision in his will for an annual bequest of three shillings to the monks of Bermondsey Priory, Southwark's sister house, was this his way of saying 'thank you' to the monks there? Arnold's other bequest, of £100, to the Grey Friars of London suggests that, like much of thirteenth-century London society, he was profoundly affected by the coming of the friars to London from 1224 onwards. One can well conceive of any of these religious houses possessing a copy of the Gesta Regum and/or some London annals, which would have been available to a compiler such as Arnold. Perhaps, then, he also arranged for his historical account of the years 400-1199 to be copied in one of these religious houses? Many of these monastic houses had active scriptoria, and the Grey Friars at Newgate had their own scriptorium from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards.<sup>3</sup>

It is also quite possible that the material for these quires was neither sourced nor copied at a religious house. Certainly, the Paris of Arnold's day was home to a recently

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Scribe 8 added one sentence to material copied by scribe 5 at the foot of fo. 34v, c. 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Infra*, 88-91, 158-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Historical manuscripts were produced at Westminster Abbey, as well as at the priories of Southwark, Merton and Bermondsey; for the Grey Friars, Röhrkasten, *Mendicant Houses*, 480.

established vet thriving professional book production industry. Richard and Mary Rouse identified four preconditions which enabled this trade to develop: Paris was the seat of a wealthy bishopric, home to the royal court, the centre of a growing royal bureaucracy and the location of a famous university.<sup>2</sup> Three of those preconditions were unquestionably met in mid-thirteenth-century London. In the records of thirteenth-century London appear men with the designations 'scribe', 'parchminer', 'scrivener', 'illuminator' and 'bookbinder', which suggests that there were craftsmen working, probably independently, on the production of books.<sup>3</sup> Men bearing similar titles can be found in Lincoln from the middle of the thirteenth century, in York from the 1270s, and there were people involved in commercial book production in thirteenthcentury Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>4</sup> However, it is clear that if there was a network of lay professionals producing books to order in London, the city still lagged far behind Paris in terms of this industry being organised and regulated. The first secure reference to a London 'stationer', i.e. someone who took commissions from patrons and co-ordinated all the different stages of book production, is not found until 1311.5 C. Paul Christianson's study of London's stationers found little evidence of a commercial book trade prior to 1300.6 And while recent research by Linne Mooney and Estelle Stubbs has argued that scribes at the London Guildhall were responsible for the production of many manuscripts for lay patrons, this is a development which does not seem to have begun until a century or so after Arnold's death.<sup>7</sup> It is quite probable that in Arnold's day there were lay scribes who would copy material at home 'to order' for wealthy patrons. As Parkes noted, such work required little space and setting oneself up at home was a cheap and easy option.<sup>8</sup> It is certainly possible that there was an embryonic lay book production industry which Arnold was able to use in London; if there was one, Arnold's book must almost certainly be one of our first witnesses to it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris,* 1200-1500, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, i, 11-14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CFR, 1249-50, no. 362; Parkes, 'The Literacy of the laity', 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A.I. Doyle, 'The English provincial book trade before printing' in P. Isaac ed., *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade in Britain* (Winchester, 1990), 13-29, at 15-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Parkes, 'Literacy of the laity', 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> C. Paul Christianson, *A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans, 1300-1500* (New York, 1990), 13-21, 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> L.R. Mooney and E. Stubbs, *Scribes and the City: London Guildhall Clerks and the Dissemination of Middle English Literature*, 1375-1425 (Woodbridge, 2013).

<sup>8</sup> M.B. Parkes, Their Hands Before Our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes (Aldershot, 2008), 51.

This painstaking and, at times painful, analysis allows us to draw several important conclusions. First, it seems clear that one man controlled the processes of compilation, composition and copying throughout the book. The historical account, 400-1225, despite being compiled from three different sources, and copied by four different scribes over what were originally nine different quires, is actually well organised, has a seamless narrative, and contains next to no duplication of material.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the use of the same manuscript, now Faustina A viii, as source material to compile the lists of episcopal succession and continue the historical account also speaks to a single controlling hand at work. Second, it is also clear that a number of manuscripts containing historical texts and a great many records were available to any compiler in London in the 1260s and 1270s.<sup>2</sup> We have seen above that there is little doubt that this one man was Arnold.<sup>3</sup> He was, then, clearly a very resourceful man, with wide interests, who could acquire a substantial range and variety of source material, and employ over a dozen scribes.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, by the time of his death in the summer of 1274, over a period of seventeen years, Arnold had compiled a manuscript of at least twenty-seven quires, if not more: striking testimony to his capacities as a composer, compiler and copyist.

The real value of this study, however, has to be the light which it can shed on 'why' Arnold compiled and composed his valuable book, a question considered more fully below.<sup>5</sup> For now the methodology and the chronology seem sure enough. He probably conceived the idea of composing a chronicle in the 1230s, began the composition in 1257, and continued both to compose and copy until the very end, at which point his chronicle comprised over 50,000 words, affording a remarkably full eyewitness testimony of a turbulent period. One can well imagine that, having begun composing a chronicle, Arnold could have decided to expand his book's scope by adding a preceding historical narrative to his chronicle account, along with various lists, statutes and assizes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 117 and 156 both use (probably deliberately) *Gesta Regum,* i, 420.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Infra, 80-97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 31-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Scribes 4, 9, 10, 15 and 16 only added material after Arnold's death.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Infra*, 97-130.

## Scribes and hands

Remarkably, at least nineteen scribes copied material into Arnold's book prior to 1330; what follows is an analysis of each scribal hand which made a substantial contribution. To do this I have chosen an image providing a typical representation of each hand, reproduced here on a scale of 1:0.85.<sup>1</sup> I have wherever possible given a firm dateable range, discussed elsewhere, in which a scribe copied material into Arnold's book; set out where in Arnold's book a given hand is predominantly found; and in which language it commonly wrote. It would be tedious, and indeed pointless, to describe every letter form – the images can say more than any words – and the letter forms of any hand which are typical of a given script do not require any commentary. Idiosyncratic or distinctive letter forms, however, which are untypical of either a script or a hand are discussed. Reference is made to the images by column (A = left, B = right) and line number, so, a word in the left hand column, line 2 would be referred to as 'A, line 2'.

There has, to date, never been a thorough study such as this. Ker briefly described and classified the hands, but the only hand which has attracted the interest of palaeographers is that of scribe 1; indeed, in their catalogues both Ker and Robinson printed an image of this hand which they believed – almost certainly rightly - to be the hand of Arnold fitz Thedmar himself.<sup>2</sup> Hitherto, I have not seen any of these hands witnessed in other manuscripts or documents. I hope, however, that in reproducing these images here, other historians and palaeographers may identify a witness of one of these hands elsewhere.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I am grateful to London Metropolitan Archives for their permission to reproduce these images.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ker, *Manuscripts*, 22-7, pl. 5 (fo. 144r); Robinson, *DDML*, ii, pl. 27 (fo. 123r).

Fig.5: Scribe 1 (fo. 157r).<sup>1</sup>

Bite fire Bofpreda forpart me for quisam maner m paline copilluo centren ourcace colon tomaldup ciby Doepro milley saw महिला के कि किर्मा किरा Paceupon Tomos his acoupt वैद्वार मिस्टिट वर् त्वी मा ट्यार le po prailing er gomes ट्रामिट्ट माग्र कर कारत ब्लू posses nother reparage more spiane peligiompopat Son paperec. Semece it to किल्किक नित्वकार्ने प्रेट के कार्य का काराया करकार द्वीया कार horep. 9 plurepannoppies act of nomen of Homap wite 1 comes manere P. Pine lour pyrorce einoner Polot peace pmaker of hero Oc one ppe mocellicate androil primor के क्वारत infancy fine peparacione माम्बर्वे के हिरी र किंडिं म्लानाहि। में जा दिला beaco tha Archiepo carre que ion Dopplet a parereo eno con nound ab impuffu Pilia que noca of fila द्वित मार्गायक गाउँ दिल na fremant Sepicore price phaciens Tangt ask oral pate ode qua or on and pullin pa march & frant. के वरियान मिनियानियानिय tofi boro pfecci mare Enfico parector tore mile dilige neneptro Danoual worce प्रिमाल रिमार मार्ट्य क्टा वर देश केडिं march regelan a ason ha reduce oursides le to Panoto none To fi Somm emente film Domicition in en Polote Sonarzica (2 8m) Omerace Long far hie Oi िक्तार्क manfipacint कि शिक्षा nep London. ofom page furto note marcif chom िरि ८०० में दिना पठण में nothing actifactiff month penerifice of oromating chilomate com polision Toped Dian Stop freu Soa to marcy Perung Angt a shipp for fam oily deby vice fire hiffrant are auministration populo de nother reparate ance hamaco pfeed fre meta िक्ता क्रिक विविधानिका क्टा umile Lond & formate a famola famil audiciant parlar comice il Plantage tra ha. of nenetel in Longon

This small, irregular, cursiva Anglicana script of s. xiii-xiii², which used bold strokes and pressure on large letters, as Parkes noted, to produce a chiaroscuro pattern on the page, is almost certainly Arnold fitz Thedmar's hand.² It is the hand found most frequently within the manuscript; it copied several lengthy sections concerned with Arnold's life and career; and it ceased making any dateable entries beyond July 1274, after which date Arnold died.³ Without this contextual evidence, however, one might indeed wonder

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Arnold's family history, c. 1283.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Parkes, Their Hands Before Our Eyes, 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 29-30.

whether this was Arnold's hand. Born in 1201, presumably Arnold developed his writing style quite early in the thirteenth century, yet certain features of this hand and the layout of the page are typical of a mid-thirteenth century style. Material is copied out below the top line of the page; the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** are forked and the right hand fork has become a hairline loop back to the shaft: 'plures' (A, line 8); **d** is looped with a heavy diagonal ascender: 'Arnaldus' (A, line 2); and **r** is written with a clearly visible shoulder stroke and with a shaft extending below the baseline: 'religionis' (A, line 6). Moreover, Arnold's suspension marks are usually bold and frequently curved, and his abbreviations are large and conventional for a hand of s. xiii.

However, other features of this hand would have appeared 'old-fashioned' in the 1260s-70s. By this time round **s** was increasingly being used in the initial and final positions of words, yet Arnold's clear preference was for straight **s** in the initial, middle and final position: 'sunt hospitati. Ipsis' (B, line 1). Another trend in the later thirteenth century was for **a** to be written with a closed top lobe, which Arnold occasionally did too: 'annos' (A, line 8); but generally Arnold wrote **a** with an open top lobe: 'quidam manens' (A, line 1). In all instances, however, as one would expect, the headstroke of **a** is usually bold, indeed at times so bold as to give the impression of a single compartment **a**: 'recta' and 'quanta' (A, lines 7 and 11).

Arnold wrote a generally upright hand, but the minims of  $\mathbf{m}$  and  $\mathbf{n}$  are noticeable for sloping to the right: 'nomen' (B, line 9). In initial position, there is almost always a hairline approach stroke to  $\mathbf{m}$  and  $\mathbf{n}$ : 'manens' (A, line 1). Occasionally initial  $\mathbf{m}$  is written in a rounded form, perhaps under a majuscule influence: 'monachus' (B, line 26). The larger top lobe of Arnold's 8-shaped  $\mathbf{g}$  is typical of an Anglicana script of this period: his finishing stroke of a diagonal descender down to the left finished with a hairline curve to the right, however, is anything but: 'religionis' (A, line 6). In fact, Arnold's  $\mathbf{g}$  should be compared with his  $\mathbf{x}$ , which is more typical of Anglicana scripts: 'uxore' (A, line 4). Arnold was copying from 1264 onwards, predominantly in Latin but occasionally in French.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> N.R. Ker, 'From "above top line" to "below top line": a change in scribal practice', *Celtica*, v, Richard Irvine Best memorial volume, (1960), 13-16.

Fig.6: Scribe 2 (fo. 132r).<sup>1</sup>

mfu Memorand of aprly Total Dorn Go à Mydafantanes sue sufficerent mosta Water le porer vic london que noia fullenc afelli m pftice dited fao. me. adod anno m too falso tru liby a capita. ad redepone autiques no simi prege 200 orm ones london que cosucerdo eft acherdness. 9 ochrec relaxaco 7 romp Tille m fefto smore & hade conconfero mail to for fure purposundes de momero 00 Callia as eleges maiore. 7 alsermann 7 7 De officio los quibs pomifio fraface. mole Discover cumoting telegifore philipmin Fred apre & differete in oullain eft m To bajilly quod unligno amatas illam fect porulis amapozonidas qualicer doone combitees & magnin tumnitin faci potuli time peroson & many shapey MICA ence damanine ndy ndy noonshim? ble durpuegy ge me und extens 110 num adrive habe mer thatem bevery er8 midio21 7 vicom Tondon vic ipi fear nd of anted motion explicate. To Winni congret force orpudy plotos vonilos inecoc Come where drop was with one mede मान्वारिक्टम मा शक क्टारात मेठि अधिरात 1911 paroad poonine. Al Smann wagin Tene at grandy 1 poncent. pla plures my Diode a ero asheogrico no Dec en ille maior come poani myou Paroem + come mandate du ver à pous 100 malence for tanca multundine Illing m anity magnam pennaam extrage metal. mablis ut resulte! facim adiepmic qua & semp proce am boa file affirmiture Som vege + coalmain apo Heftm. 10. 7 Water heren's Succe seems Minn with poor plo oune porprive an elle ple re 1711 See imm ee quod someto el apresent prexit omitte lbide princes ere sie ma कार्य क्रामिक्स वार्ष के के क्षेत्र कर कि Formeint sendinteda one faques The Decement Dimlenoe & Dimiteren emplos proch temp indroide ou more Sime home quoy no eft mmes? pede nos de ominho tallagno exactolos et 7 eq ad mandat out enm sequevant. tollie Fanod spe deferdirer cuntite In poor is festo among 7 hede por De onmily debates ama + cont regina 31 Aldermann + ere adheretes cum nemper Store owe grow to shed say whooms व्यानेका देशक प्रवाह के किसी का का कारत के क्षेत्र Amapay cumides concerned. 1 eft oftendepute ers grit congresso after Thorner Anti relaged quedo relaxaci The pla onin entine one motent co 11 + permission fur plane on peg mit multe impediebent etrone coy as de epo The alano de la souche time tempio ochicer des parone & ococom momente वि cuftodi cumulcus m magno tallaguo for mad of ad digs allop tomer de mye. Paffero sunicoy anni Migambre aco

A small, neat, slightly irregular cursiva Anglicana script of s. xiii², which betrays a slight slope to the left. It appears interchangeably with the hand of scribe 1 in the chronicle on fos. 129r-144v, and in various other places, usually updating lists, throughout Arnold's book; like scribe 1, he too ceased making dateable entries after July 1274. In light of all of which, it is most probable that this is the hand of a scribe employed by Arnold fitz Thedmar towards the end of his life. This scribe wrote only in Latin.

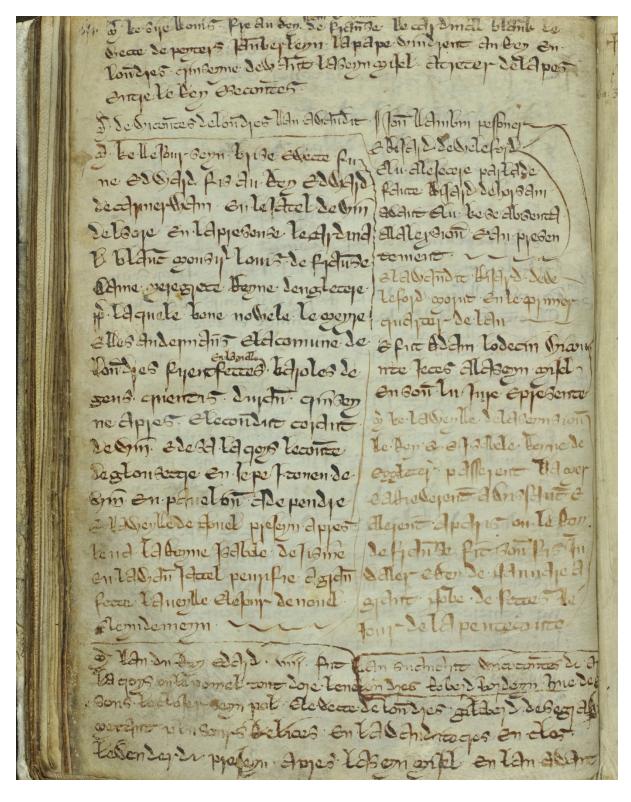
<sup>1</sup> cc. 1071-4.

This is, for the most part, a typical hand for this style of script.  $\bf a$  is usually formed of two compartments with an open top lobe, a very bold headstroke, and often standing a considerable distance taller than the other small letters: 'nay, nay' (A, line 10). The exception to this rule is when  $\bf a$  is followed by  $\bf l$ , in which cases one frequently finds a small single compartment  $\bf a$ : 'aldermanni', 'Walterum' and 'aliorum' (A, lines 6, 11 and 13). The ascenders of  $\bf b$ ,  $\bf h$ ,  $\bf k$  and  $\bf l$  are forked with a noticeable hairline loop to the right: 'Philippum' (A, line 7);  $\bf g$  is small and barely extends below the baseline: 'elegissent' (A, line 7);  $\bf r$  is v-shaped with a shoulder stroke and long descender: 'redempcionem' (B, line 3); the stem of  $\bf t$  often hardly crossed the headstroke, meaning it can at times only be distinguished from  $\bf c$  by the left hand extension of the headstroke: 'contradicentes' (A, line 9). Suspensions are also typically large and usually curved.

When compared with Arnold's hand (scribe 1), certain features of this hand evidence several late-thirteenth century developments in this style of script. The descenders of **f**, **p**, **q** and long **s** are frequently very long and seldom looped: 'assessi in prestitis' (B, line 2). Round **s** is commonly found in initial, middle and final positions: 'suis in sede maioratus posuerunt' (A, lines 13-14). The top lobe of this **s** is generally larger, and both top and bottom lobes of this round **s** are frequently closed, which can at times make **s** appear similar to this scribe's typically Anglicana **g**, compare 'sui' and 'tallagiis' (A, lines 22 and 23). Long **s** also appears: it is almost always preferred when **ss** and **st** is written: 'fuissent asessi in prestitis' (B, line 2), but as 'asessi' shows, it can also stand alone in the middle of words as a single **s**. Long **s** is also sporadically used at the end of words: 'ualentes' (A, line 16).

Two noticeable irregularities in this hand suggest that this scribe was accustomed to writing a bookhand. The first is the occasional use of a rounded  $\mathbf{m}$  when writing 'maior' or its cognates: 'maiorem' and 'maioratus' (A, lines 11 and 14). At other times the scribe wrote an upright  $\mathbf{m}$  with an approach stroke to the left: 'maiorem' (A, line 6) and 'maiori' (B, line 11). The second is the deployment of both  $\mathbf{u}$  and  $\mathbf{v}$  in the initial position of a word such as 'uiribus' (A, line 13; B, line 27); indeed, this  $\mathbf{v}$  with a looped approach stroke is quite distinctive, and is found elsewhere: 'uicecomitum' (B, line 31).

Fig.7: Scribe 4 (fo. 44v).<sup>1</sup>



A large, untidy, irregular cursiva Anglicana hand of s. xiiiex-s. xivin. The additions made throughout the manuscript by this scribe, invariably in French, always have this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 266-74.

appearance, i.e. with frequent changes in the appearance of the hand and of the ink, which suggests that these entries were being made continuously from 1299-1327.1

Typical cursiva Anglicana features of hand of this period include: a formed of two compartments, more commonly with an open top lobe, but frequently closed, compare 'dewaunt' and 'la' (line 3); **d** with a broad diagonal shaft and an exceptionally round loop which extends some distance from the shaft: 'Edward' (A, line 7); g extending little below the baseline and, in line with the development of Anglicana throughout the thirteenth century, the top lobe of which has become smaller than the bottom: 'd'Engletere' (A, line 11); and the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** forked with an evident right hand hairline loop: 'Lambin' (B, line 5). In the initial position majuscule **R** was invariably used: 'rey' and 'reyne' (A, lines 7 and 11).2 t has barely any of its stem extending above the headline: 'treter' (line 3). Suspensions are bold, thick and often traced without lifting the nib: 'lexsioun' (B, line 10). Writing in French there was less scope for abbreviations, but when used they are conventional: 'pur' (A, line 12). The hooked descender of y (which is dotted) is also quite typical of cursive Anglicana s.xivin; although it is less typical is to see a similar hook underneath the baseline to the right hand minim of **m**: 'seyn Miiel' (line 3).

This scribe's use of  $\mathbf{s}$  is worthy of note. Long  $\mathbf{s}$  is still used in the middle of words where one finds ss: 'pessoner' and 'passerent' (B, lines 5 and 20), although note 'Wissaunt' (B, line 21) where both long and short s have been used. Otherwise, as one would expect in a script of this date, short **s** has generally replaced long **s**. There are, however, several variations in the deployment of round s: at times both the top and bottom lobe are closed which presents an 8-shaped s: 'monsire' (A, line 10); at other times, s can appear like **G** or **6**: 'seyn' (A, line 6); and on other occasions, and perhaps most commonly, it has an open top lobe and a bold, extended top line: 'Louis' (A, line 10).

Two orthographic features here are particularly noteworthy. Firstly, **ch** is written with a i/j: 'Miiel' for Michel, (line 3), iatel for chatel (A, line 8), and 'preieyn' for 'precheyn' (bottom line). Secondly  $\mathbf{u}/\mathbf{v}$  and  $\mathbf{w}$  are used seemingly interchangeably: 'weylle' and 'ueylle' (A, lines 20 and 23).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Infra, 161-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This was not just for proper nouns, elsewhere one frequently sees 'Fet a remembrer' written with a majuscule **R** too.

Fig.8: Scribe 5 (fo. 3r).1

one mant archiefe Hagmoria Confit natione angloque beamar tytio comacusest muste eptiem out hie percen lubann ochelbaldo regim corum terre wannenann ingens of renfil morabs quoumdan regum am dulande d's cos puniar de dulil en un expechat ommo kino tixvi amore weil regaly anglorum pfettento schellateo bonefacust arch legarus germanicul Romane ceclie perman inxpo carrant salurem Confremus ट्यामा १६० दर वृत्ते अधिकारणा गामा नि com abona opa audmut lecamur Qu audligund adnerfum net inene mbellozum nel depult afanım de nobil cognoscimus titumur Audi unnul 44 . as elemosmus incencul fin al Impinas philes tracem diligis t tesenso monatum tunipum estin te des gins agunus. Q' uero legier mun mainoniff fund hyrodilm re faceres ce laucabile. Bi quiam luxuna tadultie f cum la momali by notumns est uncurabile reampua bile lam & fumam gle use com to Thoundy confuder time prolamat con Mour quia complum termolath. La while kine pennere imemorare am ompe fir in en que multil gentilus cono der dirarif administram einf fis Undin ferun Audintmul prongs opmmaces pene és gemes memorum tuo exemplo legitual nxoies cele tant fadultaf afcimomales confin prent As and in pronum ab bonella re cocent not aliene grenal instanco

Ham hamig laxoma vimilla en Api coguna o si urgo inpirina domo ul'manum sub conguge fuit adulé am manu pa famgulamm cremat Hup fossam seputæ corruparem sus pendime due emgalorenuluelabus ablattif Hazellam cam cathe make Feulwill pungung Femila muil lam mile occurrunt none flagella the wher intimant Intup Aleide as elt feoissemm genus hommi Kehaben morem ur multer utw morno lemvogo cieman paurer ar fum pupiter प्रेर कुलातीक मान nordines cuncim Zelum casimo mehile adi conneme fin lanie qui Apianul frex of pance of animomic pince unitanioni pli mo pennes exemplo dequezum annabi wadi aules tonem Accende wills as signis angioum hair infranca Healta? abipil pigami nobil impanulpic us legramif maimounts padulit a-definit nascitura excali ginge none sit gens ignane Feer concep oux-duchqual moup thauam bel Conder have burgundromby touth adily thy funtif comign quos fini cem mulafannif infelhant in pecia price prea nunciament nobil as multa prulegia collatum unonchi oum auferental hocandiendum de ces mos exemplo puoces. Es recogna quelo qua cerubilem umduta d's mantiones weres exercunt enriculpe confutor at mic argumul dam ceoliedum pescellorem num Amp

Scribe 5 wrote a small textualis libraria hand of s. xiii², similar to that of scribes 7 and 8, between 1257 and 1270.² It first appears in Arnold's book on fos. 3r-9r, and then again on fos. 31r-34v, mainly copying material from the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*.³ This scribe wrote only in Latin.

For the most part this is a typical hand of textualis written at a libraria level, with widely-spaced letters and few decorative hairlines. The ascenders and descenders are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Supra, 53-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 55-65, 139-157.

usually short and upright, but do notice on this folio and elsewhere (e.g. fos. 33v-34r) the *litterae elongatae* of the top and bottom lines, and the occasional 'falling' **d**: 'documentum' (A, line 5): both of which betray the influence of documentary script.¹ The tops of the ascenders are bifurcated and the feet of the minims are finished with a small stroke to the right. **a** is traced with two compartments, of which the top one is closed. Usually, and typically for this script, **a** is the same size as the other small letters, but sometimes it does rise slightly above other small letters: 'puniat' (A, line 7), something again suggestive of a cursive influence.

Most letter forms are conventional for this script:  $\mathbf{f}$  and long  $\mathbf{s}$  stand on the baseline: 'fossam' (B, line 5);  $\mathbf{t}$  is distinguishable from  $\mathbf{c}$  by the left extension of its headstroke: 'flagellatrices' (B, lines 9-10); both  $\mathbf{x}$  and  $\mathbf{z}$  are crossed: 'Saxonia' and 'zelum' (B, lines 1 and 15); unlike scribes 7 and 8, this scribe did not dot  $\mathbf{y}$ : 'ydolatras' (A, line 27); the suspensions are usually short and not particularly thick; and the abbreviations too are conventional.

The tracing of certain graphs, however, can be more idiosyncratic.  $\bf d$  appears with both a round back (most commonly): 'districte deus' (A, line 7); and (occasionally) a straight back: 'audimus' (A, line 14). The  $\bf do$  fusion is frequently found: 'documentum' (A, line 5); but not always used: 'Ethelbaldo' (A, lines 4 and 10). This scribe was more consistent, however, in his use of the  $\bf de$  fusion: 'de deo' (A, line 21).  $\bf g$  is always 8-shaped, sometimes with a hairline flourish extending diagonally down to the left: 'regibus' (A, line 9) and 'genus' (B, line 11); more often than not, however, this is missing: 'regi' (A, line 4). This scribe's use of a round  $\bf r$  after  $\bf o$ : 'coronatus' (A, line 3), is very typical of this script, but the majuscule  $\bf R$  in the middle of 'animarum' (A, line 16) is not. In the initial and middle position only straight  $\bf s$  is used, but in the final position both straight and round  $\bf s$  are used interchangeably: 'elemosinis intentus furta et rapinas prohibes et pacem diligis' (A, lines 18-19).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Derolez, *Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*, 87.

Fig.9: Scribe 6 (fo. 9v).1

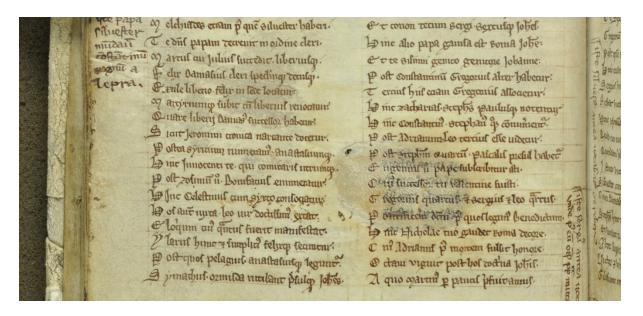
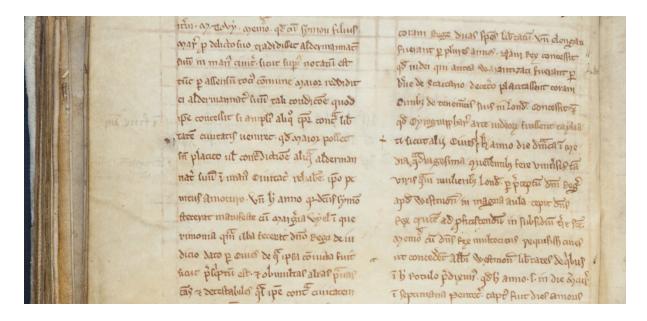


Fig.10: Scribe 6 (fo. 67v).<sup>2</sup>



Scribe 6 was the only scribe to write two distinct hands in the manuscript. The first, shown at the top, is a small, neat, irregular, upright, textualis libraria of s. xiii², in which he copied the metrical list of the papal succession on fos. 9v-10r.<sup>3</sup> The same scribe also copied in a slightly more cursive hand, shown underneath, the first section of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 671.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 66-8.

chronicle on fos. 63v-71v.<sup>1</sup> Both of these texts were copied between 1257 and 1264.<sup>2</sup> This hand wrote in Latin, with the occasional 'slip' into French: 'de le Hokeday'.<sup>3</sup>

The resemblance between the two stints is first evident in the *regular* tracing of certain graphs: the **ii** of 'liberii' (top, A, line 7) and 'alii' (bottom, B, line 7); rounded, angular **d** with a long ascender: 'decore' (top, B, line 13) and 'delicto' (bottom, A, line 2); the finishing applied to the right minim of majuscule **M**, with a descender below the baseline and a hairline flourish up to the right: 'Martinus' (top, B, line 17) and 'Memorandum' (bottom, B, line 12); a similar descender and hairline flourish used to trace **y**: 'Symachus' (top, A, line 17) and 'Touy' (bottom, A, line 1); the tracing of the suspension mark with an upward tick to the right: 'Stephanus' (top, B, line 6) and 'preceptum domini' (bottom, B, line 9); and the similar **a** abbreviation: 'quantus' (top, A, line 14) and 'dominica' (bottom, B, line 7).

In both stints the scribe also *irregularly* traced certain letter forms. **a** is always two-compartment, sometimes it appears with an open top lobe: 'paucis' (top, B, line 17) and 'anno' (bottom, B, line 7); and sometimes with its top lobe closed: 'annis' (top, B, line 17) and 'dominica' (bottom, B, line 7). At times **g** is finished with a long *diagonal* flourish down to the left: 'Sergi' (top, B, line 1) and 'quadragesima' (bottom, B, line 8); at other times the bottom lobe of **g** is extended *horizontally* to the left: 'gaudet' (top, B, line 14) and 'regi' (bottom, A, line 12). Round **r** appears in both stints with a hairline flourish extending underneath the baseline: 'mortem' (top, B, line 15) and 'maior' (bottom, A, line 7); and without: 'Gregorius' (top, B, line 5) and 'maior' (bottom, A, line 4). Long **s** is usually straight and stands on the baseline: 'Symachus' (top, A, line 17) and 'filius' (bottom, A, line 1); but one also sees a curved long **s** which extends below the baseline: 'annis' (top, B, line 17) and ciuitatis (bottom, A, line 7).

There is little doubt that the hand used by this scribe to copy the chronicle is more cursive. For example, in the chronicle **a** often rises above the level of the other small letters: 'anno' (bottom, B, line 7); there are occasional looped **ds**: 'dominica' (bottom, B, line 7); and loops also on the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l**, and 'mulieribus' (bottom, B, line 9). These cursive features appear more regularly towards the end of this section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 569-694.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Supra, 40-3, 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 660.

Fig.11: Scribe 7 (fo. 11r).1

They STIATE flartiaile tradad billia a umvaz feneltaz pin om anglia alcinic: de marpo. schlie te gehit Begii angloge totum pene cium talia ciiligento pegri विकार विकार Hno quarto regni chel nat. oumpe Audio aduebendi cognant with veget Horchumbroy. aliqo infolizimiamoi pare 7 noliment uremian eleganne afpens fallehan labores. Hegi qui Ceprin fur ab joa pino vege ille Fuftman Begui tempe anglow obite Beda hillo en an buelon laputer tablacul, tom in 0 19 gz vicul post mutos in sta ectia librol bettannia in this uncebar neg p (pianta रा प्रचलार्या कार te me penetra lucom edily tolard sane clabourros celestem param quidui 8 it framat bar undiul Bacernamig87 pottettione puanar ingthat elb anno dince mean heave the sale cenoby to augustin apo carrenauam navil sepangemelimo telimo queo 17m efectil ecucil lue que gelimo nono. Un que Tibent nementa adviano cetteritino ve d'Eome fatourit पवारे है। दीलक्षा बादीको विक्वीमें रिल muar facilit ein digne palicare pol मारा किंद नामनी lit qo i gravemo nar oibil anglo doct uenerad magniterii. US du palienas ittu Lattie no cornter tial one plingers. Ham tial autrar du ablent! lub mavdudii of apol loss bucannia que a quibidam alt orbit a azonadit Wirenfili fe m confutro alba Frigo Loday appliani of occasio interta no intat tem equimit imo magnanimit tuliv. 44 alter colmographit comperta elt. To Tre tomuq veulul pardem illi honoze in esal cheris monttima fui plaga locum nacuuta consessi i oni pono porestare. Quin 7 fue oco (& ut 7 educacon el Course prinquum. idul paralili tam nalice ut nich arani الا تحدة المحدة Plaga olim & fuanc balanciby mona er cer fleubile trum oftraire: 98 ale 2 Snave Tribe Acroy Horiby Aulas & whin. aroma कर् रामानी स्वरक्ता गरे मार्च रव्यव्याधारक mumane nit edification frequentia remoent no udradme. Cump mozby marelout id ul'antiq danor ul'recenta normanor D. Tuo All querer unalia: logo ad le celaco tolo भीवना पाद्याध्याः मादीनी वृष्ठे वार्वेड मादिनी micu naledure-82 n'ille planer nahut 10 dex ceals allmar prendir bi elt Win n'egene repende officii. no pore of pomoquem con - कटक नादि lanudunt in legint guigent amnit. teleto ad genti Mam añ budan tefunct? hixer to only q pelago mfunt names ferena in elt Bucceller chellerd fub quelmona मारीमार्डमारी गर् nectal anna place holding crapic gre thery I mmenti ande 18 at durino fenio Burio Palan mio Our unalqi ripal budan qoam umendi venilaatler teliterio ivma ne & Bittutor cedit magnino + monastera ibide pierro Centem aram ur spabam dint 京元本日 continuet alem peur alem pauli efficher aplit 63 em non effen carent some from note carract & regule vmone no dil nature debrum ap& lingonif aurant Tagnell & acpantia fur montam a paconcia Tyr. Belique offin potteror by annil भारत कार्या muabir qui leger libett que bed co ad monaffium find tem dance tempe म्बद्धान रेमार्ड poliur te vita el a veliquoy albanim naltacon ou offibite hilde Glattoma moy Indultriam : q8 copiam libroy my afte path portare how albarin quim qp le lauf Padrelph pop aducrero. qo artifica lapidan edin enmer ofpram Alapir con bed m

Scribe 7 wrote a small, widely-spaced textualis libraria hand of s. xiii², similar to that of scribes 5 and 8. It appears on fos. 11r-30v copying sections from the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*.² This scribe only copied in Latin, between 1257 and 1270.³

Features typical of this script include:  $\mathbf{a}$  which is almost always two compartment;  $\mathbf{f}$  and long  $\mathbf{s}$  which do not extend below the baseline; and feet of minims which have been finished with a flourish to the right: 'anno' (A, line 9). The short indented ascenders of  $\mathbf{b}$ ,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 70-138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 53-4.

 $\mathbf{h}$ ,  $\mathbf{k}$  and  $\mathbf{l}$ , traced with a frequently prominent left-handed approach stroke: 'multos' (A, 7), are not untypical, but they are distinctive and contrast to the more conventional bifurcation of ascenders by scribe 5. Other distinctive features which differentiate this hand from that of scribes 5 and 8, but remain typical of this script, include: the unusually thick left handed approach stroke to the occasional upright  $\mathbf{d}$ : 'dulcis' (A, line 21); the dislocation between the shaft and headstroke of  $\mathbf{r}$ : 'extremo' (A, line 13); the use of round  $\mathbf{s}$  in addition to long  $\mathbf{s}$  in the initial position of words (unless writing a majuscule scribes 5 and 8 preferred long  $\mathbf{s}$  in this position): 'sancta' (A, line 7) and 'septingentesimo' (A, line 10).

There are some noticeable signs of cursive influences in this textualis hand: note the 'falling'  $\mathbf{d}$ s, 'domumque', 'de quo' and 'tendebat' (B, lines 17, 21, 26); the extended descender of  $\mathbf{y}$  and the **-orum** abbreviation with an upward flourish: 'Anglorum' and 'hystoricus' (A, lines 6-7); and the hairline descender of  $\mathbf{g}$ : 'ingressus' (A, line 9).

There are some inconsistencies in this hand. **a** is traced with both an open and closed top lobe: 'Angliam' (B, line 1), and at times the top of the shaft of **a** is so short that the letter looks like a single-compartment **a**: 'incarnacionis' and 'appellatur', (A, lines 9-10, 16). Both rounded **d** and straight **d** are used: 'digne predicare' (A, line 12). The use of round **r** is particularly idiosyncratic: sometimes it is used after **o** and **b**: 'Northumbrorum' (A, line 4), but at other times not: 'libros elaboratos' (A, lines 7-8); sometimes it is completed with a hairline flourish extending diagonally down to the left below the baseline: 'amor' and 'Britannia' (B, lines 4, 7); at other times not: 'honorem', (B, line 17); and quite unusual is the deployment of double round **rr** in 'porro' (B, line 18). Whilst not uncommon at the time, it is worth noting that these inconsistencies are also to be found in the orthography: this scribe used both **t** and **c** interchangeably when they were followed by **i** and another vowel, so 'pacienciam' (A, line 33) and 'pacientiam' (B, line 9).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Perhaps William of Malmesbury's habit of always using **t** in place of **c** in these instances made this copyist's job harder, *Gesta Regum*, i, xxvii.

Fig.12: Scribe 8 (fo. 35r).1

State action of De stepho Pege argint india brato henvio rege poto Aeplanut from locomar zentella fua ple nav potra i adnem dui tre cattellu citm 34 oly our purile fi omes bolonie fili fozouf el audira No althird toggs more el thifteenurmangham? dramesoja. A mo segini futi maria a vitto cantuar archique muchus eft ire fames. Amo reg poa viin thilar titi ökkannun gem aprid lond anno of & nich. hor ano ch to cikenewald . whit ki-octobs titt magnatum celia la pauli loro combusta est de illo igne apud fan pauli lond. Anno fegini tt. Lianson fur hyems maxia q mapiens un id? am accentus ad pomem long. I proper mon f numating ad eam la demins demora. Anno regni decembers durant usquad y kat mar m whiteley ai Framilia lie ogelara fur ut pete ? un & Impart fill pea regre hou robro fre valde comercia ed Thiffier. Doften auno reguntur xix no com glounic net mangled intello le amquala obite fili un cultad't bent dux norma michael Poftea Ano regni fin feptio cap Futude inmigra ma ful igame por 7 commit andiga tul è ut ver mbello ? duct ao potam ipa mappy your. meneir mäglid in manu ualida cor tem zi catello debitone poin ichou. leve gleburun Tune wair aldonientity ; ab of pene ge rigt frephin hellaries i fire octabas api uguluelou phanie 7 caftellu de malmetberia ob re anglow infceptu e monaru crest an w oblequim redir-7 milites first obtessos ad tediro - tentile . See tance a locometile capulla Moth differ ne wegt. Polted fract jur mr rege ett ide la joke bapatte prio lequen. 7 mm duce apo Vinton octano kt & um quid du Samo quale martin file par regis cembis. Anna legina obicer feut ver Mun Acular benrici que defuncto marcos marco fuo I lepult off i abribia & fautha om गणाम स्वाप्त । mupor gatto wint antegnuen-An offrmat. De henvio rege toto noultaf init no poto flari illa effare obcetta e tris but the hear dur notmanie Iono a londomentiby quam witte de tettetm mmo audito rumoze par reg-bett de motre magna uilla unebar 7 formauer. Ob summation from i mair matelli Wind ai avendo backettini tibi y onu nifem nener cem Manly argunt Seniens langha Sul कित होता है के के दे हैं कि सार है कि कार है sernoudo merbe ab oils elect eft. Tapud Settin to. Ser Walle jonne a regima reg Aephi aliam med inregem Suchus artheolatio arther. ai londonientibi freet ed id reced-म रेक्स प्रमु Cape eff nie robe comet poces cu mulat our in-damo Al annavi and gre mame film me Quiggelimo nin Doftea ice ret tui tola libaro ver libar en 7 & abrolui uncusens anno regin lui-uni durir erimi i bal est via cape fun à amet poes i die cent s ungang tationis to chicas trox liber est i fetto oihas ubi plures regeme fua poider in toe feret pun Walenfee's fubrugauir. Armo legim um los 7 mregno retiran Amo lega ं शयकिनीवा toon rer reconarded apud lyigering n no ftephan obledir marcin oxoma those furn -xii-kt may tp celebratione diumo Der ma tadem cuaftr. Poftra ano regni स्तिय स्मिति the wood fing altere position in which fur nono cope rer galfor de magna la h- Hilly coronar en codem ano nous moners La i curia fua apo tom albanu por fertu creata ? mangha. Amo forcio tamidatt que liberer redidir rati

Like scribes 5 and 7, scribe 8 wrote a small, textualis libraria hand of s. xiii² between 1257 and 1270.² This hand, however, has a noticeably different appearance to that of those other scribes: it is more angular and spiky, it slopes slightly to the left, and it is written at a much greater distance above the ruled line, to such an extent that the descenders of **p**, **q** and even the **-orum** abbreviation hardly, if at all, extend below this line: 'baptiste proximo sequenti' and 'Scottorum' (A, lines 17 and 25).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 158-171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Supra, 53-4.

This hand only appears on fos. 34v-36v copying material in Latin.<sup>1</sup> As expected of this script: **a** is always traced with two compartments, usually with a closed top lobe; indeed, at times it appears similar to a 'box **a**': 'audita', 'Angliam' and 'conbusta' (A, lines 2, 3, and 6); **f** and long **s** stand on the line of writing with short ascenders; and **g** is 8-shaped with a noticeably smaller bottom lobe, which too sits on or even above the ruled line (**p** and **q** above): 'rege' and 'Angliam' (A, lines 1 and 3). There are, however, some features which suggest a cursive influence to this hand; note the very long ascenders of some **d** graphs which often stretch quite far to the left: 'ad deditionem' (B, lines 16-17);<sup>2</sup> similarly long and leaning left hand limbs of the letter  $\mathbf{u}/\mathbf{v}$ : 'tunc', 'ueniens' and 'unctus' (B, lines 22, 25, 27); the bold, upward flourish on the left of the headstroke of the tironian sign, balanced with the bold, upward right hand treatment of its minim, (B, lines 15, 16); and the curved, as opposed to horizontal, **n** abbreviation crossing the ascender of **l** in 'Londoniensibus' (A, lines 14 and 16).

This scribe, unlike scribes 5 and 7, almost always preferred round  $\mathbf{s}$  in the final position, although there are occasional uses of long  $\mathbf{s}$  too: 'Stephanus', 'sororis' and 'multis' (A, 1, 2, 28).<sup>3</sup> Round  $\mathbf{s}$  in this hand is distinctive, with its two lobes connected by a diagonal hairline stroke and the top lobe finished with a hairline extension to the right: 'accensus' and 'Clementis' (A, lines 7, 8). Indeed, at times this diagonal hairline stroke has been so rapidly and boldly traced that the result looks very similar to  $\mathbf{g}$ : 'Willelmus Ypriensis' (A, line 26).

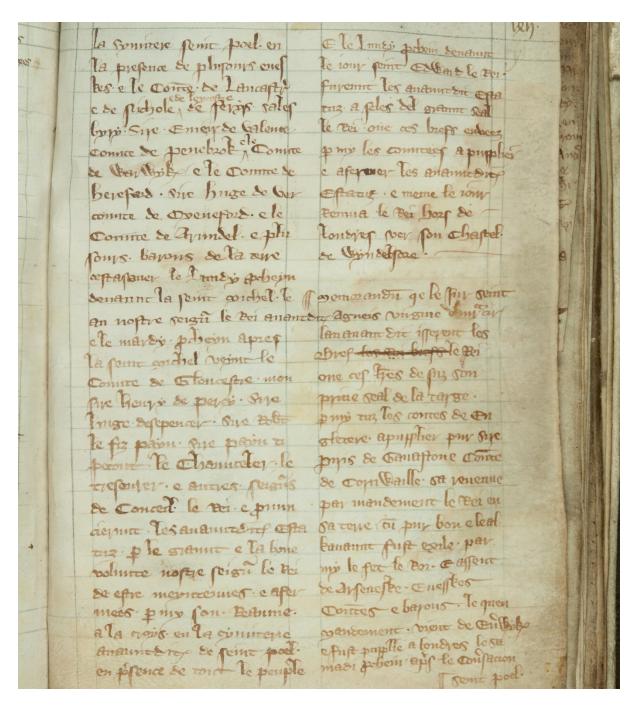
The ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** are short and usually bifurcated with a left-hand approach stroke: 'Londoniensibus' (A, line 14), although sometimes there is little bifurcation: 'Londoniarum' (B, line 1), and at other times the addition of a right-hand hairline finish: 'decembris' (B, line 8). Other inconsistencies include the capricious use of a diagonal hairline flourish on round **r**: 'sororis (A, line 2) and 'decembris' (B, line 8); both uncrossed and crossed **x**: 'inperatrix' and 'exaltationis' (A, lines 14, 30-1); and **x** treated with both a long, hairline flourish extending diagonally left below the baseline: 'maxima' (B, line 7), and a short, bold, right-handed cross stroke on the baseline: 'rex' (A, line 12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 157-98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Note too the distinctive **ded** double fusion in 'deditionem'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Perhaps its use in 'Stephanus' and 'multis' was caused by a lack of space at the end of a line.

Fig.13: Scribe 9 (fo. 145r).1



Scribe 9 wrote a small, thick, right-leaning, irregular cursiva Anglicana hand of s. xiv<sup>in</sup> with bold vertical strokes. He added occasional entries, the majority of which are notices of the years 1310-4, usually in French.<sup>2</sup>

Typically for this script of this date  $\mathbf{a}$  is two compartment and generally rises above the height of the other small letters: 'auaunt' (B line, 3); the ascenders of  $\mathbf{b}$ ,  $\mathbf{h}$ ,  $\mathbf{k}$  and  $\mathbf{l}$  are treated with a right-hand hairline loop which turns back to connect with the shaft,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 1170-1.

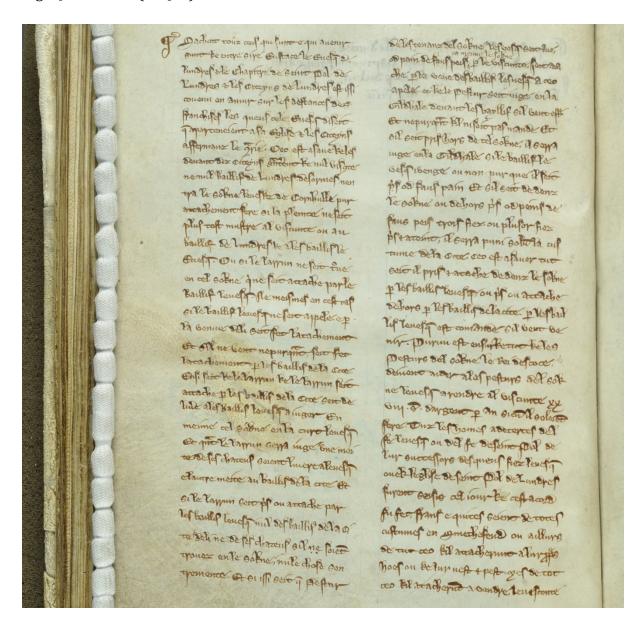
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 233, 341, 344, 1170-73, 1288; *infra*, 163.

whereas the descenders of  $\mathbf{f}$ ,  $\mathbf{p}$ ,  $\mathbf{q}$  and long  $\mathbf{s}$  are thick and long before narrowing to a sharpened point, which often finishes with a tiny extension to the left: 'la presence de plusours eueskes' (A, lines 2-3);  $\mathbf{g}$  is 8-shaped and sits on the baseline: 'graunt' (B, line 4); and miniscule  $\mathbf{u}/\mathbf{v}$  is traced with a thick, vertical left-hand approach stroke: 'uer' (B, line 10). Also typical of cursiva Anglicana of this date is the tracing of a very bold ascender on  $\mathbf{d}$ , although note how in this hand, unlike that of scribe 4 who wrote the same script, the hairline loop of  $\mathbf{d}$  tends to remain quite close to the ascender: 'lundy' (A, line 12). Another difference between these hands can be seen in the  $\mathbf{r}$  graph: here it is v-shaped and, as is typical of early fourteenth-century Anglicana, it extends little below the baseline: 'Hereford' (A, line 8), whereas scribe 4 wrote  $\mathbf{r}$  with a very long descender.

Perhaps rather untypical of this script are the minims of **m**, **n**, and **u**, which are traced in one stroke and slope slightly to the right: 'symitere' and 'Emeir' (A, lines 1 and 5); one would arguably also expect to see round **s** employed more than it is here in a hand of s. xiv<sup>in</sup>: when it is used, it is, however, typically 6-shaped: 'plusours barons' (A, lines 10-11).

One does see the occasional inconsistency in this hand: sometimes the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** are forked with a left-hand approach stroke: 'le chaunceler' (A, line 21); **d** can be both small: 'lundy' (A, line 12) and big: 'Arundel' (A, line 10); and **f** and long **s** are occasionally traced with a hairline loop to the left of the shaft: 'aseles' (B, line 4). The orthography is also far from consistent, compare: 'symitere' and 'cymiterie' (A, lines 1, 29); 'iour' with 'iur' (B, lines 2, 13); and 'procheyn' and prochein' (A, line 15; B, line 1). Although in every instance, scribe 9 used **ch** as opposed to scribe 4's use of **i/j** for this grapheme.

Fig.14: Scribe 10 (fo. 42v).1



A small cursiva Anglicana hand of s. xiiiex. This is the only appearance of this hand in Arnold's book, copying out a charter of the liberties belonging to the bishop and chapter of St Paul's in French.

In many ways this scribe wrote a very similar hand to that of scribe 2 who wrote c. 1272-4. Both scribes held or cut the pen obliquely, and this scribe too traced long diacritical hairline strokes above i which are similar to the exaggerated hairline stroke traced after final e: 'Chapitre de Seint Pol' (A, line 3). In both of these hands a is usually two compartment with a bold headstroke and an open top lobe; sometimes it rises above the other small letters: 'auenir' (A, line 1), at other times it does not: 'destances' (A, line 5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 253.

In this hand too one can see that the ascenders of  $\mathbf{b}$ ,  $\mathbf{h}$ ,  $\mathbf{k}$  and  $\mathbf{l}$  have been traced with a small approach stroke to the left and a hairline loop to the right: 'gildhale' (B, line 5); that on the rare occasions when it is not joined to the preceding letter,  $\mathbf{r}$  has its shoulder stroke: 'contrarie' (A, line 8); and that both straight and 6-shaped round  $\mathbf{s}$  are used in the initial and final position, but only straight  $\mathbf{s}$  in the middle of words.

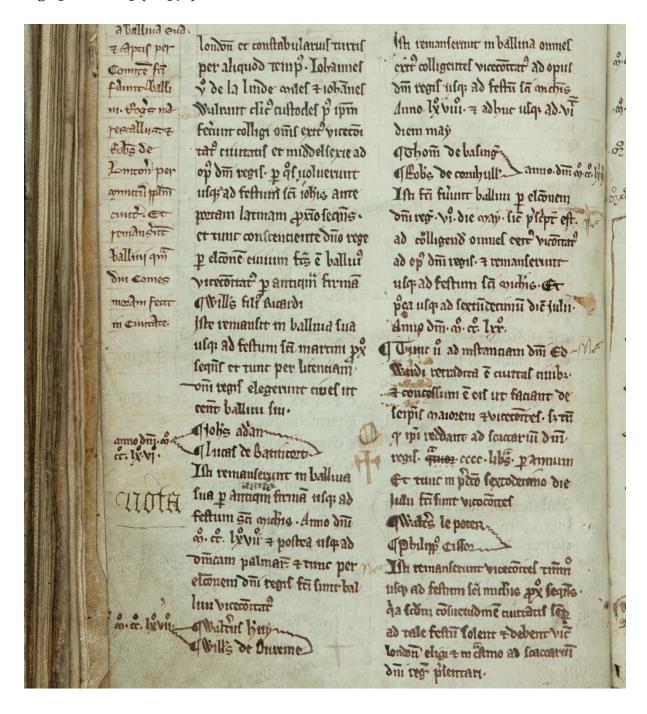
However, several late thirteenth-century developments in Anglicana are also evident, which suggest that it was copied by a scribe writing after scribe 2: the approach stroke to  $\bf f$  and tall  $\bf s$  has been elaborated to give what Parkes called a 'double head' aspect: 'franchises' (A, line 6);<sup>1</sup> the descenders of  $\bf p$  and  $\bf q$  are longer than those traced by scribe 2; whereas the descender of  $\bf r$ , while still extending below the baseline has shortened; and the descender of  $\bf y$  is traced sharply to the left: 'citeyns affermanz' (A, lines 7-8). Indeed, many of these characteristics are visible in the hand of scribe 9 who was writing c. 1310-14.

Noteworthy features of this hand include:  $\mathbf{h}$  sometimes traced with a single ductus: 'hors' (B, line 7); the rightward sloping minims of  $\mathbf{i}$ ,  $\mathbf{m}$ ,  $\mathbf{n}$  and  $\mathbf{u}$  which are traced in one stroke: 'couenu en amur' (A, line 5);  $\mathbf{r}$  which is usually joined to both the preceding and succeeding letter, sometimes even joining two separate words: 'larrun' and 'par le' (A, lines 15 and 16); and the inconsistent writing of the conjunction 'and' with  $\mathbf{e}$  (A, line 1), the crossed tironian nota (A, lines 3 and 4), and  $\mathbf{et}$  (B, lines 4, 6 and 10).

<sup>-</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands, xv.

Fig.15: Scribe 13 (fo. 59v).1



A widely-spaced textualis libraria hand of s. xiii<sup>2</sup>. This scribe was writing towards the end of 1271 and his hand appears in only two places in Arnold's book.<sup>2</sup>

This hand is, for the most part, a typical representation of textualis libraria:  $\mathbf{a}$  is two compartment,  $\mathbf{f}$  and long  $\mathbf{s}$  stand on the baseline, and the ascenders of the  $\mathbf{b}$ ,  $\mathbf{h}$ ,  $\mathbf{k}$  and  $\mathbf{l}$  are not looped. As one would also expect of this style, the descenders of  $\mathbf{p}$  and  $\mathbf{q}$  are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 452-458.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Supra*, 51-2; cc. 373-460, 1057-8.

short, and they are, like the minims of  $\mathbf{i}$ ,  $\mathbf{m}$ ,  $\mathbf{n}$  and  $\mathbf{u}$  treated with a small upward extension to the right: 'Portam Latinam proximo sequens' (A, line 9).

There are, however, some features of this hand which are untypical of this script, and which rather suggest a cursive influence. **a** sometimes rises above the height of its fellow small letters: 'balliua' (B, line 1); the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** are quite long, perhaps even twice the height of the small letters: 'colligentes' (B, line 2); and one occasionally sees a 'falling' **d**: 'domini' and 'Dominicam' (A, lines 17 and 25).

In what is a reasonably consistent scribal performance, there are, nevertheless, several inconsistencies in this hand. The top lobe of  $\bf a$  is sometimes closed: 'constabularius' (A, line 1), and sometimes open: 'remanserunt' (B, line 1). While round-backed  $\bf d$  is by far the most commonly used, one also finds the straight backed  $\bf d$ : 'custodes' (A, line 4). The word 'May' is written with both an upright minuscule  $\bf m$  (B, line 5) and a rounded  $\bf m$  with a downward diagonal hairline flourish on the final minim, (B, line 9).

Note that the abbreviation stroke for **pro** crosses the shaft of **p** at the baseline: 'proximo' (A, line 9), but for **per** it crosses below the baseline and very much through an extended descender: 'per' (A, line 11).

Fig.16: Scribe 17 (fo. 151r).<sup>1</sup>

+	super thoch de dampning	te regul hit tepopuly Reg Rick
1	rommandis meellight celib	Holin tener gluenerut.
	राम्बल्लारि विशे वित्र में मार् ते	क्रियारिया दिस हता के महत्त्रामां है देश
	Subcractomby fait predeces	viciar in Tcomicaciby hundred
	Couly wor verumpth dui	nec icur baronii de ceto capia
	and vertur teneter suot les	Eap aliquida finer p pulcrepla
	linam telectic hirecupa	व्यवकार्क महत्व कि एट मह कट्ट
	reno pochie p defatea ne	nent ec Riend हे कु pitta gft
	nechadenus R'glueure.	cucom no colluncar fines cera
0	Be िस्टिश बाल्ट व् बाल्ट रहे	Cen prestaconer aremaceare
0	भे मिक्किला मिरिक्स के मिल्ट	pose q dut rer puio transfrees
1	currer les cummunicas	ute in berennin usen mie.
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	nur archiepi epi abber	ित्त त्र वर्षे मेह्सार गा वादि गरि
	priozer commer baron	w.pamu ad mund.
1	nec Aliqui miri religioti len	In affile Auce informe preten . Exil.
	mulierer mli specialicer	रिक्टामि राष्ट्रियार व्राप्ट मार्क्ट
	coxpresencia erigatise	मिट के ब्रिंग प्रस्तिकिं के क्या
T	tenear turnil lie tepo	dier de quidena i quindena
4	राष्ट्र केरेट्ट्सिक्ट कार्म रहता	ul'de the lepennami i cref lep
	teneri gluento. et hqui	manas pur locus pinquint
	Thundredir duing habeat	fur ul remocul tiplo gre
	cenemeta no heart ne	impedie And pmildiend
	tesse ad he curnos nenire	que lumonte Pur no uene
	nui i bailla & Fina quer	nor offennimifette air
	Cancel & ceneant curm	a Tire as Segun quote
- 13	रिकारीय रिकामन मामकुमर दर्	and benett net ellomin

A widely spaced, rounded textualis libraria of s. xiii², copied between 1267 and 1274, and the only appearance of this hand in Arnold's book.² The numbers in the margin are chapter numbers into which the Statute of Marlborough was divided.

The thick vertical strokes of this hand are very typical of textualis. There is, too, a contrasting and aesthetically pleasing uniform diagonal aspect in contrast to the vertical body of the text. This is given by the long diacritical hairline strokes above **i** and after some final **e**s: 'placitande' (B, lines 6-7); the diagonal connection in the **ct** ligature:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 1248-1253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Supra, 52-3.

'sectis' (A, line 7); along with oblique hairline flourishes extending down to the left on round **r**, **x** and the abbreviations for **pro**: 'prouisum' (A, line 14), and **-bus** and **-orum**: 'predecessoribus ipsorum' (A, lines 4-5). As one would expect from a textualis hand such as this, **a** is usually two-compartment, **f** and long **s** do not extend below the baseline, the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l** do not have loops, and the ascenders and descenders of the various graphs are short.

There are, however, three particular features of this hand which are untypical of this script, and one scribal inconsistency, all of which suggest a cursive influence in this hand. The untypical aspects of this script are: **a** which often rises above the level of the other small letters: 'ab aliquibus' (B, line 6); initial **u/v** which is often angular and consonantal: 'uersus' (A, line 6); and suspensions which are frequently thick and rounded: 'eciam' (B, line 3). The occasional deployment of single compartment **a**: 'intelligatur' and 'defaltam' (A, lines 2 and 8) also betrays a cursive influence.

Two particularly noteworthy features of this hand which should be noted are: the wide horizontal hairline applied to the top of the ascenders of **b**, **h**, **k** and **l**: 'temporibus' (B, line 1); and the distinctive shape produced when two of these letters are traced together and combined with a suspension mark: 'abbates' and 'bailliuis' (A, lines 16 and 27).

# Sources

We have already seen just how resourceful a man Arnold fitz Thedmar was. He was no less so in his ability to obtain a great variety of source material. To be sure, some of the texts and documents that he used in the production of his book would have come his way in the normal course of his affairs as an alderman of London. But others such as the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* quite obviously would not. Arnold must have made a conscious decision to find and employ such a text. It is also true that a great deal of the material that filled his chronicle, particularly, would not necessarily have come to him in written form, rather Arnold would have written this from news that reached his ears and his own observations. But his book did rely heavily on identifiable written sources. What follows is an analysis of the principal written sources, or types of sources, that were used in the production of Arnold's book.

Uncertainties will always remain in any study of Arnold's source material. Why did Arnold choose the *Gesta Regum?* On the one hand, it is a masterpiece of historical writing which would provide any compiler with a comprehensive history of Europe with which to begin his book. On the other hand, there were plenty of alternative works that Arnold could quite easily have chosen in its stead. Did Arnold choose the Gesta Regum through necessity – it was all he could lay his hands on in London at the time? Or did he choose it from a selection of other similar works because he appreciated its unique range? How did he come by it? Ralph of Diss's *Opera Historica*, William of Newburgh's Historia Rerum Anglicarum and Roger of Howden's Chronica and Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi all possess one advantage over the Gesta Regum inasmuch as they continue to the end of the twelfth century; Paris's Chronica Majora and Flores Historiarum extend even further; one *might* surmise that if Arnold had access to *any* of these works he would have used them and not relied on the relatively jejune annals of London for his continuation of the Gesta Regum. But this is treacherous ground upon which to build a case. Did Arnold acquire a single manuscript which contained sections from the Gesta Regum, the London annals, and other matter besides? Could this manuscript have provided Arnold with the story of Secundus the philosopher?<sup>1</sup> Or did Arnold source these independently? Where did Arnold obtain his exemplar for the metrical version of the papal succession?<sup>2</sup> Did he acquire a version of Ailred of Rievaulx's Vita Sancti

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 64-5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 66-8,

Edwardi Regis et Confessoris which he then edited and copied?<sup>1</sup> Or did he acquire an abridged version, of which there were no doubt a great many, which he simply copied into his book?

These uncertainties must, however, be kept in context. It is, in fact, possible to identify and analyse substantial amounts of the source material that Arnold employed. When this is done, several clear consistencies emerge. In the first place, whether Arnold chose the Gesta Regum, the London annals or any other source in preference to another or not, the fact remains that Arnold chose all of these texts. He was under no obligation. This is Arnold's agency: *he* wanted these sources to help *him* fill *his* book. Second, in the round, it is exactly the sort of material that one would expect a wealthy, urban layman exercising judicial and administrative functions to choose. The frequent use of court records evidences Arnold's proximity to the court of Husting in London; the routine deployment of governmental writs can only have been the work of a man who had easy access to these documents. Third, that this book is a lay production would be evident even if one knew not that Arnold was its composer.<sup>2</sup> Last, the assizes, statutes and lists of office holders that were sourced and then copied would clearly have been useful to a man like Arnold in a professional capacity; whereas the choice of material which covered German history would surely have been of great value to a man like Arnold in a personal capacity.

## William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum Anglorum

Stapleton briefly catalogued the material copied from the *Gesta Regum* into Arnold's book; Riley ignored it.<sup>3</sup> There has, hitherto, been no attempt to analyse the employment of the *Gesta Regum* as source material. In what follows it will first be shown which of the manuscript traditions of the *Gesta Regum* Arnold used, before this use is discussed in greater detail.

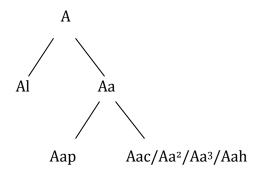
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 246-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Supra, 31-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cron. Maior., 181-96.

The *Gesta Regum* is transmitted in four versions: T, A, C and B.<sup>1</sup> It is the A version that is of concern here. From A descended two manuscripts, Al and Aa, independently of each other: from these two descended other witnesses of the A version.<sup>2</sup>

Fig.17: Gesta Regum stemma.



Aa has been lost, but it is witnessed in five manuscripts, which William's editors call Aap, Aac, Aa², Aa³ and Aah. All five Aa manuscripts are distinguished by a series of 'Aa additions', collated by William's editors, which are not found in other versions of the *Gesta Regum*.³ In every instance where a chapter containing one of these Aa additions has been copied into Arnold's book, one also finds the addition.⁴ My own collation of several of the A manuscripts, moreover, provides further evidence of the close relationship between the text in Arnold's book and the Aa group.⁵ First, the running chapter headings given in Arnold's book are also found in the Aac/Aa² manuscripts, yet not Al and its descendant Ap. Second, there are a number of variant readings, not collated by William's editors, that appear in the text of Arnold's book and Aac/Aa², but again not in Al/Ap, these include (among others): 'audiendum' for 'audendum', c. 55;6 'monasterium' (rightly) for 'monasteria', c. 70;7 'respiciuntur' for 'conspiciuntur', and 'discendi' for 'dicendi', c. 75;8 'Transmarini' for 'Transrenani', c. 79;9 and 'paruipensaret' for 'magni pensaret', c. 131.¹¹0

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> What follows is based on the excellent analysis of Roger Mynors, Rodney Thomson and Michael Winterbottom. For the *Gesta Regum* manuscript tradition, *Gesta Regum*, i, xiii-xxxi, ii, xvii-xxxv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Stemma copied from *Gesta Regum*, i, xvii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Appendix iia of *Gesta Regum,* i, 834-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 82;  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 94;  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ , c. 97;  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> I collated the following manuscripts: BL Arundel MS 35 (Al); BL Add. MS 23147 (Ap); BL Cotton MS Claudius C ix (Aac); BL Harley MS 261 (Aa<sup>2</sup>). Aah is almost certainly a copy of Aa<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **β-β**; Aac, fo. 56va; Aa<sup>2</sup>, fo. 52va.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$   $\alpha$ ; Aac, fo. 25va; Aa<sup>2</sup>, fo. 13ra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ ; Aac, fo. 26rb; Aa<sup>2</sup>, fo. 14ra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> **α**; Aac, fo. 27rb; Aa<sup>2</sup>, fo. 15rb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> **α**; Aac, fo. 100ra; Aa<sup>2</sup>, fo. 101ra.

The exemplar used in the compilation of Arnold's book must, then, have been a witness of Aa. This Aa group can be further divided into two: on the one side are four manuscripts which all witness a further group of alternative readings; on the other side is Aap which lacks these alternatives and is, therefore, independently descended from Aa.¹ Collation of the text in Arnold's book proves that its exemplar could not have been Aap (or a descendant of it), as is shown by the following examples: in c. 79 of Arnold's book one finds the Aac/Aa² readings 'nemo est qui in infinas [recte inficias] eat' and 'Ansegisi' instead of the Aap readings 'nemo qui in inficias eat', and 'Angisi';² in c. 82 one finds 'sicut' in the Aa addition which is omitted in Aap;³ in c. 87 one finds the Aac/Aa² reading of 'patiaris' rather than the Aap 'patieris';⁴ in c. 104 one finds the Aac/Aa² 'ceteras' for Aap's 'ceteros';⁵ and c. 115, along with Aac/Aa² all omit 'nec uendat' which stands in Aap as 'non uendat'.6

Notwithstanding the evident similarities between the text of Arnold's book and Aac/Aa²/Aa³/Aah, it appears that Arnold did not use one of these manuscripts. In two instances the text in Arnold's book is closer to what probably stood in Aa than what is currently found in Aac/Aa²/Aa³: in c. 60 where one finds 'insueta' which has become 'assueta' in Aac/Aa²; and in c. 61 where the young Roman senator and his wife are not named, whereas they are in Aac/Aa²/Aa³ as 'Lucianus' and 'Eugenia'. What seems likely, then, is that Arnold obtained a manuscript which witnessed a stage of copying between Aa and Aac/Aa²/Aa³/Aah. Which manuscript this was, and where Arnold obtained it is, and probably always will be, unknown.

In putting together various chapters from William's text it was often necessary to discard many of William's cross-references and sentences which connect chapters. This has generally been well done: in only one instance is there an incorrect cross-reference to material elsewhere in Arnold's book, and this may result from the loss of quires.<sup>9</sup> At times multiple chapters of *Gesta Regum* were used to create a single chapter in Arnold's book, most obviously in c. 153, where Arnold has referenced both backwards and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These readings (probably not authorial) are printed in appendix iib of *Gesta Regum,* i, 835-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **β-β** and **γ**; Aac, fo. 27rb; Aa<sup>2</sup>, fo. 15rb-va.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Within  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ .

 $<sup>^{4}</sup>$  α; Aac, fo. 52vb; Aa<sup>2</sup>, fo. 48ra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **α**; Gesta Regum, i, c. 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> α; Aac, fo. 80va; Aa<sup>2</sup>, fo. 158ra.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$   $\alpha$ ; Gesta Regum, i, c. 204; Aac, fo. 56va; Aa<sup>2</sup>, fo. 52va.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **α-α**; Gesta Regum, i, 837.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 'De quo alibi in hoc libro satis dictum est', c. 92.

forwards in the *Gesta Regum* to put together a seamless entry. This has been quite deftly handled, although several errors in this chapter (shown in the footnotes to the text) suggest that it was a difficult task for both compiler and copyist. Stylistically, William's first person narrative style has been retained, even in those instances where it was necessary to adapt William's text.<sup>1</sup> There was no attempt to change the text to reflect the passing of over one hundred years from when William first wrote the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>2</sup>

#### The London annals

In 1925, M.A. Tyson first drew attention to the close connection between the annals of Southwark and Merton Priories and the historical continuation, 1135-1225, in cc. 157-232 of Arnold's book.<sup>3</sup> He demonstrated that this material in all three manuscripts derived from a common source. In a collection of essays published in 1992, Martin Brett subsequently analysed the nature of this common source in greater detail.4 convincingly showed that there was a set of London annals, now lost, which perhaps originated from Bermondsey Priory, and that these annals circulated much more widely than previously thought in and around London in the first half of the thirteenth century. These annals were witnessed independently in the annals compiled at the priories of Southwark, Merton and Bermondsey, as well as in Arnold's book; they were also used by Paris in both his *Chronica Majora* and *Flores Historiarum*; and they were employed by the compiler of Liebermann's *Annales Wintonienses deperditi*, a collection which was in turn witnessed in the annals of Winchester, Hyde and Waverley: although it is important to note that none of these above sources preserve the full original text of the London annals. Brett also showed that among the sources preserved in these lost London annals was a text, itself now lost, which was exploited by Ralph of Diss in his *Opera Historica*. These annals, then, were clearly of not inconsiderable importance.

The close relationship of some material in Arnold's book and other witnesses of these lost annals can be quickly shown. King Richard's return to England in 1194 from his captivity in Germany is recorded twice in Arnold's book. The first time in c. 192: 'tercio idus Marcii apud Sanwiz applicuit et feria quarta post apud Londonias cum magno aparatu receptus est'; and the second time in c. 576: 'tertio idus Martii applicuit apud

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  'De quo superius feci memoriam',  $\alpha$ , c. 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> α-α, c. 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> M. Tyson, 'The annals of Southwark and Merton', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xxxvi (1925), 24-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M. Brett, 'The annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton' in D. Abulafia, M. Franklin and M. Rubin, eds., *Church and City 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke* (Cambridge, 1992), 279-310.

Sandwyse et feria quarta post uenit cum magno apparatu ad Londonias'. In the annals of Merton, Southwark (italics) and Bermondsey (underlined) one finds the similar: 'tertio idus Martii apud Sandwiz applicuit rex Ricardus, post feria quarta, scilicet septimo decimo kalendas Aprilis, cum magno apparatu apud Lond' receptus est'.¹ Examples such as these could be repeated ad nauseam.² There are also many shared errors between all the witnesses which again point to their interrelationship, e.g.: c. 213 (s.a. 1215) 'Anno eodem reddita est ciuitas Londoniarum baronibus sexto decimo kalendas Iulii [recte Iunii] in die Dominica ante horam primam'; and 'Die Martis ante festum sancti Iohannis baptiste [23 June, recte 15 June] facta est pax inter predictum regem et barones in prato qui uocatur Runmade'.³

The use of the lost London annals in Arnold's book, however, was rather more complicated than either Tyson or Brett realised. In fact, as will now be shown, we must stop seeing cc. 157-232 as a single annalistic continuation of the Gesta Regum covering the years 1135-1225 compiled from a single witness of lost London annals. It should, rather, be broken down into two sections divided by a change of hand at c. 199. The first section, cc. 157-98, is little more than a brief annalistic summary of the years 1135-1199. It was compiled, probably exclusively, from an unknown witness of the lost London annals, and copied by scribe 8 on fos. 34v-36v of Arnold's book. The second section, however, cc. 199-232 on fos. 36v-40r, is actually Arnold's very personal account of the years 1200-1225, and its real significance is analysed in the following section.<sup>4</sup> To compile and indeed scribe this section Arnold used the Southwark annals - an independent witness of the lost London annals, which he supplemented with other material. Furthermore, the lost London annals are also witnessed rather sporadically and fleetingly in the arid early chapters of 'The Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London', beginning in c. 569 on fo. 63v, which were scribed, as we have seen, by hand 6 in 1257; their employment in these chapters is so limited (used on fewer than ten occasions), as to preclude any detailed analysis of their provenance.<sup>5</sup>

It can be quickly shown that none of the surviving witnesses of the lost London annals was the source from which the text of cc. 157-98 was compiled. It cannot, for example,

<sup>1</sup> Ann. Merton, fo. 168ra; Ann. Southwark, fo. 136vb; Ann. Berm., 448.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For a selection of entries from these witnesses showing their close relationship, Brett, 'Annals', 296-310.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Both dating errors appear in Ann. Southwark, fo. 140rb; Ann. Merton, fo. 172rb; Ann. Wav., 282-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Infra*, 88-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 570, 574, 576, 584, 596, 598, 603, 605, 607.

have been compiled from the annals of Southwark or Bermondsey, as the reading found in c.160 is shared only with the Merton annals.¹ Examples of similar readings shared only with Merton could easily be repeated at length; indeed, the text throughout this section of Arnold's book is actually very close indeed to the annals of Merton Priory. However, it is clear that the Merton annals were not the source either, as in c. 176 Arnold's book shares an almost identical reading with the Southwark and Bermondsey annals which differs from Merton;² and the lengthy report in c. 180 beginning 'Et ut annum eundem ... tuis imminere diebus' is found only in a shortened form in the Merton annals (Arnold's book actually shares its longer form with Ralph of Diss).³ In point of fact, throughout cc. 157-198 the text in Arnold's book shares some readings with all of the other witnesses to the lost annals, but all of its readings with none.

So, unless Arnold used the *Ymagines* of Ralph of Diss, along with the annals of Southwark, Merton and Bermondsey, to produce a composite account, he must have used a common source independent of all of them. And so he did. Arnold used this source to construct an annalistic summary of events from 1135-1199 with a primarily English focus. There is no doubt that this continuation was intended and planned: the change from the use of the *Gesta Regum* to these annals as source material comes halfway through the fifth quire on fo. 34vb, but the narrative is seamlessly maintained, and both this and the material in cc. 139-156 form part of one chapter in the table of contents at the front of Arnold's book.<sup>4</sup> Why this narrative 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.<sup>5</sup> It cannot be that material has been lost from Arnold's book at this point, as this break at the year 1199 comes halfway down fo. 36vb. Instead, it is more likely that Arnold's exemplar of the lost annals only went as far as 1199.

Comparison of cc. 157-98 of Arnold's book 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 not also found in Arnold's book.

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ; *Ann. Merton*, fos. 162v-163r.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Cf. **α-α** with 'Thomas archiepiscopus occiditur impie in ecclesia sua Cantuarien" (and similar reading) *Ann. Southwark,* fo. 134v; *Ann. Berm.,* 443; with 'martirizatus est sanctus Thomas Cantuar' archiepiscopus in ecclesia Cantuar", *Ann. Merton,* fo. 164vb.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ; Ann. Merton, fos. 165v-166r; Cf. 'Ut annum praesentem annum benignitatis intelligas ... insolitum tuis forsan imminere diebus', *Diceto*, i, 436.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  c. 33; although, this section of the book only runs to 1225, not 1272 as the chapter heading suggests.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Brett, 'Annals', 288.

Presumably, then, Arnold must have exploited the source material quite fully. One imagines, then, that Arnold must have been somewhat disappointed with this change in source material from the *Gesta Regum* to the lost annals. After all, he had used William's masterpiece to furnish over seven quires (if the three lost quires are included) with a quite detailed history of Europe from the collapse of the Roman Empire to 1135. It is hard to believe that, had he been able to find fuller source material for the period 1135-1199 he would have chosen these annals as a fitting continuation of the *Gesta Regum*.

Some brief points on Arnold's employment of this source can be noted here. Several readings found only in Arnold's book improve on anything found in the other witnesses of these annals, perhaps evidence of intelligent revisions by Arnold.¹ Most regnal years given in Arnold's book and the Bermondsey annals are wrong, which suggests that their common source was at fault.² It is noticeable that imperial/papal relations figure hardly at all in cc. 157-98, given that they have been so prominent in preceding chapters of Arnold's book.³ It is probable that there was at least *some* mention of aspects of Frederick Barbarossa's reign in these lost annals – the Merton and Southwark annals record Barbarossa's coronation by Pope Adrian IV in 1155, the 1159 papal schism between Alexander III and Victor IV, and Barbarossa's submission to Alexander and the Peace of Venice in 1177 – one would perhaps expect Arnold to have been interested in this too.⁴ It is also likely that those lost annals contained a report, *s.a.* 1176, of the commencement of work to build the new London Bridge.⁵ It is odd that a thirteenth-century London compiler would disregard the inception of the project to build the

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¹ Arnold, in contrast to the Merton annalist, explains 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', cc. 160, 166; *Ann. Merton,* fos. 162v-163r, 163vb. Arnold clarifies what had led to rebellion in 1172 and why the earl of Leicester was captured in 1173, 'qui habuit guerram cum ipse rege' and 'nam antea magna discordia orta fuit inter ipsos, qui ipsum ante at post in iram et furorem at ad arma et ad bella dense et indesinenter prouocauerunt', cc. 177-8; Cf. *Ann. Merton,* fo. 165ra; *Flores,* ii, 86; *Ann. Southwark,* fo. 134vb; *Ann. Berm.,* 444. His account of the year 1189 makes it clear that it was filial treachery that hastened Henry II's death, c. 187; Cf. the paratactic 'Orta est gewrra inter Philippum regem Francie et regem Anglie Henricum secundum, et filius eius Ricardus comes Pictau' prius stetit cum eo. Postmodum uero in colloquio de Bonmulins, presente et nolente patro suo, predicto regi Francie [Philippus *sic. Merton*] fecit homagium et ipsi adhesit. [Eodem anno *add. Merton*] obiit Henricus secundus rex', *Ann. Merton,* fo. 166vb, *Ann. Southwark,* fo. 135vb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> E.g. 'Anno Domini MCXXXIX [correct], et anno regni regis Stephani quinto [incorrect]', *Ann. Berm.*, 435 and *passim*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 109-11, 117-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ann. Merton, fos. 164ra, 165va-b; Ann. Southwark, fos. 134rb, 135rb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'Hoc anno inceptus fuit pons lapideus London' a Petro capellano de Colecherche', *Ann. Southwark,* fo. 135r (marginal ins.); *Ann. Merton,* fo. 165va; *Ann. Wav.,* 240.

bridge which stood so visibly as a symbol of London's wealth, power and advancement in his lifetime.

#### BL Cotton MS Faustina A viii.

BL Cotton MS Faustina A viii is a manuscript from Southwark Priory.¹ The evidence that Arnold used two texts within it to compile two distinct sections of his book is compelling to the point of conclusive. The first text, on fos. 52r-101v of Faustina A viii, is a copy of Ralph of Diss's *Opuscula*. Ralph's *Opuscula* are fully witnessed in three manuscripts: Faustina A viii, which Bishop Stubbs called F, and two others which he called R and T; they are also partly witnessed in Stubbs's A manuscript.² That Arnold used a version of Ralph's *Opuscula* to copy his lists of the successions of English bishoprics in cc. 312-24 and 327-35 can be quickly shown, and one example of many should suffice here to demonstrate the close relation between Ralph's text (underlined) and that in Arnold's book:³ 'Beatus Theodorus archiepiscopus Cantuarie cum consensu Adelredi regis Mericorum dioscesim Saxsulfi episcopi in quinque diuisi<t>, cui episcopali sede in ciuitate constitua Leogera; Cudwynum ad Licheffeldam; Edwynum ad Lindesim prouinciam; Edam ad Dorchecestram; Bosel ad Wygorniam ordinauit ('ordinavit' Ralph's A and F MSS, elsewhere 'consecravit') episcopos'.⁴ Throughout the text I have shown similarly shared material in smaller type.

It can also be quickly shown that Arnold must have used Faustina A viii, and not either Stubbs's R, T and A manuscripts, or their descendants. An entire reading found in c. 313 of Arnold's book is omitted in A.<sup>5</sup> In c. 314 Arnold has 'ordinauit', whereas R has 'consecravit';<sup>6</sup> and both Arnold and the Faustina scribe omitted the episcopates of Walter de Gray and Silvester (1214-18) after Mauger.<sup>7</sup> In a section of c. 322 Arnold gave twelve names for the succession of bishops at Elmham, R has only ten;<sup>8</sup> and T omits the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tyson, 'The annals of Southwark and Merton', 25-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Diceto*, i, lxxxviii, xcvii-xcix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The episcopal succession at London and Canterbury, cc. 325-6, is contained on a singleton, fo. 52r-v, which Arnold obtained separately, *supra*, 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 314; *Diceto*, ii, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **α-α**. *Diceto*, ii, 199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Supra, n. 4.

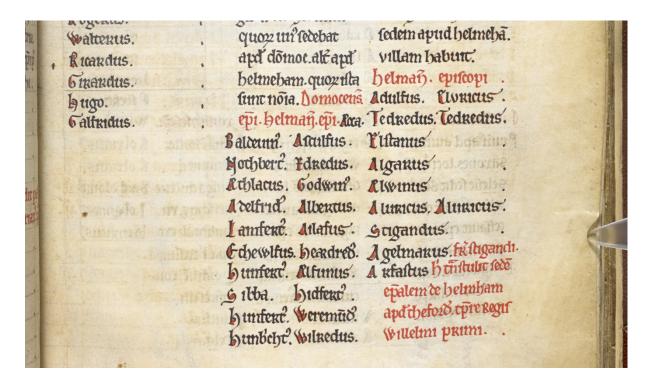
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *Ann. Southwark*, fo. 61r. Scribe 3 added Silvester in the margin, **b**.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **α-α**. *Diceto*, ii, 204.

reading 'hic transtulit sedem episcopalem apud Norewycum'. Finally in c. 327, Arnold and the Faustina scribe both mistakenly call Hugh de Mapenore 'Walter'.

It is, however, three shared errors in cc. 319-22 of Arnold's book that provide the most compelling evidence that Arnold was using the Southwark manuscript. This is an image from Arnold's exemplar, and at once Arnold's errors become explicable:

Fig.18: BL Cotton MS Faustina A viii, fo. 62r.<sup>3</sup>



First, following the split of the diocese into two in 672, Arnold confused the bishops of Dunwich and Elmham.<sup>4</sup> 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 (those on the right) and which the names of the bishops of Elmham (those on the left). Second, Arnold mangled the succession of the bishopric in c. 322.<sup>5</sup> The correct succession at the foot of the right hand column should read: 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 lines 4, 5 and 9, but only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **γ-γ**. BL Cotton MS Tiberius A ix, fo. 32v.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$   $\beta$ ; Ann. Southwark, fo. 63r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Reproduced with the permission of the British Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 320-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> α-α.

one name on the remaining lines. This led Arnold to copy the names on the left first, followed by the three names on the right. 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'.<sup>1</sup>

The second text within Faustina A viii used by Arnold fitz Thedmar was the annals of Southwark Priory.<sup>2</sup> These annals are contained on fos. 120v-146v, they are mostly unprinted and their principal source for the years in question here is the same lost London annals discussed above.<sup>3</sup> They begin at the Nativity and are written in a hand of s. xiiiin to 1207; thereafter they have been continued by a number of hands of s. xiii1 to 1240. We have seen above that the Southwark annals could not have been Arnold's source for the annalistic continuation of the years 1135-119 in cc. 157-98.4 However, they could have been, and indeed were, for cc. 199-232 (covering 1200-1225). Throughout this section are several readings which are shared by Arnold and the Southwark annals *only*, these include: c. 206 where Arnold and the Southwark annalist both wrote that the 1210 Cistercian redemption fine totalled 33,333 marks; 5 c. 216 where only Arnold and the Southwark annalist have Louis take castles at Reigate, Guildford, Farnham, Winchester and Odiham, before returning to Lambeth after his unsuccessful attempt on Dover;6 and c. 217 where only Arnold and the Southwark annalist name William Brewer as an attendee at Henry III's 1217 coronation and note that Louis took possession of Rye at the close of 1216.7 In point of fact, cc. 199-232 actually share nothing with the other witnesses of the lost annals which is not in the Southwark annals.8

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **β-β**, c. 322; Cf. *Diceto*, ii, 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Another manuscript contains a later copy of the Southwark annals, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson B 177; for its relationship to Arnold's book, *infra*, 158-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 84-88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 85-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ann. Southwark, fo. 138vb; Merton 33,332 marks, Ann. Merton, fo. 170vb; Waverley 33,300 marks, Ann. Wav., 265. True Bermondsey has the same but it shares little else with this section of Arnold's book, Ann. Berm., 452.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ; Ann. Southwark, fo. 140v-141r.

 $<sup>^7</sup>$  β-β and γ-γ; Ann. Southwark, fo. 141rb. Waverley also has William Brewer but Bermondsey and Merton do not; none of them record Louis's taking of Rye, Ann. Wav., 286; Ann. Berm., 454; Ann. Merton, fo. 173ra.  $^8$  To this could be added more circumstantial evidence: s.a. 1216 the Merton annalist wrote that William Hardel, the mayor of London, was second (only to Robert fitz Walter) in offering homage to Louis of

The close relationship of the text in cc. 199-232 of Arnold's book with that of Southwark has in fact been noticed by historians, but they have dismissed the Southwark annals as a possible source because they have taken this section as one piece with the foregoing cc. 157-98.1 There can now, however, be little doubt that Arnold used Faustina A viii to compile his lists of episcopal succession in cc. 312-24 and 327-35. Now that has been established, the mystery of why the account of the years 1200-25 in cc. 199-232 shares so much with the Southwark annals, while the foregoing section in cc. 157-98 shares very little can be solved: they were compiled from two separate, yet related sources, and the change of hand at c. 199 is of some significance. Southwark Priory was situated just across the river from London. Obtaining its manuscript would have presented Arnold with few difficulties. The relationship between Arnold and this priory was presumably good. After Arnold's death, the monks at Southwark sought out Arnold's book which they used in the compilation of another manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

# **Legal Records**

Fifty years before Arnold picked up his pen, an anonymous writer compiled a manuscript known as the Leges Anglorum Londoniis Collectae, filled with detail of English and London legal matter as well as extracts from Henry of Huntingdon.<sup>3</sup> About fifty years after Arnold compiled his book, Horn composed and compiled his Annales Londoniensis, in Jeremy Catto's words, an 'example, in spite of the author's wholly divergent legal training, of the relation between knowledge of law and historical writing'.4 That Arnold's book should be seen as another example of just such a relationship admits little doubt. In the first place there are the various law codes, assizes and statutes which Arnold frequently employed as source material. His book contains, copied in Arnold's own hand, the earliest text of London's assize of buildings,

France upon his reception into London: this is not recorded in the Southwark annals and it would seem almost certain that Arnold would have copied this had it been in his exemplar, Ann. Merton, fo. 172vb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Discussing Arnold's book Brett wrote that 'there are a number of small details which are found only in Southwark. Further, in 1214, 1215 and 1216, the *Liber* [Arnold's book] has a great deal more detail on the military operations of the year than are found in Merton, but seems to be abbreviating a source very close to Southwark. On the other hand, the *Liber* and Merton contain part of a passage found in Diceto [c. 180], but the Liber has more of it than Merton does, while Southwark has nothing at all', Brett, 'Annals', 293-4. <sup>2</sup> Infra, 158-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Bateson, 'Collection', 480-511, 707-730. For a good summary of late twelfth-century London's legal writing, D. Keene, 'Text, visualisation and politics: London, 1150-1250', TRHS, xviii (2008), 69-99, particularly 74-98.

<sup>4</sup> J. Catto, 'Andrew Horn: law and history in fourteenth-century England' in R.H.C Davis and J. Wallace-Hadrill, eds., The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to R.W. Southern (Oxford, 1981), 367-91, at 385.

which would later become known as the assize of nuisance.¹ At one time, this text stood alongside a copy of the assize of bread.² Doubtless an alderman of London would have needed copies of these to enforce building and baking regulations in his own ward, although Arnold's interest in the making and enforcement of law almost certainly went beyond his judicial responsibilities as an alderman. Arnold obtained and copied the 1271 *Provisio Judaismi*, no doubt motivated by both his judicial responsibilities in London, and his role as a chirographer of the Jewish *archa*.³ He had access to the Provisions of Westminster (1259) and the Statute of Marlborough (1267), copies of both of which were distributed to every county in the country.⁴ Arnold's account of the year from October 1258 to October 1259 was primarily a series of entries recording either legal cases or the promulgation of assizes and law codes.⁵ Arnold copied the articles of the 1267 eyre *de terris datis* into his chronicle, along with the names of the justices and their circuits; he also subsequently obtained and copied the commissions for the final general eyre of Henry III's reign in 1268.6

Royal justices frequently came to London, either on eyre, for gaol delivery or other purposes, and Arnold used the records from these sittings too. The chronicle records every visit of the eyre to London from 1188-1274.<sup>7</sup> It is unlikely that Arnold ever had sight of the royal justices' plea rolls, but London's administrators often employed clerks to take detailed notes at these sessions so that they, too, could have their own records of proceedings.<sup>8</sup> Arnold was probably able to make use of these. In 1226, 1244 and 1251 the chronicle has detailed knowledge of specific individual cases that were presented to the justices in eyre in London, and in 1244 particularly, the language of the chronicle is similar to that of the plea roll.<sup>9</sup> In 1258-9, Hugh Bigod held his special eyre, and Arnold accurately recorded proceedings from this session.<sup>10</sup> The chronicle is very well-informed of the visit of Henry of Bath to hear the Margery Viel case in 1248, of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 275-311.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 1279.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 726, 1184-1274.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 715-726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 910-30, 934-57 (like many eyre commissions these circulated with a list of sheriffs, which Arnold copied too).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 1205 (c. 592), 1221 (c. 620), 1226 (c. 629), 1244 (c. 660), 1251 (c. 677).

<sup>8</sup> Cust., ii, 285-432; Albus, 62-118.

 $<sup>^9</sup>$  Cf. α-α, c. 660 with the eyre record's 'Sciendum est etiam quod essonie de morte hominis, que solebant capi per tres dies, antequam justicarii placitare deberent, ad presens non fuerunt admisse, et hoc fuit in voluntate justiciariorum', *Eyre*, 1244, 1; *Albus*, 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cf. c. 717 with D.A. Carpenter, 'English peasants in politics, 1258-67', in Carpenter, *Reign*, 309-48, at 330; *The 1258-9 Special Eyre of Surrey and Kent*, ed. and trans. A.H. Hershey (Surrey Rec. Soc., 2004), l-lxiv. Cf. c. 718 with *Special Eyre*, no. 186. See also, *infra*, 219-20.

proceedings from the 1261 dispute between the men of London and Northampton, of the 1263 quarrel over royal prise and of Laurence del Brok's visit to inquire into an outbreak of rioting in London in 1267.1

Indeed, not only is the chronicle well informed of legal cases, it is frequently written in language which could easily have been taken verbatim from a plea roll. Sometimes this reveals the adversarial nature of court proceedings: 'ciues uero pecierunt iudicium suum respectatum inter ipsos et illos de Norhamtona de narracione sua et responso [sic] illorum. Illi autem de Norhamtona dixerunt quod nuncquam responderint eis set domino regi, quia non tenentur placitare extra muros burgi sui';<sup>2</sup> and 'ad quod dictus constabularius respondit quod hoc bene potuit facere ad opus domini regis; ad hoc ciues dixerunt quod attachiamenta in Thamisia pertinent solummodo ad uicecomites Londoniarum'. At other times it vividly recreates the process of pleading in a medieval court: 'et ciues dicunt quod';4 'ad quod ipsi responderunt ita: quod partem recognouerunt et partem defenderunt et de hoc se ponunt super recordum episcoporum et baronum';5 and 'ipsi uero defenderunt uim et iniuriam et cetera et de hoc posuerunt se super ueredictum uisneti'.6 The vocabulary of the court room is manifest on other occasions too: an adjournment was noted with 'positum fuit illud negocium in respectu ad loquendum cum rege'; and the Londoners' cry in 1258 'quod uero ciues semper calumpniauerunt dicentes quod nullus debet placitare in ciuitate de transgressionibus ibidem factis nisi uicecomites Londoniarum: set nichil profuit' which is almost identical to another complaint made at the 1244 visitation of the justices in eyre.8 Indeed, Arnold's practice here was altogether very similar to that of the royal justice and chronicler, Roger of Howden; Roger too stiffened his Chronica with copies of assizes, articles of the eyre, lists of justices and similar material.9

Alongside the visits to London of the royal justices came the regular sessions of the city's courts: the chamberlain's court, the mayor's court, the sheriffs' court and the Husting

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  γ-γ, c. 669; cc. 744-6, 749; cc. 766-7; cc. 931-3, particularly α-α, c. 932.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **α-α**, c. 745.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **α-α**, c. 766.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> **β-β**, c. 745.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 745.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **α-α**, c. 933.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **β-β**, c. 692.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'Quod maior et cives semper calumpniaverunt, sed nichil profuit', *Eyre*, 1244, 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Howden, *Chron.* iii, iv.

court.¹ The Husting was the oldest of these. Historically it sat on a Monday and heard all manner of pleas, besides those of the crown. At least six aldermen were always present at its sittings.² Individual cases and proceedings from the Husting, more so than from any other court, are abundantly recorded in the chronicle.³ Some of these records must clearly have been copied straight from the court rolls themselves, on at least three occasions one reads 'sicut in hoc rotulo prenotatur'.⁴ Nor did the chronicle just record pleas of the court: twice Arnold criticised mayors for suspending the court.⁵ The thirteenth century was also a time when these different London courts had to adapt to meet the changing demands of both the king and the citizens, and the chronicle frequently records changes made to the procedure of the court of Husting.6

The first Husting case recorded in the chronicle is from 1247; Arnold's first appearance as an alderman came in 1245.<sup>7</sup> Quite possibly Arnold's weekly attendance at the Husting from 1245 onwards gave him access to records from the court. Perhaps he held some special position in the court? The editor of the Husting wills and deeds wrote that 'the Town Clerk for the time being was formerly Registrar of the [Husting] Court, and upon him devolved the duty of superintending its proceedings, under the direction of the judges, and of seeing that the same was properly entered up'.<sup>8</sup> Did Arnold act as registrar of the court? In 1270 he was performing some role, perhaps equivalent to that of town clerk, in looking after the civic chest.<sup>9</sup> His chronicle clearly shows that he was interested in not just the proceedings of the Husting, but its running too. If he was the registrar, this position would certainly have given him access to the court's records. Without any firm corroborative evidence, it cannot be proven of course. But, as an alderman of London Arnold certainly exercised a judicial responsibility in this court, and it is only the records of this court, not those of the mayor's or sheriffs' court which have found their way into his book.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the differences between these courts and their respective developments, *Early Mayor's Court Rolls*, 1298-1307, vii-xlv; Barron, *London*, 128-9, 154-6, 163-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Barron, *London*, 139-146.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  δ-δ, c. 667; γ-γ, c. 669; γ-γ, c. 671; β-β, c. 675; γ-γ and δ-δ, c. 682; α-α, c. 690; cc. 1113, 1127, 1136, 1143-4.  $^4$  δ-δ, c. 669; δ-δ, c. 673; β-β, c. 682; and rolls of other legal proceedings: 'sicut in hoc rotulo prenotatur', β-β, c. 708. Cf. 'in hoc rotulo prenotato' α-α, c. 754.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 821, 1113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 701; **β-β**, c. 728; cc. 742, 822-3; Cf. two marginal ins. (**a** and **a**) and  $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ , c. 964.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> TNA Just 1187 m. 9: **δ-δ**, c. 667.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Wills, xiii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Supra, 28-9, 34.

#### Letters, newsletters and petitions

It would be unusual to find Arnold, or indeed any other chronicler, compiling and writing a chronicle of any value without making use of letters, newsletters and petitions which came his way. How Arnold used these as source material varied. At the most simple level, he copied letters which he acquired, straight into his book. At other times, however, he adroitly epitomised them or used them to fashion his narrative, seamlessly weaving the texts of these documents into his own text, even competently switching between different languages, for example: c. 734; c. 771; c. 795; c. 825; and c. 829.

Doubtless the many hats which Arnold wore provided him with access to such documents. Arnold was sometime chirographer of the Jews in London and was charged with ensuring their safety in 1266. Doubtless this gave him access to (and indeed interest in) the three letters which he copied in cc. 1275-81.6 His chronicle also contains many letters, patent and close, addressed to the governors of London.7 Perhaps Arnold was accountable for the implementation of these writs. At times he fastidiously noted when these letters were received, proclaimed or executed.8 Even if he was not, it speaks to Arnold's attention to detail and interest in administrative procedure that he noted this. We should be grateful for this too: many of these additions shed a great deal of light on travel times and the logistics of medieval administration.

But Arnold could also obtain letters and newsletters from many other sources.<sup>9</sup> Some of these, such as the letters sent before the battle of Lewes, circulated quite widely, but others, such as the letter close sent to the sheriff of Norfolk, certainly did not. It was probably Arnold's location in London, the bustling hub of the realm, that gave him access

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf.  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$  with Henry III's 'ciues Lond' multum timent quod ex hoc possit periculum iminere'; and  $\gamma$ - $\gamma$  with Henry's 'quod nec ipsum Edwardum nec alium de quo possit aliqua suspicio mali haberi in regis et ciuitatis predicte periculum infra muros ciuitatis predicte iacere uel hospitari permittat', *CR*, 1259-61, 282-3; *DBM*, 184-5.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$  is the 1263 petitio Baronum, infra, 227-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Arnold and the Furness Chronicler preserved the Mise of Lewes, *infra*, 232-3.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  Cf. **β-β** with 'Estre ceo acorde est qe nostre seignor le Roi, ne munsir Edward, le conte de Leyc', ne le counte de Glouc' ne leur aliez, ne les gens de Londres, ou des Cink Porz, ne nul qu eit este de lur partie, en queuqe liu, ou de queuque liu qe il soient, ne achesenorent, ne greveront par acheson des choses qu eient este fetes en tens de troblee, en de la guere qe ad estee ne a eus domage ne feront, ne procuront, ne soferont a fere par leur balifs', *Foedera*, I, i, 451.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. 'Derechef qe munsir Edward pur la pes de la tere meeux aferemer, demurge en Englettere, e nomement la ou le bref le Roi curt en Engletetere saunz issir desqe la Pasque qe vent en trois aunz, si ceo ne soit par acord des prelatz, e des hauz homes de la tere, e lavandit conseil nostre seignor le Roi', *Foedera*, I, i, 451.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Henry III ordered (at  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ) that the letter in c. 1281 be kept in the *archa*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 49, 50, 861, 871-2, 901, 964, 972, 986, 1028, 1133, 1138,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> cc. 1025-6, 1041-2, 1045-6, 1109-10, 1139-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> cc. 788, 798-800, 813, 969, 1100.

to so wide a range of material. Whether through his official positions of not, Arnold also seems to have had some sort of special connection with the court of the Lord Edward, particularly after the city had been given to Edward in February 1269.<sup>1</sup> Beyond his access to royal letters, Arnold could obtain letters patent issued by the governors of London, whose writ ran into surrounding counties.<sup>2</sup> He could also, albeit infrequently, come by ecclesiastical letters and newsletters: in 1264 Arnold is a unique narrative source for the faltering efforts to reform the abuses of the English church;<sup>3</sup> and in 1266 he seems to have shared access to a widely distributed newsletter reporting the punishment of three prominent Montfortian bishops.<sup>4</sup> Ceremonies of excommunication particularly impressed Arnold, and alongside his own eyewitness testimony he used the subsequent publication of the sentences to compose his often remarkably detailed accounts of the ceremonies.<sup>5</sup>

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 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  cc. 979, 990, 994, 1031 (especially  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ), 1036, 1061-2 (Arnold uniquely preserves the final two letters).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **α-α**, c. 838.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 803-11, 820.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  cc. 865-6; Cf. the widely noted 'ab officio et beneficio eosdem suspendit' (**β-β**, c. 865), *Ann. Lond.*, 72; *Ann. Osney*, 180-2; *Wykes*, 185-7; *Ann. Wig.*, 455.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **β-β**, c. 680 (1253); **α-α**, c. 726 (1259); **α-α**, c. 826 (1265); c. 1010 (1270); c. 1122 (1273).

## Attitudes and abilities

Having shown who Arnold fitz Thedmar was, his connection to the Liber, and how his book came together, it is time now to see what his book can tell us about him. Arnold wrote, as one would expect of a London merchant and alderman, a practical, secular and functional Latin with very few rhetorical flourishes. There is only one classical allusion in the chronicle, and no patristic reference. <sup>1</sup> It would, however, be unfair to Arnold to see him as no more than one of Parkes's 'pragmatic literates'; rather, the inclusion of such a detailed European history, songs and poems in his book suggests that Arnold epitomised the trend whereby some pragmatic literate men of the thirteenth century became more cultivated in their tastes.<sup>2</sup> Here was a man who comfortably summarised in Latin royal letters issued in French, and who presumably spoke German as well as English.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, here was a man who may well have composed two of the three extended verse compositions in the manuscript himself, evidence of not insignificant sophistication.<sup>4</sup> Urban life was by its very nature competitive, and as Leah Shopkow has argued 'the writing and reading of history was another form this competition took, for it was a demonstration of the individual's cultivation in a world which was increasingly a form of personal capital'.<sup>5</sup> Arnold's book is powerful evidence of his cultivation.

Arnold's dating of events was inconsistently done. At times, when reckoning from a fixed point, he clearly counted inclusively.<sup>6</sup> At other times he counted exclusively.<sup>7</sup> His use of 'contempti' for 'contenti' is certainly odd, and perhaps even unique.<sup>8</sup> He frequently concluded summaries of court cases with 'tandem multis altercacionibus factis',<sup>9</sup> and on three occasions used 'auditis rumoribus de aduentu regis/Domini Edwardi' to explain the withdrawal of an army.<sup>10</sup> These no-nonsense ablative absolutes served a useful purpose: they brought entries to a quick and tidy close. Like many of his

<sup>1</sup> Infra. 259.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Parkes divided the literate laity into three categories: the professional man of letters; the cultivated, recreational literate; and the pragmatic literate who needed enough Latin to conduct any form of business, Parkes, 'The literacy of the laity', 275, 278-9, 285, 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 95, n. 4, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 69, 341.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> L. Shopkow, *History and Community: Norman Historical Writing in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Washington, 1997), 266.

<sup>6</sup> cc. 794, 959, 1131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 779; marginal ins. **d**, c. 841; c.1029.

<sup>8</sup> cc. 762, 790, 800.

 $<sup>^{9}</sup>$  ε-ε, c. 669; β-β, c. 671; δ-δ, c. 684; β-β, c. 690; α-α, c. 692; ζ-ζ, c. 702; γ-γ, c. 703; α-α, c. 718; α-α, c. 746; γ-γ, c. 865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> cc. 793, 837, 868; Cf. 'auditis rumoribus quot et quanta miracula Deus fecerit in Anglia', c. 1283.

contemporaries, he made (over)frequent and clumsy use of the indefinite pronoun and the adjective 'predictus'.<sup>1</sup>

When reporting politics in London, Arnold could write with great emotion, but he usually wrote dispassionately.<sup>2</sup> His reporting of the 1265 battle of Evesham is a case in point; Arnold, unlike many of his contemporaries, did not put words into Montfort's mouth when Montfort realised the hopelessness of his army's position, nor does he comment on the righteousness of either cause.<sup>3</sup> Even Wykes, no admirer of Montfort, supplied a humane and piteous account of the battle, in comparison to which Arnold's detached summary reads rather like a terse accounts ledger.<sup>4</sup> Other notable examples of Arnold's impassive style include his accounts of the surrender of the garrison at Kenilworth (1266),<sup>5</sup> the murder of Henry of Almain (1271),<sup>6</sup> and the deaths of both Richard of Cornwall and Henry III (1272).<sup>7</sup>

Arnold could write disconnectedly.<sup>8</sup> The reader of his chronicle would have no idea that Pope Innocent IV's return from Lyon resulted from the death of Frederick II on 13 December 1250;<sup>9</sup> whether or not Arnold thought the storm which accompanied Richard of Cornwall's election as king of Germany was connected in some way to the election;<sup>10</sup> or that flooding in early 1269 was a consequence of a thawing of a freeze.<sup>11</sup> However, it would be unfair to accuse Arnold of using 'et' for every conjunction, and his frequent use of phrases such as 'hac de causa' and 'eo quod' shows that he could identify causality.<sup>12</sup>

Arnold was undeniably a man of extremely wide interests. His book, filled with *non subtilia sed utilia* – assizes, statutes and lists, reflected his position, responsibilities and concerns for life in London; but Arnold was also concerned with events which happened far beyond the city walls. True, Arnold had no interest in Henry III's ill-fated Sicilian Business, and he seldom mentions the Scots or the Irish, but Ernst Breisach's suggestion

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  'Cum *quidam* Iudeus uulnerasset *quodam* anelacio *quendam* Christianum', c. 762; **β-β** and **γ-γ**, c. 714.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 702-8, 845-62, 1071-86. Cf. his account of civic unrest in Norwich, cc. 1067-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 840-2; Cf. Gervase, ii, 243; Ann. Wav., 364-5; Maddicott, Montfort, 341-2, 347.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Wykes, 171-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 885; Cf. Ann. Osney, 189-98; Wykes, 194-6; Ann. Lond., 75-6; Ann. Dun., 242-3.

 $<sup>^{6}</sup>$  c. 1034; Cf. 'inhuman' and 'a deed of unheard of wickedness', *Wykes*, 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 1063, 1096; for Henry's death Cf. Wykes, 247, 252-3; Ann. Osney, 253-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> N.F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago, 1977), 197-200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 675.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 690.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> cc. 977-8; Cf. 'post vero praedicti gelu resolutionem tam horrendae subsecutae pluviarum et aquarum dirivationes', *Ann. Osney*, 220-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> cc. 215, 220, 231, 654, 695, 696, 750, 887, 968, 992, 1095, 1111, 1113, 1292.

that Arnold 'conjured up a small world' in his chronicle is not quite right.<sup>1</sup> Uniquely among English chroniclers Arnold preserved a letter of il-Khan Abagha to the Lord Edward.<sup>2</sup> The chronicle takes a particular interest in crusading.<sup>3</sup> Arnold's chronicle is our fullest contemporary source for the Flemish trade dispute, 1270-4.4 Arnold's interest in German history is apparent in the material he chose to copy from the Gesta *Regum.*<sup>5</sup> He also inserted into his chronicle, in full, Richard of Cornwall's letter to the Londoners which reported on his coronation as king of Germany.<sup>6</sup> Yet, considering Arnold's German descent and position in London as 'alderman of the Germans', his chronicle is surprisingly silent on 'German affairs': there is nothing on the abrasive rule of Emperor Frederick II; there is no substantial notice of the deaths of the imperial claimants Manfred and Conradin; and it is particularly surprising that Arnold, of all the chroniclers, does not note that Richard of Cornwall's third wife, Beatrix von Falkenberg, was niece to Engelbert von Falkenberg, archbishop of Cologne.<sup>7</sup> There is, furthermore, nothing whatsoever in the chronicle about the increased influence and privileges won in London and England by the merchants of Germany between 1250 and 1267. One would have thought that any London alderman and merchant, but Arnold especially, would have taken an interest in these events.8

Is it possible that these omissions hint at something ugly - or at least something uncomfortable for Arnold – within London? It is clear from Arnold's chronicle that it was not easy being an alien in mid-thirteenth century London, and Fryde was surely right that the German merchants in London walked a precarious tightrope. They had to please the Crown and the civic governors, whose interests were often antagonistic. Although born in London, Arnold's patronymic, his large house in a German 'enclave' in London, as well as his positions as alderman of the Germans and as head of a household which employed German staff must have made him appear conspicuously 'alien' to at

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E. Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, 3rd edn., (Chicago, 2007), 151. Cf. 'One important exception to this rule [that town chronicles were narrowly focussed] is the *Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum*', Van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 1061-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> δ-δ, c. 671; ε-ε, c.673; cc. 973, 990, 994, 1006-7, 1011, 1019, 1031-3, 1052, 1061-2, 1101-2, 1104, 1109-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 1020-22, 1040-2, 1044-50, 1057-60, 1065, 1116-17, 1124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 86-91, 102-3, 109-10, 117-35.

<sup>6</sup> cc. 693-4.

 $<sup>^7</sup>$  Arnold's sole reference to Conradin's death in 1268, comes *en passant* in his account of the year 1271, c. 1033; Beatrix was simply 'filia cuiusdam nobilis de terra illa', **β-β**, c. 988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Supra, 26-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> cc. 770-3, 776, 793, 814-5, 863, 983-86, 1002; Fryde, 'Arnold fitz Thedmar', 31.

least some of his fellow citizens.¹ Perhaps this explains why, elsewhere in his book, in his family history, Arnold went out of his way to downplay any factors which made him appear alien, and to stress his deep London roots.² In this text Arnold emphasised his family's devotion to the cult of Thomas Becket, London's saint, and he wrote expansively of his *maternal* grandparents, who had originally settled in London in the 1170s, yet nothing of his *paternal* grandparents. Through his maternal grandparents Arnold could claim descent from an established family of London residents. Doubtless this is why he also made the particular point that his grandparents were drawn to London as they had heard wonderful things of it in Germany, and that their links to Germany had been broken with the death of his great-grandmother. Arnold supplemented this vertical connection by highlighting the horizontal network created within the London elite by his sisters' marriages. Perhaps, at a time of violent anti-alien sentiment, Arnold deliberately avoided drawing attention to his own alien heritage in a chronicle, which as we shall see, may have been a very public undertaking.

What is clear is that Arnold's geographical position in London provided him with a unique advantage as a writer. Not one of Arnold's monastic chronicle-writing contemporaries, however well-informed they might have been, were as geographically well-placed as Arnold was to witness events. Who else other than someone who actually witnessed the ghastly hanging of eighteen unfortunate Jews in London in 1255 would have noted that the executions took place after the sun had set?<sup>3</sup> Who else but an eyewitness would have noted that the roll found in the royal wardrobe in early 1258, which the king would use to bring down his opponents in London, had been sealed with *green* wax?<sup>4</sup> Who else other than an eyewitness would have noted that at Montfort's parliament of 1265, a defeated King Henry III sat silently, probably even sullenly, as royal letters were read on his behalf.<sup>5</sup> These details lift Arnold's narrative, giving it an authenticity, immediacy and vividness lacking in reports written from a distance.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 26-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 1283-4. This is explored more fully in Stone, 'Arnold fitz Thedmar: identity, politics and the City of London', 106-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> γ-γ, c. 687.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> α-α, c. 702.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Arnold's use of the passive voice is clearly deliberate and must reflect Henry and Edward's passivity, 'et tunc lecte sunt quedam littere obligatorie domini regis et Domini Edwardi', 'et tunc lecte fuerunt quedam alie literie Domini Edwardi', 'eodem die diuulgatum fuit', cc. 826, 827, 831. I am grateful to Sophie Ambler for bringing this to my attention, S. Ambler, 'Magna Carta: its confirmation at Simon de Montfort's parliament of 1265', *EHR*, cxxx, No. 545 (Aug., 215), 801-830, at 828-9.

Of course, one expects a London writer to provide the fullest account of events within London. But Arnold's reporting is elevated by the fact that he was often much more than just an eyewitness to events; he was frequently a participant. Who else among Arnold's contemporary chroniclers was actually involved in the administration of the oath of mutual aid sworn between the Londoners and the rebel barons in 1264?<sup>1</sup> Henry III's purge of his opponents in London in 1258 is barely remarked upon elsewhere, yet Arnold's detailed summary runs to over 2,000 words.<sup>2</sup> No wonder. Arnold was one of the aldermen deprived of office. Arnold is similarly expansive recording the king's revenge on the Londoners in 1265 in an account filled with names, dates and places.<sup>3</sup> Again, this is hardly surprising, Arnold was one of the Londoners summoned to the king at Windsor, named in the royal letters of safe-conduct, and imprisoned in the castle. Arnold's vivid depiction of the 1272 mayoral election even gives us a picture of the Londoners disturbing Henry III as he lay on his death bed.<sup>4</sup> Arnold would probably have been one of the aldermen who were chased all the way to the king and his council by Walter Hervey and his supporters.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, so detailed is Arnold's day-to-day reporting of all three of these events that these accounts read almost like Pepysian diary entries.

This same impressive attention to detail that one expects of a man who bore a great deal of judicial and administrative responsibility within London is shown elsewhere. Arnold frequently noted not just the dates of the letters he inserted into his chronicle, but when they arrived in London, or were proclaimed or otherwise actioned.<sup>6</sup> It must have been obvious to everyone in early 1270 that Henry III would not be going on crusade; nevertheless, Arnold correctly noted that the 'Crusade Tax' was actually conceded to Henry, and after July 1270 Arnold returned to his entry to note that Edward had assumed his father's obligations.<sup>7</sup> When, after Richard of Cornwall's death in 1272, Arnold copied a royal letter written before Richard's death into his book, he slipped and wrote 'regi Alemannie quondam fratri nostro'; Arnold, aware of the importance of correctly reproducing this letter, fastidiously crossed out 'quondam'.<sup>8</sup> Arnold was also possessed of a tremendous sense of place. His summary of the 1258 aldermanic

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 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  cc. 792, 1175-6; Stone, 'The rebel barons', 1-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 702-8; Paris wrote just one confused paragraph on these events, *CM*, v, 663.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 845-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 1071-86, especially **α-α**, c. 1075.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 1071, 1074.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Supra, 95, esp. n. 8.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$  **b-b**, c. 1006. For Henry taking the cross, **β-β**, c. 673; for Edward taking the cross, c. 973; for Henry's committal to Edward of his crusading vow and the proceeds of the twentieth, c. 1015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **a,** c. 49.

depositions takes the reader on a tour of medieval London and its environs, mentioning Windsor, St Paul's Cathedral, the main chamber and smaller rooms of London Guildhall, Knightsbridge, and the royal palace and chapel of St Stephen at Westminster.<sup>1</sup> Arnold's report of the London parliament of April 1260 painstakingly noted that the king stayed at St Paul's, Richard of Cornwall stayed in his house at Westminster, and that the Lord Edward and Montfort stayed outside of the city and their accomplices stayed 'both at the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem and in all the other houses between the city and Westminster'. Similarly, under October 1261, Arnold noted that while the king and queen stayed in London at St Paul's, Richard of Cornwall stayed at St Martin-le-Grand.<sup>3</sup> Arnold's description of Montfort's 1265 parliament explicitly noted when and where the king had promised not to act against the earls of Leicester and Gloucester and to uphold the Charters (14 February in the chapter-house at Westminster), as well as the complicated ceremony which accompanied the release of the Lord Edward and Henry of Almain (11 March in Westminster Hall).<sup>4</sup> To read Arnold's account of the 1271 presentation of London's sheriffs to the 'baronibus de scacario non sedentibus ad scacarium set existentibus in parua camera que est iuxta receptorium prope Thamisiam' is to recall the description from the opening line of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, where the treasurer, Richard fitz Nigel, is described 'sitting at a turret window overlooking the Thames'.5

This sense of place must reflect more than just Arnold's attention to detail. It must speak to his awareness of the importance of space. As an alderman Arnold exercised his authority within given spaces: in his ward, at the wardmote, at the Husting court, and at both the guildhalls he frequented. Arnold knew the value of place and space as a forum for authority, and it is this, as well as a desire for narrative authenticity, which is evident in these meticulous reports. It is perhaps surprising that a lay writer like Arnold was such a great describer of ceremonies of excommunication. In fact, he is, at times, a unique source for those ceremonies.<sup>6</sup> But perhaps what impressed Arnold more than the spiritual penalties invoked at these about events, was the physical spectacle in an

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 702-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 734-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 752.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 825-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 1121; *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. C. Johnson (London, 1950), 1. I am grateful to Richard Cassidy for bringing this reference to my attention.

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  β-β, c. 680; α-α, c. 726; α-α, c. 826; cc. 1010, 1122, Arnold is unique for cc. 726, 1122. Although Arnold did not record the January 1237 confirmation of Magna Carta and sentence of excommunication for its violators, which the Tewkesbury annalist wrote was witnessed by burgesses, *Ann. Tewk.*, 102-4.

environment of authority. After all, Arnold never mentioned the damning of souls to hell. What he always noted, however, was where these ceremonies took place and who officiated.

Indeed, Arnold is a unique source for much more beyond just these ceremonies of excommunication. It is thanks to Arnold that we know that the King Henry III was told to his face by the London merchants, in 1257, that his gold coinage was a bad idea, and by London's mayor, in 1265, that the Londoners' loyalty was conditional on him being a good lord.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless Arnold was present on both occasions. Arnold is also the only source by which we know of anti-Jewish rioting in London in November 1262, serious disorder and its savage punishment within the city in November 1267, and that nearly sixty 'rebels' were exiled from the city in December 1269.2 Arnold is frequently our only chronicle source for clashes between the Londoners and the king.<sup>3</sup> This is, of course, to be expected, but at other times Arnold is an unexpectedly unique source. No other English chronicler described the publication of Pope Urban IV's papal bull in Lent 1262, nor did they copy into their chronicles details of the May 1263 petition of the barons, which would subsequently be incorporated into King Henry III's July 1263 'Statute Only one other chronicler, and he a very obscure continuator, against Aliens'.4 preserved the wording of the 1264 Mise of Lewes.<sup>5</sup> Surprisingly, Arnold is our only source for the stillborn attempts, in 1264, to reform the English church.<sup>6</sup> Arnold was alone among English chroniclers in copying letters of both Richard of Cornwall and King Philip III of France after the murder of Richard's son of Henry of Almain, in 1271.<sup>7</sup> And with the absence of chancery rolls for 1239-40 it is only thanks to Arnold that we possess a copy of Henry III's Jewish statute of 10 December 1239.8

As we shall see, like any writer, Arnold could shape and spin his narrative, but one seldom concludes 'Arnold was wrong here'. What Arnold's narrative often lacks is deep, intelligent analysis. Taken as a whole, what Arnold wrote is overwhelmingly descriptive

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 699-700; marginal ins. **a**, c. 832.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 762, 931-3, 1003-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 652; **γ-γ**, c. 669.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 754, 770-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 795; J.R. Maddicott, 'The Mise of Lewes, 1264', *EHR*, xcviii, No. 388 (Jul., 1983), 588-603; D.A. Carpenter, 'Simon de Montfort and the Mise of Lewes', in Carpenter, *Reign*, 281-91.

<sup>6</sup> cc. 803-11, 820.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 1034-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> cc. 1280-1. A parallel to this a Jewish statute of 1233, our knowledge of which also comes solely from an unofficial source, H.G. Richardson, 'Glanville Continued', *Law Quarterly Review*, liv, No. 215 (Jul., 1938), 381-399, at 392-4.

rather than analytical, with frequently only a limited appreciation of the bigger picture. The historian reading Arnold's chronicle to discover the causes of the collapse of Henry III's regime in 1258 will find nothing about Henry's repeated demands for taxation, nothing about the Sicilian Business, and nothing about resentment towards the king's foreign favourites. Arnold always noted eyre visitations of London, and his account of the 1244 eyre does record the king's punishment of the Londoners for receiving Walter Bukerel, but at no point did Arnold connect this to the wider picture of the increasingly oppressive national judicial eyres. Indeed, one month after the Londoners fined £1,000 with the king over Bukerel, Henry asked in vain for a tax to cover his expenses incurred in Gascony. Arnold failed to spot any connection between the king's straightened financial circumstances and events in London.<sup>2</sup> Matthew Paris certainly could identify such connections: he wrote that the king vowed to deprive the Londoners of their goods after an unsuccessful attempt to have a tax granted in July 1248.<sup>3</sup> When the barons submitted their case to the arbitration of Louis IX in December 1263, they complained that justice had 'been shut out of England' and that 'equal justice' should be done to 'all, both poor and rich'.<sup>4</sup> There is no such wider awareness, nor such stirring language in Arnold's narrative. Wykes saw that the bumper harvest of 1267 was, at least in part, a result of the confirmation of peace and the resumption of trade.<sup>5</sup> If Arnold saw this he did not say so. The 1272 mayoral election was especially turbulent, but municipal elections in London were often rowdy and divisive affairs, and what Arnold singularly failed to grasp in his 1,600 word summary was the real issue: there was clearly no settled electoral procedure.<sup>6</sup> Arnold might very well fulminate that the 'aldermanni ostenderunt multis racionibus quod ad eos pertinent eleccio maioris, tum quia ipsi aldermanni sunt quasi capita et populus quasi membra' but this was a cry of frustration and the articulation of a hope rather than an expectation.<sup>7</sup>

Of course, Arnold was far from unique in serving up a chronicle heavier on description than analysis. Nevertheless, his lack of contextual awareness is at times surprising.

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 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  **\delta-\delta**, c.660; for the recording of judicial eyres, *supra*, 91-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament*, 924-1327 (Oxford, 2010), 461; Cf. Paris's 'Paper Constitution', *CM*, iv, 362-8, 395.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CM, v, 20-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> DBM, 261.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 906; *Wykes*, 210-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 1071-86. By the end of the thirteenth century steps were being taken to clarify electoral processes, Barron, *London*, 148-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **β-β**, c 1075.

Arnold's connections to London's Jewry have already been shown.<sup>1</sup> Of course, Arnold did not record everything which affected England's Jews. He missed the majority of Jewish tallages and, perhaps most obviously, the 1253 Statute of Jewry.<sup>2</sup> But what Arnold appears completely oblivious to is the bigger picture: the slow destruction of the Jewish community's wealth. Arnold saw and noted the turns of the royal screw, but he nowhere seems aware of how unbearable life was becoming for England's Jews, and indeed their creditors, as this screw tightened.<sup>3</sup> This is in marked contrast to Paris, who, in May 1254, put a speech into the mouth of the Jewish priest, Elias, in which he asked the king for permission to leave the realm as the Jews' situation was becoming intolerable.<sup>4</sup> This obliviousness is most evident in Arnold's account of the years 1268-70, when the king and his eldest son, desperate to raise a crusade tax, resorted to several populist measures against the Jewry, which bigger picture Arnold just does not see.

In fact, in the same years, 1268-70, Arnold failed to see how the king's need for supply was shaping his policy generally. Arnold copied, in full, the comprehensive royal charter of liberties granted to the Londoners on 26 March 1268; but he did not see that this grant was part and parcel of a royal scheme to obtain taxation from the laity.<sup>5</sup> Surely if any chronicler was going to note fiscal matters, one would have expected it to be Arnold, the alderman and merchant who elsewhere in his book wrote a long account of his payments towards royal fines between 1265 and 1274?<sup>6</sup> In fact, it is simply astonishing how little notice his chronicle takes of royal demands for money. Henry III tallaged London on ten occasions during his reign.<sup>7</sup> Paris often commented on these tallages; Arnold seldom even noted them. He *never* writes 'in this year the king tallaged the city'.<sup>8</sup> These tallages were not without controversy in London. Twice in or just before 1215, the Londoners petitioned that they should not be tallaged without the consent of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> R.R Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution. Experiment and Expulsion, 1262-90* (Cambridge, 1998), 58; R. Huscroft, *Expulsion: England's Jewish Solution* (Stroud, 2006), 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **α-α**, c. 673, **γ-γ**, c. 680, **γ-γ**, c. 687, cc. 1159, 1275-81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> CM, v, 441.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 959-64; G.O. Sayles, 'Representation of cities and boroughs in 1268', *EHR*, xl, No. 160 (Oct., 1925), 580-85; J.R. Maddicott, 'The crusade taxation of 1268-1270 and the development of parliament', in *TCE*, ii, 93-117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 1291-6, 48-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> These figures are taken from the pipe rolls and were shared with me by Richard Cassidy who is preparing an article on tallage in thirteenth-century London. I am, again, grateful to Richard. <sup>8</sup> *CM*, iv, 510-11, v, 333, 367, 409. Arnold only uses the word 'tallage' to refer to the 1265 royal fine of 20,000 marks, and the 1258 purge of the aldermen, cc. 1291-6, 48-53, 702-8.

kingdom and/or the city.<sup>1</sup> A single *per capita* tallage of 1227 was so troublesome that in 1241 the Londoners sought that henceforth tallages should not be levied *per capita*.<sup>2</sup> In 1258, the Provisions of Oxford complained that London, and indeed other cities, had 'gone to poverty and ruin on account of tallages and other oppressions'.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, perhaps the most remarkable of Arnold's silences concerned the king's order, on 26 January 1255, that the Londoners pay a tallage of 3,000 marks.<sup>4</sup> The immediate events were shocking enough; London's mayor, Ralph Hardel, simply refused to pay and offered the king an 'aid' of 2,000 marks instead. The king sent his officers to the city; in response the citizens refused to take part in any inquisitions as to the value of their chattels. Following a search of previous tallage rolls, which showed the king could tallage London at his pleasure, the citizens finally gave way on 8 February 1255 and paid the money. Paris was confused when he wrote that the Londoners were fined 3,000 marks as 'a tallage and a punishment' for the escape of John of Frome from Newgate Gaol, but he was right that the citizens paid 3,000 marks.<sup>5</sup> Arnold provides a detailed report of the fallout from John's escape, but nowhere does he mention this tallage and Hardel's refusal to pay.<sup>6</sup> This tallage continued to cause trouble thereafter: it was in its collection that the king accused the London governors, including Arnold, of malfeasance in 1258; and on 8 March 1263, just before the Londoners threw in their lot with the rebel barons, the king ordered its arrears to be collected 'without delay'. So remarkable are Arnold's silences on tallage generally, and on the events of 1255 particularly, that one has to conclude it was deliberate. As we shall see Arnold had an extremely keen sense of civic pride; perhaps he felt that paying tallage made the Londoners equal only to serfs and therefore he chose not to record this obligation, nor the Londoners' defeat in 1255.8

#### **Kings, Queens and Princes**

If Arnold took no great interest in royal demands for money, what of his attitude towards the royal family more generally? Arnold clearly thought that King John, 'qui multa mala et pessimas crudelitates fecerat, que non sunt scripta in libro hoc', was a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bateson, *Collection*, 726; and article 32 of the 'Articles of the Barons', J.C. Holt, *Magna Carta*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1992), 436.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> CPR, 1225-32, 104; CFR, 1240-1, nos. 430, 431.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *DBM*, 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> CR, 1254-6, 157-8, 159-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *CM.* v. 485-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> γ-γ, c. 684; Cf. Ann. Burton, 336; Ann. Dun., 195; Ann. Tewk., 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 702-8; *CFR*, 1262-3, nos. 293-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *Infra*, 117-8.

villain.¹ There is little evidence that Arnold felt any great affection for Henry III: in the main text of his chronicle he did not note the births to Henry and Queen Eleanor of their sons Edward and Edmund in 1239 and 1245.² He enigmatically complained that, in October 1248, the Londoners 'non coacti et quasi coacti' had to shut all their shops to attend the king's fair at Westminster.³ Arnold drily reported that, in 1257, the Londoners told the king that his gold coinage was damaging and useless;⁴ and Arnold's account of Henry's translation of Edward the Confessor's body, on 13 October 1269, highlights more what went wrong on the day than what went right.⁵ True, in c. 252 we have only the conclusion of what *might* have been a fulsome obituary of the king, but even at Henry's end, despite Arnold having lived through all fifty-six years of Henry III's reign, and at seventy-one years of age presumably all too aware that his own demise was imminent, Arnold's chronicle barely bothered to note Henry's death.⁶ Rather, Arnold seems to fit the mould of Sir Richard Southern's English historical writers who 'looked with detachment on the kings whom they served'.7

Indeed, just how ambivalent an opinion Arnold held of Henry III is revealed in a remarkable text preserved outside of the chronicle. In 1270, as we have seen, Arnold acquired a copy of the Southwark annals.<sup>8</sup> Having these annals to hand, Arnold seems to have decided that the chronicle account of Henry III's minority was unsatisfactory, so he used these annals to compose, in cc.199-232, a continuation, covering the years 1200-1225, of the historical account which had ended abruptly *s.a.* 1199 in c. 198.<sup>9</sup> At first, as is shown by the amount of text in smaller type, he relied almost exclusively on the Southwark manuscript; however, as the continuation developed he increasingly made use of his own memories – born in 1201 he would have quite clearly remembered events from 1215 onwards – and his position in London which gave him access to the city records.<sup>10</sup> As such, Arnold's account of the years 1217-25 is to all intents and purposes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Marginal ins. **d**, c. 652; marginal ins. **b**, c. 662.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **α-α**, c. 671

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 700; See 'Henry, majestic on his coins, was snubbed in his own Exchequer by the mayor and citizens of London, a disjunction between aspiration and reality that underlay much of the king's personal rule', Carpenter, 'The gold treasure of King Henry III', in Carpenter, *Reign*, 107-136, at 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 999-1001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *Supra*, 39; cc. 1087, 1096.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> R.W. Southern, 'England's first entry into Europe', in idem, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), 135-157, at 150.

<sup>8</sup> Supra, 88-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> c. 227.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  Cf.  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 222 and c. 223 with 'Quia vero nondum habuimus Sigillum Hanc Sigiliis Domini Legati predicti et Comiti Willelmi Marescalli Rectoris & Regni nostri fecimus sigillari', and the 1225 Charter of the Forest,

an original composition, of such importance to Arnold that he even slipped into the first person: 'ideo, super hoc uos uolo certificari sicut patebit in subscriptis'.<sup>1</sup>

As he makes plain in c. 227, Arnold wanted to explain why the 1217 forma pacis was not kept, and why, therefore, Normandy and Poitou were forever lost to the English crown.<sup>2</sup> According to Arnold, putting words into the mouth of King Louis VIII of France, the ultimate reason for their loss was that King Henry III had broken the forma pacis when he hanged an alderman of London, Constantine son of Athulf, in 1222.<sup>3</sup> The background to this execution was thus: in July 1222 a riot broke out in London, and Falkes de Bréauté, one of King John's 'evil counsellors', was charged by the justiciar and regent, Hubert de Burgh, with stamping out the trouble. This was the sort of work that Falkes got himself 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 supposedly proclaimed his support for Louis of France.<sup>4</sup> Falkes had him hanged immediately 'sine iudico'.<sup>5</sup> Arnold would have been twenty years old when Constantine was hanged; he may well have known him, perhaps even they were friends. Whether that was the case or not, the summary execution of a London alderman by an alien royal favourite would have 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 credibility. True, it is supported by Paris.<sup>6</sup> However, most other chroniclers disagreed.<sup>7</sup> Arnold knew that he was right, but he knew, too, that other explanations were circulating, hence his explicit refutation of other versions: 'cum tale uero responsum habito *et non alio*'.<sup>8</sup> But for Arnold's story to stand up he had to overcome some rather obvious difficulties. Normandy had clearly been lost in 1204 to Philip Augustus. Following a period of civil war in England, Prince Louis had agreed to return

'Charters of Liberties' in *Statutes of the Realm*, i (London, 1810), 19, 26-7; *EHD*, 337. One can well imagine that copies of the letters which confirmed the *forma pacis* in c. 225 would have been deposited in the London archive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 227, 232.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **α-α**, c. 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ann. Dun., 78-9; CM, iii, 71-3; 77-8; Flores, ii, 176; Ann. Wav., 297.

<sup>5</sup> c. 622

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *CM*, iii, 31, 77-8; iv, 205-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Coggeshall, p. 197; Ann. Dun., 81-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> c. 232.

the lands his father had seized when he became king.<sup>1</sup> 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. He simply ignored the Southwark manuscript's brief notice on the loss of Normandy in 1204, moving his narrative straight from John's marriage in 1200 (c. 199) to the tax of a thirteenth in 1207 (c. 200).<sup>2</sup> He also ignored pretty much anything in the Southwark annals which offered a more balanced picture of John's reign, or which was incidental to the story he was telling.<sup>3</sup> His intention was to show that John alone was responsible for the slide into civil war. Then, when Arnold came to the outbreak of war in 1215, he began to digress from his source material to make it even clearer where the blame lay. The Southwark annalist wrote that John had refused to 'persoluere' the barons' vague 'iura sua'.4 Arnold, keeper of the city charters and ever mindful of the authority conveyed by charter, strengthened this to 'permittere eos uti libertatibus suis quas habuerunt per cartas predecessorum suorum regum Anglie'. Arnold's addition that the barons, 'licet fuissent de diuersis partibus regni Anglie, tamen omnes fuerunt uocati Norences', was not just intelligent; it stressed that the rebellion against John was geographically more broadly based.<sup>6</sup> The Southwark annalist, and indeed the Merton annalist, wrote that London was 'capta' by the barons in 1215.7 Arnold changed this to the much more consensual 'reddita'.8 Another intelligent addition, 'super hoc fecit idem rex cartam suam que nuncquam fuit obseruata' (subsequent reissues of Magna Carta were never actually the same charter as was agreed in June 1215), also highlighted John's bad faith. 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.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> c. 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> '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*, fo. 137vb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Arnold ignored the Southwark reports on the frost of 1205, the eclipse of 1207, John's successes against the Welsh in 1211, the 1212 fire in London, the 1213 construction of a ditch outside the city walls, and John's reception 'cum magno honore' into La Rochelle in 1214, *Ann. Southwark*, fos. 137vb-139vb. He did, however, record the births of Henry III and Richard of Cornwall, cc. 202, 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ann. Southwark, fo. 140rb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **α-α**, c. 212. Cf 'quoniam ex aquilonaribus partibus pro parte majori venerant, vocati sunt adhuc Aquilonares', *Crowland*, 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ann. Southwark, fo. 140rb; Ann. Merton, fo. 172rb; Cf. CM, ii, 587; Coggeshall, 171; Crowland, 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> α, c. 213.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> **β-β**, c. 213.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> cc. 214-5.

Having given good reasons for Louis to be in England, Arnold now painted a very flattering portrait of the French prince. 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 Arnold, and indeed, many other Londoners.<sup>1</sup> The Southwark annalist wrote that Louis was bought off with seven thousand marks of silver in 1216, Arnold omitted that rather mercenary detail.<sup>2</sup> 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; this gave Louis genuine cause to complain about Constantine's execution.<sup>3</sup> The Southwark and Merton annalists both used the verb 'aggressus' to describe Louis's invasion of Poitou in 1224.4 Arnold changed this to the less confrontational 'ingressus'. Arnold confronted the accusation that Louis had broken his oath to return the French lands, too, and allowed Louis to defend himself explicitly against the charge of bad faith.<sup>6</sup> Nor was Arnold inclined to let Falkes, and thereby those (Hubert de Burgh, Henry III) who had supported and encouraged his behaviour in 1222 off the hook.7 In fact, what Arnold did, in a remarkable piece of historical (re)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.

What of other members of the royal family? Both T.F. Tout and Gransden believed that Arnold took particular interest in Richard of Cornwall's life and career, even suggesting that Richard might have been Arnold's patron.<sup>8</sup> In fact, there is little evidence that Arnold was particularly close to Richard. His chronicle records neither of Richard's first two marriages (to Isabella Marshal in 1231, and to Sanchia of Provence in 1243), nor the birth of Richard's heir, Henry, in 1235. The chronicle has nothing whatsoever on Richard's exploits on crusade in 1240-2, and his splendid reception into London in 1242 is only tersely noted.<sup>9</sup> Richard's return to London 'optime attornata et curtinata' in February 1259 certainly sounds grander, but there is nothing about Richard's oath to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Marginal ins. **b**, c. 226; *CM*, ii, 654, iii, 31, 121; *CR 1227-31*, 383; *Eyre 1244*, 81, 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ann. Southwark, fo. 141rb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **α-α**, c 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ann. Southwark, fo. 143vb; Ann. Merton, fo. 175rb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> α, c. 230.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 225, 230-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 229-30. Cf. Ann. Southwark, fo. 143r-v; CM, iii, 86-9; Ann. Dun., 86-8; Crowland, 253-4; Ann. Wav., 300; Flores, ii, 180-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'The full references to his patron, Richard, king of the Romans', 'Fitzthedmar, Arnold (1201-1274?), alderman of London', T.F. Tout, *ODNB* (1889); Gransden, *Writing*, 514.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> γ-γ, c. 656; Cf. CM, iv, 180; Ann. Merton, fo. 179v; Ann. Wav., 329.

uphold the Provisions of Oxford in January.¹ There is nothing on Richard's term as governor of the mint, 1247-58; after the record of his coronation, nothing of any note on his reign as king of Germany, 1257-72; and Arnold's matter-of-fact note of Richard's death displays no emotion or pity, and indeed, provides the wrong date.² True, Arnold does, uniquely, preserve the letters of Richard and King Philip III of France following the murder of Henry of Almain in 1271, but their preservation need not represent a proximity to Richard.³ Is it not, in fact, likely that Arnold obtained Richard's pitiful letter to the Franciscans of London from the friars themselves, the same friars to whom Arnold would bequeath £100 and to whom he was, presumably, close?⁴ Is it not also likelier that Arnold acquired Philip's letter from a returning crusader in Henry of Almain's party?⁵ After all, Arnold used other letters brought by returning crusaders.⁶ Indeed, after February 1269 and the king's committal of custody of the city and Tower of London to the Lord Edward, the chronicle appears altogether closer to Edward than it does to Richard.⁵

Arnold held no particularly strong feelings for or against the queens of England. He was sharp enough to record Queen Eleanor's presence at negotiations in London in the autumn of 1261.<sup>8</sup> He also explicitly named Eleanor as one of those responsible for collecting an army of aliens to invade England in the summer of 1264.<sup>9</sup> Arnold was, furthermore, unafraid to criticise, quite sharply in fact, the queen for her mismanagement of London Bridge between 1265 and 1271.<sup>10</sup> But, queens usually have little agency in Arnold's chronicle, and when they do appear they are usually mentioned alongside their husbands *en passant*. When recording the birth of Edward's son John in 1266, Arnold did not name Eleanor of Castile, instead she was 'uxor Domini Edwardi'.<sup>11</sup> This anonymity is far from unusual. Arnold reported three royal weddings in quick succession in 1269, and yet not once did he name the bride: on each occasion they were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 721.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Arnold 'end of March', Richard died on 2 April, c. 1063. Cf. Wykes's moving account, Wykes, 247-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 1034-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 1038.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 1036.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **α-α**, c. 1031; c. 1052.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For the committal, c. 979; *CFR*, 1268-9, nos. 169-72. For subsequent letters to and from Edward, cc. 985-6, 988-90, 994, 1031-2, 1052, 1061-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> c. 752.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> cc. 812, 865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> cc. 1053-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> c. 879.

simply someone's daughter.<sup>1</sup> In June 1274 Arnold noted that Prince Alfonso arrived in London. His two sisters, however, were just 'una' et 'altera'.<sup>2</sup> By contrast, Arnold could, and did, take note of non-royal women in his chronicle.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, in the history of his family elsewhere in his book, women play a very full part indeed.<sup>4</sup>

## Baronial reform and rebellion

Historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in the face of some rather obvious contradictory evidence, concluded uniformly that Arnold was opposed to the baronial reformers/rebels. They argued that Arnold thought the Oxford parliament of 1258 'insane';<sup>5</sup> that he 'was a member of the small, but wealthy and influential, party in the City, that supported Henry III against Simon de Montfort and the Barons';<sup>6</sup> that he 'was conspicuous among the few leading citizens who, in opposition to the general current of feeling in the city, were stout supporters of Henry III and his son Edward throughout all the barons' wars';<sup>7</sup> and that he was a 'staunch conservative' who was 'thoroughly hostile to the new Whig oligarchy of the barons'.<sup>8</sup> Two very recent analyses of Anglo-German connections have come to similar conclusions.<sup>9</sup> However, Arnold was never so one-dimensional, and intelligent studies by Gransden and Catto have reached more nuanced conclusions, which recognise that 'because of the [Arnold's] chronicle's predominant loyalty to the city oligarchy, it has no consistent attitude to national politics. Its views were pragmatic, not theoretical'.<sup>10</sup>

Arnold's opinion of the baronial reformers can appear contradictory. Almost in the same breath Arnold called the baronial parliament of June 1258 'insane', yet wrote that at this parliament the barons sought to 'abolish those evil customs, with which the

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  cc. 980, 982,  $\pmb{\beta} \boldsymbol{-} \pmb{\beta}$ , 988. He was not alone, Gervase, ii, 248; Ann. Wint., 107; Ann. Osney, 221-2; Wykes, 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 1154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Margery Viel certainly had her own agency, δ-δ, c. 667, γ-γ, c. 669, c. 671; see also, 'conuenientibus fere uniuersis tam uiris quam mulieribus Lond' in Westminster Hall, β-β, c. 673; 'omnes uiri et mulieres tam clerici quam laici pede et equo perrexerunt apud Westmonasterium', c. 879; a falling tower 'oppressit plusquam uiginti homines et feminas', with 'et feminas' a later addition; c. 1029.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 1283-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Infra*, 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Riley, *Chronicles*, viii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Tout, 'Fitzthedmar, Arnold', *ODNB*. Cf. 'Arnold next distinguished himself by his strong hostility to the democratic [!] mayor, Thomas Fitzthomas', *ibid*.

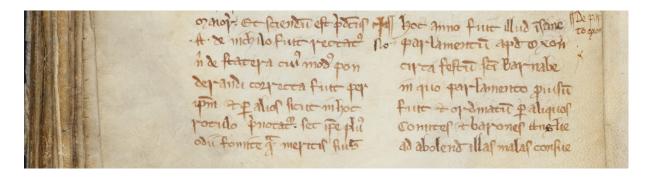
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Jacob, *Studies*, 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 'Arnold, Gisors and fitz Richard, with their nephew Geoffrey ... made a power block and were the heart of the royalist faction', Fryde, 'Arnold fitz Thedmar', 37; 'Arnold and the royalist party had returned to a leading position in the city', Huffman, *Family, Commerce and Religion*, 192-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Gransden, *Writing*, 515. Cf. 'These events were subsumed in the conflict over the provisions of Oxford of 1258, to which Fitzthedmar was generally sympathetic, though critical of the reformers' appeal to the humbler Londoners and of their neglect of city custom', Catto, 'Fitzthedmar, Arnold', *ODNB*.

kingdom had been oppressed and weighed down beyond measure in the time of that (iste) king [Henry III], namely by that same king and other magnates of the kingdom'.<sup>1</sup> Arnold praised the barons, s.a. 1263, for their restraint in only attacking their enemies and keeping a firm peace, before adding that the 'whole commune' of London accepted the baronial statutes which were 'to the honour of God, faithful to the king and to the benefit of the realm'. Yet, in 1265, he wrote that the adherents of the baronial cause were 'stupid and malicious', and that many in London had actually remained loyal to the king.3 In light of the first detailed study of the manuscript's compilation, these 'contradictions' are now easily explicable. Arnold's account of the years 1258-64 was written up in 1264, before the baronial regime had collapsed. Thus, s.a 1258 (written in 1264), Arnold blamed the outbreak of civil war in 1263 not on the Provisions themselves, but on a failure to observe them.4 Thus, while Arnold's chronicle can reproach violent excess in the name of reform, there is no hostility to the baronial cause of reform prior to the report on the battle of Evesham.<sup>5</sup> Thus, in 1264, Arnold took – and even administered - an oath to stand with the rebel barons 'against all people who would wrongfully wish to harm us'.6 After the battle of Evesham, however, Arnold's chronicle is openly and repeatedly hostile to the baronial reformers.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, it is almost certain that after the battle of Evesham he even returned to the account of the 1258 parliament, shown in the image below, to add the word 'insane' over an erasure in the top right-hand line.8

Fig.19: Fo. 75v.



<sup>1</sup> c. 710.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 770;  $\beta$ - $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ , c. 771.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **α-α**, c. 848.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> C. 712.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 773-4, 791.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 792, 1175-6; *supra*, 16.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$  α-α, c. 848; β-β, c. 865; β-β, c. 992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> c. 710; for a discussion of this erasure and further references, Gransden, Writing, 515, n. 62.

In point of fact these 'contradictions' reveal Arnold's value as a writer. First, they reveal an eyewitness observer close to the action in almost every sense, as the only contemporary chronicler composing and scribing before, during and after the period of baronial reform and rebellion. Second, they show Arnold's humanity and authenticity. These were troubled times and it is only to be expected that Arnold would have experienced inconsistent feelings as events unfolded. One gets a sense of exasperation at times. In his account of Easter 1261, for example, Arnold wrote 'orta est dissensio inter dominum regem et predictos barones et *eciam sine manifesta racione*'.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, Arnold's account of the period of baronial reform and rebellion is the only full chronicle account not written from an obvious ideological standpoint, and one of very few that detached itself from the anti-alien sentiment which, from 1263 especially, became subsumed into the wider cause of reform. This is not to say that anti-alien hysteria was an invisible issue for Arnold. Far from it. Arnold recorded the petition which would be incorporated into the 1263 'Statute Against Aliens', and at the same time reported that the Londoners wanted all the knights, squires and aliens removed from the city.<sup>2</sup> He likewise noted that in the summer of 1264 Montfort collected together a huge army to defend the realm against aliens.<sup>3</sup> But in these instances 'aliens' can be understood as 'foreign mercenaries' – universally unwelcome and unpopular. There is next to no evidence that Arnold had a strong or chauvinistic perception of national identity. True, he criticised the Welsh in 1265 for their 'fraus et seductio', but in 1257 he was actually rather sympathetic to their grievances.<sup>4</sup> Beyond that, he rarely spoke of 'nations' and his chronicle certainly does not witness the 'us and them/English versus alien' rhetoric so common elsewhere. According to Paris, after the king had fined the Londoners £1,000 in 1244, the citizens watched as the money was counted out to aliens.<sup>5</sup> Wykes levelled a similar accusation at the king over the 1265 fine on the Londoners.<sup>6</sup> The Tewksbury annalist believed that the first demand of the baronial reformers in 1258 was that the king should make 'omnes alienigenae' flee from his face as from the face of a lion.<sup>7</sup> The Melrose annalist referred to Montfort as the 'enemy and expellor of aliens,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 750.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **α-α**, **δ-δ**, c. 771.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 814-5.

<sup>4</sup> cc. 695, 836; Cf. CM, v, 639; Ann. Tewk., 158; Ann. Dun., 200-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 660-2; *CM*, iv, 396.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Wykes, 184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ann. Tewk., 164.

although he himself was one of them by birth'. The Osney annalist's parting shot at Henry III after his death in 1272 was that he favoured aliens more than the English. There is nothing like this in Arnold's book. It is, rather, a restrained and detached account. That Arnold could maintain this approach at a time of great hysteria, does him great credit.

## Arnold's philosophy of history

Only once does Arnold explicitly state why he compiled and composed his chronicle:

Gesta et opera bonorum in scriptis reddiguntur ut ea ad eorum laudem et gloriam perpetuam possint posteris reduci ad memoriam; et ita debent crudelitates, malicie, perfidie et nequicie iniquorum in scriptis poni ut ad eorum dedecus, uituperium et scandalum ea possint toto mundo futuris temporibus notificari.

In writing so that things should be known to posterity and of history as a theatre of moral example Arnold followed in the same tradition of many other medieval chroniclers, from Bede onwards.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, we should remember here that copied into Arnold's book was William of Malmesbury's effusive praise of Bede as a historian: Arnold presumably shared William's admiration.<sup>4</sup> As John of Salisbury explained, 'my aim, like that of other chroniclers before me, shall be to profit my contemporaries and future generations. For all these chroniclers have had a single purpose: to relate noteworthy matters'.<sup>5</sup> But where Arnold differed from John of Salisbury – and just about every other clerical writer – is that he generally did not write to explain God's working in the world. John went on to say that he related noteworthy matters 'so that the invisible things of God may be clearly seen by the things that are done'. Divine intervention appears only rarely in Arnold's chronicle.<sup>6</sup> Rather, what is immediately more evident is the very practical nature of Arnold's book. As an alderman, Arnold was responsible for the enforcement of regulations concerned with weights and measures

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Chronicle of Melrose, introduced by A.O and M.O. Anderson (London, 1936), 127-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ann. Osney, 253-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 57-61; 'I [Bede] have simply sought to commit to writing what I have collected from common report, for the instruction of posterity', *Bede's Ecclesiastical history of the English People*, eds. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, (OMT, 1969), 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 70-8.

 $<sup>^5</sup>$  Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury, ed. and trans. M.J. Chibnall, (Oxford, 1986), 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **α-α**, c. 1070.

within his ward; no wonder, then, that the chronicle takes an interest in these affairs.¹ In his ward and at London's Husting court, Arnold would have had a responsibility to enforce the assize of bread, a copy of which once stood in his book.² It is in this context that the chronicle's frequent references to the control of London's bakers must be seen.³ By the time that Arnold was writing, the Londoners had been granted three specific charters, in addition to their more general charters of liberties, which ordered the removal of fish-weirs from the Thames (a provision, of course, famously confirmed in Magna Carta).⁴ It is no surprise, then, that the seizure and destruction of illegal fish-weirs and nets occupies a prominent place in Arnold's narrative.⁵ Indeed, his book time and again evidences Arnold's keen interest in the making and enforcement of law, both locally and nationally.⁶ This need not surprise us. Law gave Arnold his place in society in the same way that his service of God gave the monastic chronicler his place.

As an alderman, representative of the German traders and a merchant himself, trade would have been an important concern to Arnold. No wonder, then, that Arnold was the *only* English writer to take any great interest in the Flemish trade dispute of 1270-4.7 There was nothing new in the idea of one lord challenging another lord's ability to protect his subjects. What was new in this instance was the use of commercial embargoes and sanctions to mount that challenge. Arnold recorded almost every twist and turn of this retaliatory clash, and his excellent coverage of this affair is a microcosm of his style as a chronicler more generally.<sup>8</sup> He structured his invariably accurate narrative around physical source material supplemented by his own eyewitness testimony. There is an almost forensic attention to detail: after copying out letters, Arnold often noted when they were proclaimed;<sup>9</sup> and twice, when he had more information, Arnold returned to update earlier entries.<sup>10</sup>

There is nothing remotely surprising in this practicality. Arnold was, after all, the first civic, secular layman in the British Isles known to have written a historical account of his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **ε-ε**, c. 667; cc. 691, 1002.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> γ-γ, c. 719; cc. 1005, 1018, 1066, 1112, 1127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> LMA COL/CH/01/005A, 007, 013; *Historical Charters*, 9-10, 13-14, 26-7; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 50-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 646; **ε-ε**; cc. 682, 996-8, 1123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Supra, 91-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This is summarised in R.H. Bowers, 'English merchants and the Anglo-Flemish economic war of 1270-1274', in *idem* ed., *Seven Studies in Medieval English History and Other Historical Essays Presented to Harold S. Snellgrove* (Mississppi, 1983), 21-54.

<sup>8</sup> cc. 1020-22, 1040-2, 1044-50, 1057-60, 1065, 1116-17, 1124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> cc. 1042, 1046, 1116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> **c-c**, c. 1057; **a**, c. 1058.

time. However, we should not draw too sharp a dividing line between Arnold and his monastic contemporaries; as the connections between Arnold's book and the manuscripts produced at Southwark Priory show, manuscripts and ideas could circulate easily and freely between civic and religious institutions. Moreover, almost all British medieval chronicle writing was institutional in some sense, be that monastic, curial or administrative.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it is clear that Arnold was motivated by the same three common motivations, famously identified by Richard Southern, which prompted monastic authors to write historical works; 'the very practical and human desire which members of a community feel to preserve and glorify their past, to justify their position in the world, and—more questionably—to defend their privileges and assert their independence'.<sup>2</sup>

Arnold undoubtedly desired to preserve and glorify London's past, and to justify London's position in the world. He was far from unique in contemporary Europe in this regard.<sup>3</sup> The chronicle's first entry sets the tone: 'Henricus de Corenhell, Ricardus filius Reynerii. Isti fuerunt *primi* uicecomites London' facti ad festum sancti Michaelis anno gracie millesimo centesimo octagesimo octauo, anno primo regni regis Ricardi ... Eodem anno factus est Henricus filius Eylwine de Londenestane, maior London'. Qui fuit *primus* maior in ciuitate'.<sup>4</sup> These were clearly not London's first sheriffs, and it is doubtful that Henry fitz Ailwyn was first elected mayor in that year.<sup>5</sup> That, however, is entirely beside the point. Rather, what matters is that Arnold not only believed that to be the case, he chose to begin his exercise in the reconstruction of London's collective memory in that year. Thereafter, the succession of civic officers supplied the framework upon which the chronicle is arranged, with each year's report beginning, uniquely among contemporary chronicles, on 29 September, the date when London's new sheriffs were installed, and giving the names of the office holders with invariable regularity. Indeed, from 1188-1232 the chronicle is little more than a register of institutional incumbents.

The Londoners had paid the kings of England a great deal of money to have their own elected sheriffs and mayor. Self-government mattered to them. That Arnold *chose* to structure his chronicle around their terms of office showed that it mattered to him too.

<sup>1</sup> Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, xx-xxi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, 1953), 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 'With increasing pride in a town's accomplishments and an ever clearer awareness of a special urban way of life came the enrichment of the chronicles', Breisach, *Historiography*, 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 570.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Infra*, 196.

As did other traditions within the city. As we have seen, Arnold was deeply interested in the workings and proceedings of London's oldest judicial institution, the Husting court.¹ Arnold must have been proud of the tradition whereby the king would always take his very public leave of the Londoners before heading overseas. He recorded this on four occasions.² Arnold wrote that his parents came to London in the twelfth century, having heard in Germany of the city's nobility and fame.³ As Arnold walked through the rich, expanding and increasingly self-confident thirteenth-century metropolis, with its recently rebuilt bridge and cathedral acting as physical witnesses of London's self-assurance, his pride can only have been exalted further. In 1215 London's liberties were protected in Magna Carta and the mayor took his place among twenty-five barons of the realm. By 1220, if not before, the rulers of London were styling themselves 'barones'.⁴ In 1250, in Arnold's own words, the citizens of London asserted that their peers were the earls and barons of England.⁵ In 1264, Arnold wrote in his own hand that 'the mayor and the barons of the city of London' were allied with 'the high men of the land'.6

However, there was more than one way to justify one's position in the world, and Arnold also sought to justify the position which he, and aldermen like him, held within London. According to Arnold, the citizenry of London were divided into 'barones, ciues et uniuersalis communa'. The barons were the aldermen of London, the head of the body politic, and they alone should render judgement in all pleas moved within the city. To them also, 'et eis adherentes', belonged the election of the civic officers. Decisions reached without the consultation of the aldermen were to be deplored. However, it is also clear that this was a justification rooted very much in the present day. At the same time that Arnold was writing, Brunetto Latini (1220-95) was compiling his *Li Livres dou Trésor*, the first two books of which, heavily influenced by Aristotle and Cicero, discuss the origins and nature of civic government. Arnold, in contrast, made no attempt to provide *any* historical justification for aldermanic government. Arnold could have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 42-3, 93-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **δ-δ**, c. 656; **β-β**, c. 680; **γ-γ**, c. 726 and **α-α**, c.728; c. 756;

<sup>3</sup> c. 1283

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Keene, 'Text, Visualisation and Politics', 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 673.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 1176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **α-α**, c. 1027.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> c. 1075.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> c. 1074.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 'Aldermannis aut magnatibus ciuitatis parum super hoc consultis' and variants thereon, cc. 773, 785, 858.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Brunetto Latini, *Li Livres dou Trésor*, ed. F.J. Carmody (Berkeley, California, 1948).

reached back to ancient Rome to support his strident defence of London's place in the world, and the aldermanic position within London. He did not. True, structuring his chronicle around London's shrieval year calls to mind the Roman tradition of dating their city's history by consular years; however, the vocabulary of ancient Rome is conspicuously absent from Arnold's book: he seems never to have read Sallust or Cicero. He never refers to London's sheriffs or mayors as 'consules', he never calls the aldermen 'senatores', he never refers to the 'more discreet citizens' as 'equites', he never once uses the term 'res publica'. Instead Arnold remained rooted in his own day. To him, the Londoners were 'barons' of the realm, while the aldermen were the 'uiri discreti' and the 'legaliores ciuitatis', who alone had 'reason' and who alone could be trusted to protect London's privileged position in the realm.<sup>1</sup>

However, London's thirteenth-century aldermen did not have everything their own way. From the 1250s onwards particular pressure was brought to bear on Arnold and men like him from below, as London was convulsed by the rise of a popular movement. This movement, called alternatively the populus, populares, minores, and pedites in the chronicles of the time, is first seen in twelfth-century European towns. Bruges and Soissons were perhaps the first towns to experience communal struggles fought along class lines. In London in the 1190s, the populist leader William fitz Osbert (also known as William Longbeard) placed himself at the head of London's poor and middling classes in their struggle against the richer citizens.<sup>2</sup> In Italy, numerous towns were home to a similar popular movement.<sup>3</sup> In each town the *populus* had unique aspirations and characteristics, but all shared some features: the populus never comprised the very bottom of urban society, rather they were the artisan classes, the craft workers, and the free citizens who chaffed at their exclusion from political, social and administrative responsibility, and who resented an increased tax burden which, they felt, was unfairly apportioned. In thirteenth-century London they were visibly led by two mayors, Thomas fitz Thomas (1261-5) and Walter Hervey (1271-3). Arnold despised the populus, and he despised their leaders too.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **η-η**, c. 702; **β-β**, c. 705; cc. 992, 1075.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 194; *Ann. Merton,* fo. 168rb; *Ann. Southwark,* fo. 137ra; Howden, *Chron.,* iv, 5-6; *Newburgh,* ii, 466-73; D. Keene, 'William fitz Osbert (*d.* 1196)', *ODNB.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> L. Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy* (London, 2002), 45-71, with a list of Italian cities with dates for the appearance of the *popolo* at 47-8; D.P. Waley and T. Dean, *The Italian City-Republics*, 4th edn. (Harlow, 2010), 141-55.

To Arnold the *populus* were 'elatus et superbia inflatus' and 'manifeste fuerunt pacis perturbatores'. Indeed, in Arnold's chronicle, when the *populus* act 'contra pacem regni' they disturb the peace in a very real sense, 'clamantes' and 'magnum tumultum facientes'.2 They were, furthermore, the 'fatui de uulgo' and 'iniqui/maliciosi uiri Belial'. He never tired of reminding his readers of what happened when the *populus* had the 'primam uocem in ciuitate': looting, robbery, the return of outlaws and the emptying of prisons.<sup>4</sup> For Arnold, writing retrospectively, the 'inicium confusionis ciuitatis' came when the 'minutus populus' had 'omnem potestatem ciuitatis'; and 'orta est mortalis guerra in Anglia', when the populus was encouraged to rise against the 'aldermannos et discretos ciuitatis'. Again, in justifying why the *populus* should not have political power in the city, Arnold stayed in the present day: many of the populus were foreign to London, of servile condition, and they had no property within the city.<sup>6</sup> As for their leaders, Arnold condemned both Thomas fitz Thomas and Hervey for the same offences. Both suspended the Husting Court.<sup>7</sup> Both stirred up the London populus.8 Both granted 'abominable' provisions and statutes which Arnold condemned in similar words.9 In 1267, 1269 and 1272 Arnold specifically referred to Thomas fitz Thomas and his 'wicked accomplices' when he reminded his readers of the iniquity and cruelty they had perpetrated during the civil war. 10 In 1274, Arnold, despite being seventy-two years old and just months from his own death, painstakingly copied out in his own hand the 'plures articuli ualde notorii de presumpcionibus et iniuriis quas dictus Walterus [Hervey] fecerat dum fuit maior contra totam communam ciuitatis'. 11 In the particular case of Hervey, who had consistently pursued Arnold for money, there was clearly a very personal motivation. The accusations which Arnold levels against Hervey, that he sought to extort money from richer citizens who had already paid substantial amounts towards the royal fines after Evesham, are repeated almost verbatim in Arnold's lengthy self-exculpation from charges of avoiding his share of these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 773.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 874, 1074-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 874;.**β-β**, c. 992; c. 1085.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Arnold used this phrase on three separate occasions, cc. 773, 858, 889.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 931, 1074.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **β-β**, c. 705; c. 1075.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 821, 1113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> cc. 773-6, 1071-86, 1132-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> **α-α** c. 776, **α-α**, c. 1132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> cc. 931, 992, 1074.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> α-α, c. 1144.

contributions.<sup>1</sup> Nor was Arnold being anything other than an honest reporter of the tensions manifest in London here. At an inquiry of 1275, the men of Arnold's own ward complained in words strikingly similar to those which Arnold put into the mouths of the *populus* in 1272, that 'the *maiores* and *superiores* of the city deposed Walter Hervey from his office and the city council because he did not allow the rich of London to tallage the *mediocres* until the rich had cleared their own arrears'.<sup>2</sup> The rise of the *populus* was a threat which made it even more imperative that Arnold justify his position.

As for the third of Southern's motivations, that of defending privileges and asserting independence, within Arnold's book that clearly meant justifying and maintaining London's liberties. To Arnold, these liberties, like those of the nation were not abstract, rather they were very real and practical. There was, in medieval England, a distinct understanding of *libertas*, defined by royal grants of privileges and freedoms (as opposed to consuetudines which had no such origins), that predated the Norman Conquest.<sup>3</sup> Libertas was originally articulated in English medieval monasteries and its understanding was subsequently assumed into the wider Gregorian discourse of *libertas* Ecclesie.4 However, in the words of Serena Ferente, across Europe 'such a concept of liberty was too attractive to be ignored by other emerging political powers'.<sup>5</sup> It was thus appropriated by the townsmen of England and it became 'deeply rooted in the historical consciousness of English institutions in the later Middle Ages and beyond'.6 London's oldest surviving charter of liberties had been granted by the Conqueror: a terse threesentence-long document, it was in the civic chest in Arnold's possession.<sup>7</sup> In the same chest were fuller charters of liberties granted by Henry II and Richard I. In addition to these the Londoners had been granted general charters of liberties by Henry I/Stephen, John and Henry III.<sup>8</sup> In 1215, the Londoners did not get everything they wanted from Magna Carta, but what they did gain was confirmation that the city was to enjoy all its

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 52, 1072-3, 1294.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rotuli Hundredorum temp. Henry III & Edw. I in Turr' Lond' et in curia receptæ Scaccarij Westm. asservati, 2 vols., (Record Commission, 1812-18), i, 416, 428.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> J. Crick, "Pristina Libertas": liberty and the Anglo-Saxons revisited', TRHS, sixth ser., xiv (2004) 47-71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> B. Szabò-Bechstein, *Libertas Ecclesie: Ein Schlüsselbegriff des Investiturstreit und seine Vorgeschichte: 4-11 Jahrhundert* (Rome, 1985), esp. 138-92; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-8* (Oxford, 1998), 536-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> S. Ferente, 'Guelphs! Factions, liberty and sovereignty: inquiries about the Quattrocento', *History of Political Thought*, xxvii, no. 4 (2007), 571-598, at 591.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Crick, 'Pristina Libertas', 54-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 1286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *Historical Charters,* 1-42; for the doubt over Henry I's charter, Brooke, Keir and Reynolds, 'Henry I's charter for the city of London', 558-78.

ancient liberties.<sup>1</sup> Arnold was not afraid to cite these royal charters: s.a 1253 he wrote that the Londoners' 'liberties, laws and customs' all dated from the reign of Henry I; s.a. 1261, he named four royal charters which the Londoners cited in their legal case against the men of Northampton; in 1266, it was on Magna Carta, 'through which charter the city ought to have all its liberties and free customs', that Arnold and his fellow citizens stood to question the king's attempt to install William son of Richard as bailiff; and in 1269 he wrote that the Londoners asked the Lord Edward not to allow the yoke of servitude to be placed upon them 'contra libertates per cartas domini regis patris sui et predecessorum suorum regum Anglie eis concessas'.2 This incident in 1266 is (surprisingly?) the first *explicit* deployment, recorded in the chronicle, of Magna Carta by the citizens against the king, although clauses 39 and 61 of the 1215 Charter may have been the *implicit* precedent for the chronicle's claim, in 1250, that the Londoners should 'nullum iudicium recipere inde deberent in absencia parium suorum, scilicet comitum baronum Anglie'.<sup>3</sup> But this royal attempt to install William in 1266 did immediately follow a royal order that Magna Carta be observed, which would have made the 'breach' of Magna Carta quite obvious to Arnold.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, it must be remembered that to Arnold and his fellow Londoners Magna Carta offered but a confirmation of London's liberties, and was just one part of a two-hundred-year-long tradition of royallychartered liberties. Arnold certainly knew the value of all these royal grants. The king knew their value too: in/after 1265 he physically seized several of London's charters of liberties and only returned them in July 1270.5 No wonder, then, that when a financiallypressed Henry issued a comprehensive, thousand-word-long charter of liberties to the Londoners on 26 March 1268, Arnold copied it entire into his chronicle.<sup>6</sup>

London's royally-chartered liberties were overwhelmingly of Isaiah Berlin's negative kind.<sup>7</sup> The Londoners had the freedom *from* being compelled to plead outside the walls, *from* paying the murder fine or *from* tolls outside of London. There were, however, some liberties which represented, one might argue, the wish of the commune, if not the individual, 'to be his own master', and were, therefore, positive liberties as defined by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 117-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **δ-δ**, c. 680; **δ-δ**, c. 745; cc. 881, 983.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 673; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 52, 63-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 880.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **a-a,** c. 1012.

<sup>6</sup> c. 964

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Isaiah Berlin, 'Two Concepts of Liberty', in *idem, Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford, 1969), 118-172.

Berlin.<sup>1</sup> The Londoners had the freedom *to* choose the city's mayor and sheriffs, and the freedom to hold the Husting court. Arnold vigorously defended both kinds in his chronicle. Yet did Arnold have his own conception of liberty, beyond that which was contained in London's charters?<sup>2</sup> Arnold certainly did claim controversial, even radical, liberties for the Londoners beyond those specified by royal charter. As we have just seen, in 1250, Arnold reproduced, and therefore articulated, the Londoners' claim that their peers were the earls and barons of England.<sup>3</sup> This was a dubious claim indeed. True, the mayor of London was of the 'uiginti quinque barones de regno' sworn to uphold the 1215 Magna Carta, from at least 1220 onwards the Londoners were styling themselves 'barons' on their communal seal, and many thirteenth-century London aldermen assumed the trappings of a knightly lifestyle and possessed equestrian seals, or seals with shields of arms.4 The claim, however, that the thirteenth-century Londoners were the equals of the earls and barons of England is unique to Arnold's chronicle. It was one supposedly ridiculed by the king.<sup>5</sup> In 1269, too, Arnold claimed a liberty not specified by royal charter, when he wrote that the Londoners were not compelled to perform the service of butlery for the king, but were instead free to choose whether or not to do this.<sup>6</sup> Nor do the instances where Arnold appears conservative necessarily suggest that he was. As we have seen, s.a. 1255, Arnold did not articulate Ralph Hardel's claim that the Londoners owed only aid, not tallage to the king.<sup>7</sup> Arnold's silence here might indicate that this was simply too controversial a liberty to claim. On the other hand, he might very well have been of the same mind as Hardel, and his reticence reflected his reluctance to record the Londoners' defeat on that issue, and with that defeat confirm the Londoners' servile status. And while Arnold denounced Thomas fitz Thomas, who in 1265 claimed the extraordinary liberty of qualifying his fealty to the king, as 'miserimus' (for 'uerba tam temeraria proferre'), and his claim as 'inauditum', this was in fact, as we shall see, not a contemporary note.8

What is clear is that, to Arnold, the maintenance of royally-granted liberties was the touchstone of good, civic government. Thus, London's liberties are the warp and weft of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Berlin, 'Two concepts', 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Much of what follows is derived from a stimulating discussion with Tony Moore.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>  $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ , c. 673; *supra*, 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 118; J.A. McEwan, 'The seals of London's governing elite in the thirteenth century', TCE, xiv, 43-59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'Illi rustici Londonienses, qui se barones appellant', *CM*, v, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **α-α**, c. 999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Supra, 105-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Marginal ins. **a,** c. 832; *infra*, 128-9.

Arnold's chronicle. Absorbed with its defence of London's liberties, the chronicle failed to record the birth of two royal princes in 1239 and 1245 in its main text. When the Londoners allied themselves with the barons in 1258, 1263 and 1264 they did so 'saluis tamen eis omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus suis', 'salua libertate Londoniarum' and to 'nos fraunchises e costumes sauuer et maintenir contre touz ceus qui afforcier nos uodront'.2 The chronicle frequently records confirmations and augmentations of London's liberties.<sup>3</sup> Time and again the chronicle objects when anyone acted contrary to London's liberties. For example, when the king tried to appoint Simon son of Mary as sheriff, in 1239, the citizens 'dicebant ipsum [Simon] hoc impetrasse contra libertates suas';4 the attempt by the prior of St Bartholomew to erect a new tron, in 1247, was 'contra libertates et consuetudines ciuitatis'; in 1250, the citizens shouted 'quod in nullo articulo a libertatibus suis usitatis discedere uoluerunt' at a failed day of love between the abbot of Westminster and the Londoners;6 High Bigod, in 1258, acted 'contra antiquam consuetudinem ciuitatis'; the imprisonment of four Londoners by the men of Northampton, in 1261, was 'contra precepta domini regis et libertates Londoniarum';8 Philip de Bokland's efforts to summon the Londoners to the court of the king's seneschal were 'contra libertates suas';9 the constable of the Tower's attempt to take prise, in 1263, was 'contra illos [sic] libertates suas'; 10 and in 1273, the Londoners brandished their charters to the barons of the exchequer, and demanded that the sheriffs of London 'debent gaudere eisdem libertatibus quibus alii ciues utuntur'. <sup>11</sup> Indeed, in his scathing attack on the prior of Norwich for attacking the municipal liberties of the citizens of Norwich, was not Arnold vicariously defending London's liberties too? 12

Arnold reserved his worst criticism, however, for Londoners who diminished London's liberties. Thus he accused Simon son of Mary not just of having frequently acted 'contra libertatem ciuitas', but also of 'multas alias prauas causas et destestabiles, quas ipse

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 714, 771, 1175.

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$  α-α, c. 673; δ-δ, c. 680; cc. 728, 782, 959-64, 968-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 652.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **ε-ε**, c. 667.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 673.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 719.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> C. 744.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> c. 747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> c. 766.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> C. 1127

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> cc. 1067-70; *supra*, 32; *infra*, 262.

contra ciuitatem occulte perpetrauerat'. Similarly, s.a 1258 Arnold condemned the populus induced to act against their own liberties as 'miserrimi'; and s.a 1263, Arnold denounced Thomas fitz Thomas for missing the opportunity to augment London's liberties.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps citizens like Simon, Nicholas son of Joce, Margery Viel and Henry de la Mare did ally themselves with royal officials like Henry of Bath, William of Haverhill, Edward of Westminster and Roger of Thurkelby to act 'contra ciuitatem'? Perhaps not. In view of the fact that Arnold is usually a unique source for these events, we will probably never know for sure. What is clear is that, in the 1240s and early 1250s, Arnold felt that London's privileges were under pressure: from above, by a king and royal officers, and from within by Londoners who, despite being among the aldermanic class, did not act in the commune's wider interests.<sup>4</sup> It is no surprise that these two threats so often fuse in Arnold's narrative. Added to these, as we have seen, from the mid-1250s onwards was a new pressure from below. We have also seen that Arnold must have been keeping notes and had access to a variety of useful sources from the 1230s onwards, but it was not until 1257 that he brought this material together into a chronicle account.<sup>5</sup> Why? Because it was then that *all* of these pressures began to be felt at the same time. It was this which drove Arnold finally to pick up his pen. Arnold wrote, therefore, to express his pride in London's past, to justify the city's place in the realm and his place within the city, and to defend London's privileges not from a position of smug, triumphalist self-satisfaction, but from a position of doubt, uncertainty and fear.

Arnold was by no means unique in picking up his pen as a 'crisis-response tool'. Had not the greatest of England's medieval crises, the Norman Conquest, prompted the most brilliant period of historical writing yet seen in the British Isles? Further evidence that Arnold wrote in response to crisis is not hard to find. English society had become increasingly divided during the years of Henry III's personal rule, between English and alien, court and country, Christian and Jew. In 1258 the perfect storm of national and local conflict hit London, and Arnold's chronicle, hitherto annalistic and matter-of-fact,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 671.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> η-η, c. 702.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **β-β**, c. 776.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 652, 654, 660, 662, 665. 667, 669, 671

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Supra, 40-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Historical writing was often 'a byproduct of crisis', Shopkow, *History and Community*, 57; compiling a historical text 'served as a catalyst for the resolution of internal or external crises', K. Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (York, 2005), 1; 'The Conquest gave the English monasteries a motive which is the inspiration of every great historical movement—the conviction that corporate survival depended on the discovery and preservation of the past', Southern, 'England in the twelfth-century renaissance', in idem, *Medieval Humanism*, 158-180, at 161-2.

exploded into life. For the twenty year period, September 1237 to September 1257, Arnold wrote, on average, just under 350 words for each year. His account of the one year from September 1257 to September 1258 runs to over 3,000 words. Nor was this a flash in the pan. From September 1257 onwards Arnold's chronicle was written against a backdrop of crisis. Nationally there were political coups, schemes of reform and attritional civil war. The Londoners could not help but be sucked into this maelstrom. In 1258 and 1263, as Arnold's chronicle recounts, the Londoners were asked by the baronial reformers and rebels to choose sides. In 1264 hundreds of Londoners fought at the battle of Lewes. In addition, within London there were internal crises: established forms of civic government were overturned, two populist mayors threatened the aldermanic hegemony, and there were frequent outbreaks of savage rioting. No wonder that from September 1257 to July 1274 the chronicle averages over 2,500 words per year.

Crises cause anxiety and Gabrielle Spiegel has shown how anxiety led writers to search for a 'usable past' that 'could correct the deficiencies of a problematic present'. Indeed, did not Arnold experience many of the symptoms of decline, identified by Spiegel, which prompted the search for both a personal and communal usable past: 'a fall from social grace' when he was removed from his aldermanry in 1258; a 'decline in political authority' when, in Arnold's *ipsissima verba*, the 'minutus populus habuerunt dominacionem ultra mangiates [*sic*] ciuitatis'; and an understanding that the values which had distinguished him and his fellow aldermen as 'once-prestigious possessors of power and authority' were increasingly irrelevant and marginal in a world, however small, turned upside down.<sup>3</sup>

Reconciling all of these elements was a final motive; Arnold's usable past was founded on civic unity. *S.a.* 1248-9, Arnold wrote that the Londoners resisted the king's attempt to favour the abbot of Westminster, contrary to London's liberties, because the 'tota comuna' refused to budge.<sup>4</sup> When Simon son of Mary was deprived of his aldermanry by the mayor, it was done 'per assensum tocius commune'.<sup>5</sup> Arnold could not have been any clearer, *s.a.* 1250, when he wrote that further royal attempts to augment

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 714, 771.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> G.M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley; Los Angeles, 1993), 1-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Spiegel, *Romancing the Past,* 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> **α-α**, c. 671.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 671.

Westminster Abbey's privileges miscarried when 'all of the people' and 'the whole commune' acted, 'all with one voice', to make sure that 'not a single article' of London's liberties was threatened.¹ In 1267, Arnold pleaded that for everyone's safety, 'omnes de ciuitate tam pauperes quam diuites essent quasi corpus unum et uir unus'.² In 1269 Arnold wrote that 'uniuersus populus' gave their assent to the proscription of sixty leading rebels.³ True, his argument in 1272 that the aldermen were the head of the body politic, whereas the *populus* were the limbs, may at first seem to highlight the divisions in society; however, even here Arnold plainly still saw the citizens as forming one body.⁴

However, Arnold protested too much. We have already seen the vertical divisions among the London elite, and one only need turn to Arnold's account of the king's attack on the London aldermen in January to March 1258, or the disputed mayoral election of 1272, to see clear horizontal divisions within civic society. In 1265, Arnold himself admitted that the citizens had been divided during the period of reform and rebellion. In 1274, Arnold accused Hervey of having confirmed charters that were 'ad dampnum et iacturam *omnium* aliorum ciuium et tocius regni', yet also wrote of the 'multum populum' that Hervey was able to rally to his side. In the same year, according to Arnold the 'tota communa ciuitatis ibidem [in the Guildhall] presente' assented to the annulment of the craft charters. Yet it is clear from this account that vast numbers of the citizens were in fact thronging the streets for Hervey. It is, in fact, altogether improbable that on all the occasions set out above the 'whole commune' acted 'with one voice' or 'as one body'. Whatever metaphor Arnold might choose to employ for his depiction of civic unity, Arnold was articulating an aspiration, not a reality.

Nor was Arnold's usable past limited simply to what he *did* write; it is also evident in what Arnold chose *not* to record. Of course, Arnold could not recount everything in his narrative, although it is surprising that Arnold made no mention of either the collapse of the Tower of London's walls in 1241, or of the stay at the Tower of the elephant sent by

 $^{1}$  γ-γ, c. 673. Cf. Paris's 'major civitatis cum tota communa unanimiter', *CM*, v, 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 931.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> α-α, c. 1003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 1075.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Supra*, 118-21, 124-5; cc. 702-8, 1071-86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 856.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$  α-α and β-β, c. 1132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **α-α**, c. 1136.

Louis IX of France to Henry III in 1255. However, these omissions are of no great moment. The same cannot be said for a series of omissions from Arnold's narrative between 1263 and 1265, perhaps the years of greatest crisis which Arnold had to face. It is, quite frankly, astonishing that Arnold's chronicle has no record whatsoever of the episode on 13 July 1263, when two days of rioting in London culminated in a mob of Londoners pelting Queen Eleanor with stones, filth and eggs as she attempted to flee the Tower to join her son at Windsor Castle.<sup>2</sup> It is similarly remarkable that the chronicle is silent about events of 11 December 1263, when a small group of royalist Londoners, allied with the king, locked the gate of the city trapping Montfort and his army at Southwark. They were subsequently saved when the Londoners broke down the gates of the city so that they could retreat within the city walls.<sup>3</sup> One would have expected Arnold of all writers to have recorded the setting of a fire which caused considerable damage at Cheapside on 13 May 1264, by the royalist Richard of Ware, yet his chronicle is silent.<sup>4</sup> The excommunication of the rebel barons, the Londoners and the men of the Cinque Ports by the papal legate, Guy Foulquois, in October 1264, was also passed over in unexpected silence.<sup>5</sup> Lastly, while Arnold recorded that London's mayor, Thomas fitz Thomas, told the king in March 1265 that the Londoners' loyalty to him was conditional on the king being a good lord, this was not a contemporary report; Arnold added this in the margin at a later date, originally he was more reticent.<sup>6</sup>

These cannot have been incidents of marginal concern to Arnold. London's aldermen maintained the fire fighting equipment in their wards, and as we have seen, Arnold frequently recorded the publication of sentences of excommunication. Indeed, in a fine piece of humbug, in 1266, Arnold *did* refer to the 1264 sentences of excommunication, and condemned the Montfortian bishops for their silence at the time! Nor can it be that he was unaware of these incidents. Arnold was in London throughout this time. True, the barons did attempt to control the flow of information into and out of the realm – they threatened a Franciscan legate with death, in the summer of 1264, if he brought so

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the walls of the Tower, *CM*, iv, 93-5; for Henry III's elephant, *CM*, v, 489; *Ann. Burton,* 329; *Ann. Lond.*, 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ann. Dun., 222-3; Gervase, ii, 222; Flores, ii, 481-2; Wykes, 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Flores,* ii, 485; *Gervase,* ii, 230-1; *Ann. Dun.,* 225-7; *Wykes,* 138; *Rishanger,* 15-16. Wykes wrote that six months later the Londoners took three of those suspected of locking the gates, Richard Picard, Augustine of Hadstock and Stephen of Chelmsford, to the battle of Lewes as hostages, *Wykes,* 150-1. Cf. *Rishanger,* 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Eyre, 1276, 84; Ann. Lond., 63; Flores, ii, 498; Ann. Osney, 147; Croniques, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wykes, 155-7; Flores, ii, 500-1; Gervase, ii, 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Marginal ins. **a**, c. 832.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Supra, 25-6, 102-3.

<sup>8</sup> c. 865.

much as a single letter into England which condemned their regime - and trade must have been disrupted by the civil war.<sup>1</sup> Nevetheless, it is inconceivable that in a thriving, trading hub such as London, not one person would have brought news of the excommunication of the barons and their allies. Nor were these omissions a result of forgetfulness either, as from May/June 1264 onwards Arnold was updating his chronicle frequently.

Rather, it is more likely that there were simply things whereof Arnold could not speak: they either reflected too badly on London as a whole, and therefore ran counter to his desire to preserve and glorify London's past, or they were just too divisive and problematic. In the period 1263-5 the Londoners had, for the most part, thrown their lot in with the barons, and the city's mayor became one of the leading supporters of the Montfortian regime. However, as the events of December 1263 and May 1264 show, there remained a dissenting, royalist party within the city walls. To have recorded these episodes in anything other than a one-line annalistic entry would have been difficult for Arnold, for to do so he would have been forced to choose a side. Were the actions of the Londoners who saved Montfort good or bad? Not only was there a clear difference of opinion about that within the city, there was an unresolved civil war taking place at the time when Arnold was composing his chronicle. In those circumstances it was just far easier and less controversial for Arnold to omit than it was to record, simply to leave anything missing off stump. Perhaps Arnold was told explicitly not to record these incidents by Thomas fitz Thomas or other supporters of the baronial cause? They were, after all, episodes which cast doubt on the city's commitment to the cause of reform. Perchance, even, there existed a climate of fear so strong in London at that time, that Arnold, like the Osney annalist, felt himself under an implicit pressure to remain silent?<sup>2</sup> Certainly, when Arnold reported the robbery and murder committed by the men of the Cinque Ports in 1265 before Evesham, 'per assensum et consensum' of Montfort and his sons, Arnold twice qualified his criticism of Montfort and his sons with the disclaimer 'ut dicebatur'.<sup>3</sup> After Evesham Arnold added no such caveats to a similar report.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Maddicott, *Montfort*, 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'There are many things from this time which we omit from our account, for the sake of our readers' peace, because perhaps what may please the royalists, may displease supporters of the barons', Ann. Osney, 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 834.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 863-4.

For either to have been the case, we would have to imagine Arnold's chronicle to have been a very public production indeed. That of itself should cause no great difficulty. Arnold's fellow aldermen and others of their stamp must have known about his chronicle; either he was their chamberlain/clerk, or they were feeding him the letters, newsletters and other records of which he made such great use. As we shall see, in contemporary Genoa the civic chronicles were officially authorised and approved by the city's governors; and Arnold's book enjoyed a very public, municipal career after Arnold's death. There can be little doubt that, publically approved or not, the 'more discreet citizens' were the primary audience for whom Arnold wrote. To be sure, Arnold wrote for himself and to make sense of the world around him. But, had he only written for himself, then it is unlikely that he would have chosen to omit material which was simply too troublesome for a divided wider audience to manage. In the final analysis, Arnold's book, written in Latin, with its evident pride in London's institutional past and present, its strident justification of aldermanic rule, its outright hostility to the populus and populist mayors, its vociferous defence of London's liberties, and its frequent calls for civic unity must have been written for other men like Arnold.

## **Urban chronicle writing in thirteenth-century Europe**

'The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar' is the first witness of something new in British historiography. In point of fact, it is one of the first witnesses of something new in European historiography also. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries men holding political and administrative office in civil bureaucracies began to write chronicles in large numbers.<sup>1</sup> In Italy this is best evidenced by the Florentines Dino Compagni and Giovanni Villani.<sup>2</sup> In Germany scores of writers penned town chronicles. In 1862 the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences began to publish these works in *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis in 16. Jahrhundert* series. As of today it comprises thirty-eight volumes, the majority of which contain several chronicles.<sup>3</sup> In the mid-thirteenth century, however, very few men were doing something similar elsewhere in Europe; indeed, there were only two other cities where anything on a similar scale to Arnold's chronicle was being produced: Genoa and Cologne.

In what follows Arnold's career as a writer will be set against the careers of his pioneering contemporaries. Of course, three such different cities in three different countries produced their own distinct historical texts. But there were also much alike in all three cities and their respective chronicles, and these parallels can tell us a great deal about the features and circumstances of medieval urban life which drove men to write history. This study will argue that there were two very practical preconditions which, once established, fostered urban historical writing. It will then employ the same model as the preceding chapter to shed new light on an emergent tradition in European historiography. But we must first turn to the cities themselves.

The buds of this new literary genus first blossomed in Genoa. In 1100, a Genoese crusading fleet sailed east. Among the three thousand or so Genoese in this expedition was Caffaro di Rustico di Caschifellone, a nobleman born in 1080. Caffaro would enjoy a distinguished career as a military commander, an ambassador, a six-time *consul de comuni* and two-time *consul de placitis*. Yet it is as author that he achieved lasting renown. Caffaro wrote several works, all in Latin: the *Ystoria Captionis Almarie et* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, esp. 24-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dino Compagni, *Cronica delle Cose Occorrenti ne' Tempi Suoi*, ed. D. Cappi (Rome, 2000); *Dino Compagni's Chronicle of Florence*, trans. D.E. Bornstein (Philadelphia, 1986); Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. G. Porta, 3 vols., (Parma, 1990-91).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> F.R.H. Du Boulay, 'The German town chroniclers' in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages*, 445-69, 445.

*Turtose*, a short description of an 1146-48 expedition to capture the Muslim-held cities of Almeria and Tortosa in Spain; the *De Liberatione Civitatum Orientis*, an account of Genoese involvement in the First Crusade; and he may well have had a hand in another text entitled *Brevis Historia Iherosolymitani*. However, his most important production, and the one for which he is most famous, was the *Annali Genovesi* for the years 1099-1163.<sup>1</sup> In producing this text, Caffaro was the 'précurseur et modèle' for all medieval civic chroniclers.<sup>2</sup> These annals, originally a private undertaking recording the events of the First Crusade, soon grew in scope to become a public record of Genoese history. In 1152, Caffaro presented his annals to the consuls and the commune of Genoa. Delighted, they ordered that it 'be copied by the public scribe and placed in the city archives, so that future generations of Genoese should know of the victories of the city'.<sup>3</sup>

After Caffaro's death in 1166, the annals, uniquely in Europe, were continued by public officials appointed to the task by the civic authorities. All of these continuators wrote Latin. With the appointment of Ottobono Scriba in 1174, the 'annals truly become a government record, written by employees of the regime with the purpose of justifying the actions and policies of those in power'.<sup>4</sup> This story of authorised and approved civic historical writing came to an end on 16 July 1294 when Jacopo Doria presented his work to the officials of the commune.<sup>5</sup> Doria had been born into one of Genoa's most prominent families, in 1234. His brothers Oberto and Lamba were both captains of the people and won great military victories, and another brother, Niccolo, was an admiral of

¹ These texts are all found together in two manuscripts: the first, a twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscript considered to be the official version produced for the Genoese archive, Paris, Bib. Nat., MS latin, 10136 (N); a fifteenth-century copy of this is London, BL Add. MS 12031 (B). The critical edition of these texts was begun in 1890 by Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, who used N as his base manuscript. Belgrano then worked as co-editor with Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo on the continuations of the annals by Ottobono Scriba, Ogerio Pane and Marchisio Scriba (1174-1224) for the second volume, published in 1901. Thereafter the remaining three volumes of the Genoese annals, 1225-94, were edited by Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, and published in the 1920s, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' Suoi Continuatori*, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, vols., 11-14 bis, (Rome, 1890-1929). An English translation of Caffaro's works was published as part of the Crusades Texts in Translation Series, M. Hall and J. Philips, *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades* (Farnham, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Heers, 'Le notaire dans les villes italiennes', 74. For Caffaro, *Annali Genovesi*, i, lxix-xcix; G. Arnaldi, 'Il-notaio-cronista e la cronache cittadine in Italia', in *La storia del diritto nel quadro delle scienze storiche* (Florence, 1966), 293-309; R. Face, 'Secular history in twelfth-century Italy', *Journal of Medieval History*, vi (1980), 169-84; C. Wickham, 'The sense of the past in Italian communal narratives' in P. Magdalino, ed., *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London, 1992) 173-189; J. Dotson, 'The Genoese civic annals: Caffaro and his continuators', in S. Dale, A. Williams Lewin and D.J. Osheim, eds., *Chronicling History: Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Pennsylvania, 2007), 55-85; Hall and Philips, *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades*, 1-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Dotson, 'Genoese civic annals', 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Annali Genovesi, v, 174-6.

the Genoese fleet.<sup>1</sup> Jacopo served as *podestà* of Voltri in 1273 and occasionally as an ambassador. He was one of four annalists responsible for composing the chronicle for 1270-79; from 1280-94 the chronicle was his work alone.<sup>2</sup> At the heart of Doria's narrative was the war with Pisa and he is particularly well-informed of naval affairs – doubtless a result of his familial connections.<sup>3</sup>

Of all the Genoese annalists only Doria inquired into and took obvious pride in Genoa's rather modest Roman past.<sup>4</sup> After the collapse of the Western Empire Genoa had fallen under the successive control of the Ostrogoths, Byzantines, Lombards and Carolingians, before it was devastatingly sacked by Muslim raiders in 934-5.5 The first reference to communal government in Genoa comes from Caffaro, who wrote that a three-year *compagna* was established in 1099 under the direction of six consuls.<sup>6</sup> It is most likely, however, that, as with contemporary reports of the establishment of London's commune in 1191, this was a *post factum* acknowledgment.<sup>7</sup> There were three general factors which led to the formation of communes across northern and central Italy in the late eleventh century: detached imperial rule, ecclesiastical reform which limited the secular power of bishops, and immigration coupled with economic developments that saw the emergence of social groups without connections to local elites.<sup>8</sup> Genoa was no exception. True, she was nominally under the control of the Holy Roman Emperor in the High Middle Ages, but it was a 'vague and distant' relationship and there is little evidence of any great imperial interference in the day-to-day life of the city.<sup>9</sup> The concerns of the twelfth-century Genoese, as articulated through their civic chronicles were the crusades, rivalry and war with Pisa, Mediterranean trade, relations with the emperor and other powers, and the development of intramural political and administrative structures. 10 Indeed, while London's rivalry with Westminster never quite led to war, these concerns are very similar to those of thirteenth-century

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For Doria, *Annali Genovesi*, v, xxix-lxi; S.A. Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, 958-1528, (Chapel Hill, 1996) 164-66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 1270-79 he worked alongside Oberto Stancone, Marchisino di Cassino and Bertolino di Bonifazio, *Annali Genovesi*, iv, 127-187. Doria's sole continuation is *Annali Genovesi*, v, 3-175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For example, *Annali Genovesi*, v, 30-45, 53-7, 62-8, 69-75, 114-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Annali Genovesi, v, 4-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Epstein, *Genoa*, 12-14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 'Caffaro is so matter-of-fact about this compagna that it is impossible to believe that it was the first one. It is also inconceivable that he would have failed to note that this was the first compagna', Epstein, *Genoa*, 33. Cf. *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, A.D. 1364-1381*, ed. A.H. Thomas, xiii-xiv; Reynolds, 'Rulers', 348-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Waley and Dean, *Italian City-Republics*, 10-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Epstein, *Genoa*, 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, passim; Epstein, Genoa, 28-91.

Londoners expressed in Arnold's chronicle. Within twelfth-century Genoa internal feuding, factionalism and violence were recurring themes, although this is not always recorded in the official annals.<sup>1</sup> Much of this violence appears to have been politically motivated, perpetrated by warring elite families based in their siege towers, but the commoner sort were often caught up in the bloodshed as clan and neighbourhood alliances (alberghi) solidified.2 In response to this recurrent fighting, and following several experiments with different forms of consular government, in 1190, at the time when London's commune was emerging into the historical light, the 'sapientes et consiliarii ciuitatis' decided to abolish consular rule and elect a podestà. Between 1190 and 1216, the Genoese alternated between rule by a podestà and a consulate, with neither form of government bringing a satisfactory end to the vicious fighting.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, even after this abandonment of consular rule the annals often laconically record 'perdurante guerra inter ciutiatem'. External conflicts, in the Genoese agrarian hinterland and those caused by the challenging rule of Emperor Frederick II (1220-50), also begin to figure more prominently in the thirteenth-century Genoese annals. In 1250, however, Frederick died and the Genoese were able to seal a series of peace agreements with other powers. In 1251 the Genoese Pope Innocent IV entered the city in triumph; in 1252, very close in time to similar events in England, Genoa minted her first gold coinage; and in 1256 peace was even agreed with the perpetual enemy, Pisa.6

A significant amount has been written on Genoa and her civic annalists for an English-reading audience. Gottfried Hagen, however, Arnold's contemporary in Cologne, is virtually unknown to a non-German-reading audience, and therefore requires a fuller introduction. Born sometime around 1230 to Gerhard, a subdeacon, and Blanza, Hagen probably spent his childhood in Xanten. His father had connections to the well-placed family of Vetscholder in Cologne, but Hagen did not take their name and they appear to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Epstein, *Genoa*, 52, 75, 80-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Epstein, Genoa, 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Annali Genovesi, ii, 36-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Epstein, *Genoa*, 87-109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Annali Genovesi,* iii; quote at 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 699-700; Epstein, *Genoa*, 127-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The critical edition of Hagen's chronicle is Gottfried Hagen, *Reimchronik der Stadt Köln*, herausgegeben von K. Gärtner, Andrea Rapp and Désirée Welter; unter mitarbeit von M. Groten; historischer Kommentar von Thomas Bohn, *Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschicktskunde*, 74 (Düsseldorf, 2008). Their edition is based on a single fifteenth-century manuscript, Frankfurt, Stadtbibliothek und Universitätsbibliothek, MS Germ. 8 26 (F), compared, where possible, with a s. xiv<sup>in</sup> fragment, Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Dauerleihgabe des Düsseldorfer Hauptstaatsarchivs, HS C V 1 (D). For what follows, *ibid*, ix-xv; M. Groten, 'Gottfried Hagen (ca. 1230-1299)', in *Rheinische Lebensbilder*, 17, (Cologne, 1997), 41-56; M. Groten, *Köln im 13. Jahrhundert. Gesellschaftlicher Wandel und Verfassungsentwicklung* (Cologne, 1998), 228-257.

have done nothing to support his later career, which suggests that relations with his father's family were cool at best. During his youth he acquired the title 'master', so he most likely spent some time in Paris, and perhaps Italy too, but there is no certain evidence of his whereabouts. Hagen's first appearance in the historical record comes in a document dated 9 June 1262, written in his own hand and in German, which set out the hurriedly-confirmed agreement between the citizens of Cologne and Count Adolf von Berg. From 1262 until 1271, Hagen wrote numerous documents, in Latin and German, on behalf of the Cologners generally, the guild of clothcutters particularly, and the archbishop of Cologne. But his was a precarious existence. Unlike Arnold, Caffaro and Doria, Hagen had no independent means and had to find other ways of supporting himself. He may have been the 'schoolmaster Gottfried' who appeared buying houses in Cologne in 1263; he almost certainly entered minor holy orders to acquire a benefice, certainly there is little evidence he took his ministering role seriously, and at some point during the 1260s he entered into a common-law marriage with the well-connected 'domina' Petrissa Gernegrois, with whom he had a son named Gobelinus. Through her familial connections Hagen found work from 1266 onwards as a scribe in the parishes of Cologne.

The year 1268 marked a turning-point for Hagen. On 7 August, he appeared in the main hall of the cathedral in Cologne and, as *procurator* representing the judges, senators, council and commune of Cologne, read out the city's defiant rebuttal of the papal nuncio's recently-imposed sentence of bann and interdict. Hagen must have enjoyed a reputation as a jurist of some note to be employed in such a role, one which he reprised on 25 September 1270. On 14 October 1268, on a journey to Neuss as a messenger he learned of the menacing presence of the army of the Count of Cleves close to Cologne. Hagen hurried back to warn the citizens, and the next day an attack on the city miscarried. Thereafter Hagen's star was very much in the ascendant, assisted no doubt by the composition of his *Reimchronik* (rhyming chronicle) in 1269-70. The exact date of his appointment as city scribe is unknown, he may already have been appointed in 1269, as in that year he composed a Latin document for the civic authorities; certainly his chronicle tells us that Hagen was *der stede schriver* who proclaimed the *Sühne* (expiation document), dated 16 April 1271, between Archbishop Engelbert (II) von Falkenberg

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hagen, Reimchronik, v.5546-5603.

(1261-74) and the citizens of Cologne.<sup>1</sup> He held this office until December 1287, when he retired. In 1270, his election as minister of the church of Klein St Martin led to a lengthy dispute with the abbess of St Maria im Kapitol over the right of presentation to this benefice. Hagen's editors have suggested that he may have composed his chronicle in gratitude for this election.<sup>2</sup> As head of the civic writing office and priest of the highest-ranking parish in Cologne, Hagen had effected a remarkable rise from lowly beginnings. By 1291, perhaps before, Hagen was deacon of the diocese of St George, moving in an illustrious circle of Cologner prelates. He died on 4 July 1299.

Hagen's *Reimchronik* was mostly written in 1269-70 with a brief addendum to bring it up to date in April 1271.<sup>3</sup> It comprises 6293 lines of rhymed German of a lower-Rhineish dialect.<sup>4</sup> The *Kaiserchronik*, c. 1150, was the first vernacular *Reimchronik* composed in Germany; followed within a century by an 'avalanche' of similar works. Their emergence has to be seen as part of the same European movement which produced Gaimar's *L'estoire des Engleis* in England and the *Geste de Bretuns* in France.<sup>5</sup> These *Reimchroniken* were stylised poems as much as they were chronicles, usually composed for a two-fold reception: private enjoyment and public recitals. Hagen's was no different. In the words of Désirée Welter, his 'Boich van der stede Coelne, as he himself titled it, is not a chronicle in a proper sense, for it lacks concrete dates and times; leaps of time occur and the skill of depiction is rather dramatic as opposed to narrative'.<sup>6</sup> An example of this is Hagen's report of the 1262 *Sühne* between archbishop and citizens.<sup>7</sup> Hagen must have known its terms since he drafted it. Yet his *Reimchronik's* account of its terms goes far beyond the text of the *Sühne* itself.<sup>8</sup> Hagen was no great poet. Several

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.6283-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, xiv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hagen writes at the end of his *Reimchronik*, 'Na Godes geburt dusent jair / zweyhundert ind seventzijch dat is wair / meister Godefrit maichde mich allein', Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.6289-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For Hagen's style, E. Dornfeld, 'Untersuchungen zu Gottfried Hagens Reimchronik der Stadt Köln nebst Beiträgen zur mittelripuarischen Grammatik', *Germanistiche Abhandlungen*, xl (Breslau, 1912); S. Habscheid, 'Flexionsmorphologische Untersuchungen zur Kölner Urkundensprache des 13. Jahrhunderts, die Deutschen Urkunden Gottfried Hagens (1262-1274)', *Rheinisches Archiv*, cxxxv (Cologne, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> D.H. Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300* 

<sup>(</sup>Cambridge, 1994), 169-222, 246, 265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> D. Welter, 'Urkundliche Quellen und städtische Chronistik, Entstehung und Wirkung von Gottfried Hagens Reimchronik der Stadt Köln (1270/1)', in *Quelle – Text – Edition, Ergebnisse der österreichischdeutschen Fachtagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für germanistiche Edition in Graz vom 28. Februar bis 3. März 1996*, hrsg. von A. Schwob und E. Streitfeld (Tübingen, 1997), 123-32, at 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Hagen, Reimchronik, v.2327-2364.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Welter, 'Urkundliche Quellen', 126-8. For similar examples, D. Welter, 'Urkundenschreiber und Chronikautor, Die Verwendung von Urkunden in Gottfried Hagens "Reimchronik der Stadt Köln"', in *Urkundensprachen im germanisch-romanischen Grenzgebiet, Beiträge zum Kollogium am 5/6. Oktober in* 

of his verses are forced rhymes and sections of his work are long, repetitious and boring to the modern reader. But Hagen's work represents something new, for, like Arnold's chronicle, it was the first such witness to a civic production. It begins with a hagiographical introduction, 686 lines long (about a tenth of the complete text) which covers three episodes in Cologne's distant imperial past: the city's conversion to Christianity, led by St Maternus; the martyrdoms of St Ursula and her companions, St Gereon, and St Maurice; and the Constantine/Silvester legend.<sup>2</sup> The more contemporary section of the chronicle, however, begins with the attack of Archbishop Conrad von Hochstaden (1238-61) on Cologne in 1252, 'the point in time, at which the archbishop seriously began to question the freedom of the city as Gottfried understood it'. Hagen was probably absent from Cologne during most of Conrad's twenty-three year archiepiscopate, as this period is covered in roughly 1,000 verses, or just a sixth of the text; indeed, Hagen's chronicle devotes only three verses to the removal of the mint officials by Conrad in 1259 - a turning-point in relations between city and lord.4 However, as we have just seen, Hagen was definitely in Cologne from 1262 onwards, something evidenced by his *Reimchronik*: 3,500 verses, well over half of the text, cover the sequence of events from 1261 to 1271 under Engelbert II's rule.<sup>5</sup> In sum, Hagen's Reimchronik provides a vivid depiction of the eighteen year struggle between the archbishops and citizens of Cologne and intramural civic unrest.

Cologne, like London and Genoa, was a city with an unexceptional classical past, something reflected, as we shall see, in the chronicles produced in the cities.<sup>6</sup> Urban life in some form continued under the Franks, with religious life perhaps providing the greatest element of continuity: the cults of SS Ursula, Gereon and Severin were all established in early medieval Cologne. Cologne was a city under both imperial and archiepiscopal control, and in the ninth and tenth centuries a series of royal grants of privileges endorsed the archbishop's power over the citizens. The archbishop had a mint and a market within the city from which he could collect certain tolls; he could demand payments from merchants travelling along the Rhine; he also held political and

Trier, hrsg. von K. Gärtner und Günter Holtus (Trierer Historische Forschungen 35, Mainz, 1997), 343-54, at 352-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Groten, 'Gottfried Hagen', 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.1-686.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.687ff; Groten, *Köln*, 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.1218-20; Welter, 'Urkundliche Quellen', 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, xi, v.1614ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For what follows, P. Strait, *Cologne in the Twelfth-Century* (Florida, 1974), 3-73.

judicial authority over the citizens. But, much like their fellows in London, the citizens of Cologne claimed freedom from archiepiscopal tolls and the right not to be summoned to a court outside of Cologne. However, two events reveal how tenuous archiepiscopal and imperial de facto power over the city actually was. In 1074, Cologners attacked the archbishop's official, der Stadtvogt, destroyed his chapel and forced the archbishop to flee via a back door; and in 1106 the citizens were able to resist a three-week siege led by the emperor Henry V. Thereafter, for the next century relations between the citizens and their masters were peaceful, and as in the case of Genoa, and perhaps London too, communal self-government in Cologne developed very much in response to the absence of her rulers. Archbishops of Cologne, such as Rainald von Dassel were frequently employed on imperial business and consequently the citizens learned to shift for themselves. In twelfth-century Cologne various unitary, municipal institutions emerged. The Schöffenkolleg (Lat. senatus) of fifteen Schöffen (Lat. scabini), who were assessors at court, controlled the civic seal and represented the city on embassies, with a further thirty *fratres scabinorum* waiting to be chosen as *scabini*. A social association called the Richerzeche formed by the richer and more powerful Cologne citizens, which met at the Bürgerhaus (later to become the town hall) in Judengasse; half of its members were scabini, half not, and each year it elected two Bürgermeister, one scabinal who controlled the city's seal, the other not.<sup>2</sup> The *Rat* (Lat. *consilium*) first appeared in Cologne, as in other German towns, at the end of the twelfth century; in 1216 it was dissolved, but had reformed by 1229, if not earlier; prior to 1259 no *Schöffen* sat on this body.<sup>3</sup> The parish magistrates retained important powers in Cologne's twelve parishes. Cologne's leading families, Geschlechter (close to the Latin genera, a term used to mean 'families' or lineages') formed a wealthy, elite group who controlled these political and legal institutions.

The first half of the thirteenth century saw new schisms emerge in Cologne. The imperial divisions between the Staufer and the Welf parties following the double election of 1198, the Guelfs and Ghibellines under Frederick II, and the dispute between supporters of Richard of Cornwall and King Alfonso of Castile following the double election of 1257/8 all left their mark on the city. Among other factors, the value which the citizens of Cologne placed on their trading connections with England meant that,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Strait, *Cologne*, 61-70; Groten, *Köln*, 2, 123-133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Strait, *Cologne*, 70-73; Groten, *Köln*, 4-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Groten, Köln, 60-78, 160-3.

with some exceptions, they generally supported Otto IV, Frederick II and Richard of Cornwall in these disputes.<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Conrad's decision, therefore, in 1239, to align himself with the pope against Frederick II led to tension between the archbishop and his citizens. But greater strain was placed upon the relationship between the archbishop and the citizens by the general change in imperial politics, as mid-thirteenth-century German prince-electors maintained their own power by electing weak kings, forcing all the great secular princes of Germany to turn their attention inwards.<sup>2</sup> In Cologne, long gone were the days of Rainald von Dassel acting as imperial chancellor, now the archbishop was very much 'more a local prince than an imperial agent' and keener, therefore, to consolidate his power over both the citizens and local counts.<sup>3</sup> Successive archbishops, Engelbert von Berg (1216-25), Henry von Müllenmark (1225-38), Conrad and Engelbert II all clashed with the citizens over rights, privileges and freedoms, which drove the citizens to ally themselves with local nobles against the archbishop. On 8 March 1250, in the same year that the Londoners claimed that their peers were the earls and barons of England, the citizens of Cologne concluded a contract with Count Adolf von Berg which finished with an agreement, in German, that the two parties should treat each other as equals.<sup>4</sup> Accords struck between the citizens and their archbishop, in 1252 and 1258 (the *Kleiner Schied* and the *Großer Schied*), attempted to clarify the rights and obligations of both parties and allow us to glimpse the points of tension.<sup>5</sup> For the archbishops the problems were caused by fundamental constitutional issues, Conrad's claim, in 1258, that he alone was 'summus iudex et dominus civitatis', suggests that not everyone in Cologne was of the same mind as he was.<sup>6</sup> It is hard to imagine Henry III being compelled to make a similar claim to the Londoners. Whereas for the Cologners, complaints about toll, trade and the mint reveal that their concerns were primarily, although not exclusively, economic: in 1258, issues of immunity and arrest procedure exercised the minds of the citizens, too, and in 1216, the citizens had protested a breach

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Otto IV was grandson to Henry II of England, grew up in England and was given a great deal of support in his struggle for the imperial throne by King Richard I and King John. Frederick II was married to Isabella, sister of King Henry III of England and Richard of Cornwall. It is hard to know why, but the leading families of Parfuse, von der Mühlengasse, Rufus and von der Ehrenpforte all supported Philip of Swabia against Otto IV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> L. Scales, The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245-1414 (Cambridge, 2012), 77-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Strait, Cologne, 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Groten, Köln, 119-120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins,* ed. T.J. Lacomblet, 4 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1840-1858), ii, 244-52; Groten, *Köln*, 121-2, 186-93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Groten, Köln, 188.

of communal liberties to Engelbert I: 'Domine, hoc est contra ius ciuitatis'.¹ These concerns appear much closer to those of thirteenth-century Londoners.

Estimating the population of any medieval town is fraught with difficulty, but it is more likely than not that, in the middle of the thirteenth century, London, Cologne and Genoa had populations of broadly similar sizes and, numerically at least, all stood in the second rank of European cities, behind Paris and Venice.<sup>2</sup> London and Cologne were by far the biggest cities in England and Germany, and they shared close political, economic and social connections, as is shown, indeed, by Arnold fitz Thedmar's own family history and career.<sup>3</sup> The formation of communes in twelfth-century Germany, Flanders and England was a process influenced by similar events in the Italian towns, and Hagen's own welldeveloped sense of communal freedom suggests that he may well have spent considerable time in Italy.<sup>4</sup> The only contemporary template for the agreements which the Cologners struck with local counts in the 1260s, which Hagen himself drafted, were the *cittadinatico* of Italy, in which nobles and urban elites allied themselves.<sup>5</sup> However, during the thirteenth century, at least, the Genoese had little direct intercourse with either the Londoners or the Cologners. With mountains at their back, the Genoese looked south and east across the Mediterranean Sea. Genoa is never once mentioned in Arnold's chronicle, nor is London once mentioned in the Genoese annals. There is no evidence at all that any of our chroniclers in one city knew of similar works being composed in the other cities; instead, in all three places urban historical writing developed quite independently. In all three cities, however, these writers only began their work after the establishment of two clear preconditions.

The first of these was the founding, in all three locations, of municipal, political institutions. *Civic*, political institutions preceded *civic* chronicle writing. In Genoa the *compagna* headed by consuls emerged at the end of the eleventh century.<sup>6</sup> In Cologne, the *Schöffenkolleg, Richerzeche, Bürgermeister, Rat* and parish magistrates all appear in the twelfth century. London had, perhaps, the oldest civic institution found in all three cities: the Husting Court could claim an Anglo-Saxon history. But *political* institutions

<sup>1</sup> Groten, Köln, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Genoa *c.* 50,000, Epstein, *Genoa*, 138; London *c.* 50-60,000 people, *supra*, 23, n. 5; Cologne *c.* 40,000, E. Isenmann, *Die Deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter*, 1150-1550 (Cologne, 2012), 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 21-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> C.N.L. Brooke and G. Keir, *London, 800-1216: The Shaping of a City* (London, 1975), 45-7, 237-45; Groten, *Köln,* 78, 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Groten, Köln, 234-5. Cf. ibid. 267-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Epstein, Genoa, 33-40.

came later. The right to elect sheriffs and the office of mayor were both instituted in the twelfth century, and early in the thirteenth century came the first appearances of conciliar government.<sup>1</sup> As we shall see, civic historical writing in both Cologne and Genoa was done for many of the same reasons as it was in London: to glorify the communal past, to place one's city and oneself in the world, and to defend privileges and liberties. In all three cities, the writers articulated these three motivations through the prism of their cities' political institutions. Pride in one's city was almost always a pride in its institutions; these institutions gave the city a place in the world around it, and, usually, the writers a place in the city; and, more often than not, municipal privileges were granted to, and defended by, urban institutions.

These institutions, moreover, needed and created records and the institutional archives of all three cities were well-stocked. In 1229 the podestà of Genoa, Jacopo de Balduino, ordered that all important documents relating to foreign affairs be registered in a Liber *Iurium*; by the mid-thirteenth century the scope of this register had widened to cover domestic documents.<sup>2</sup> The Genoese annals in 1263 refer to documents which 'extiterunt publice scripture scripte in arciuo publico'.3 In 1269 the Genoese agreed peace with Charles of Anjou and the written accord stated that it was to be placed in the 'statutis civitatis Ianue, et nunquam inde removeantur'.4 In Cologne, the first evidence of systematic record-keeping is seen in the parishes, where, from at least 1135 onwards, officials began to record transactions of land, property, inheritance, dowries and gifts on documents known as Schreinskarten; early in the thirteenth century these individual folios began to be compiled into codices known as Schreinsbücher.<sup>5</sup> The oldest documents in the unitary archive date from 1159, and by the mid-thirteenth century this unitary archive already contained numerous documents, many of which Hagen had himself scribed.<sup>6</sup> The Londoners registered and stored the charters granted to the city by eleventh- and twelfth-century kings, and Arnold's reliance on letters sent to London's

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reynolds, 'Rulers', 341-5, 348-53; cc. 570, 587.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *I Libri Iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, 9 vols., eds., M. Bibolini, E. Pallavicino, D. Puncuh and A. Rovere, (Rome, 1992-2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Annali Genovesi, iv, 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. the annalist's note that the treaty was written 'in codicibus publicis comunis Ianue, ubi scribuntur conuentiones', *Annali Genovesi*, iv, 115, 115, n.3 (120).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Strait, *Cologne*, 1-3. The German noun *der Schrein* (Lat. *scrinium*) is best translated as 'chest' in English. Selections of these can be found in *Die Kölner Schreinsbücher des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts, eds.* H. Planitz and T. Buyken, (Weimar, 1937).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins, i, 276, ii, 291ff; Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln, 6 vols., eds. L. Ennen and G. Eckert, (1863-79), i, xiii.

political leaders has already been discussed.<sup>1</sup> In fact, in all three cities the records of these institutions frequently found their way from the civic archives straight into the civic chronicles.<sup>2</sup> That need not surprise us. Arnold, Doria and Hagen were all employed in some archival role. In turn, in Genoa, the annals which Caffaro and Doria composed, after their public presentations, were deposited in the city's archive.<sup>3</sup> As we shall see, Arnold's book soon made its way into London's archive; indeed, it is there to this day.<sup>4</sup> Hagen's *Reimchronik* was hardly known outside of Cologne, yet the extensive use that was made of it by two late-medieval Cologner civic writers shows that Hagen's *Reimchronik*, too, had pride of place among the city's records.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, when Gerlach van Hauwe wrote his account of the strife which engulfed Cologne, in 1396-1400, he called his narrative *Dat Nuwe Boich*, to differentiate it from Hagen's old *Boich*.<sup>6</sup>

The second precondition was the existence, in all three cities, of a strong mercantile and commercial culture. It is no coincidence that urban chronicle writing is first seen in the maritime/riparian trading cities of London, Cologne and Genoa, rather than the scholastic centres of Paris, Bologna and Oxford. All medieval towns were wellconnected, to their immediate environs and to the wider world, and they would all have been filled with travellers bringing news from near and far. But what existed in these commercial centres was a practical, pragmatic and functional literary culture, built upon the legal documentary record we have just discussed. We have already seen that Arnold's chronicle was secular and practical, and not produced in a classical, spiritual or scholastic tradition; we shall see that this was the rule rather than the exception.<sup>7</sup> That is not to say, however, that there was no contemporary, urbane literary culture in these cities. Quite the opposite. In Genoa men such as Simon of Genoa, Giovanni Balbi and Jacopo da Voragine all produced sophisticated literary works.8 Caesarius von Heisterbach spent his early years in Cologne, and ten years before Hagen picked up his pen, an unnamed composer, probably Master Ludwig von der Mühlengasse, wrote an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bateson, *Collection*, 505; c. 1286; *supra*, 95-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For example, *Annali Genovesi*, i, 43-5, 55-9; ii, 160-1, iii, 15-16, 34-6, 44-5, 58-9, 64-6, 106-8; Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.2327-2363, 2975-3002, 6283-7; *supra*, 91-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 3-4; v, 176.

<sup>4</sup> Infra, 164-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> It was used extensively in the *Agrippina* of Henry von Beeck (1469-72) and in the *Koelhoffsche Chronicle* (1499), Hagen, *Reimchronik*, xxviii; Groten, 'Gottfried Hagen', 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> De Boulay, 'The German town chroniclers', 457-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Supra, 97-8, 115-17; infra, 150-152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Epstein, *Genoa*, 160-177.

admittedly rather narrow and elitist Latin Reimchronik.1 In twelfth-century London, Ralph of Diss had compiled his *Opera Historica*, and William fitz Stephen his *Descriptio* Londoniae, packed full of classical allusions.<sup>2</sup> But the civic chronicling in these cities was, for the most part, independent of these other works. By the mid-thirteenth century the majority of merchants in these cities, reliant on documents, letters and contracts, would have been literate men, if only at a rudimentary level.<sup>3</sup> In cities such as Cologne and Genoa with a Roman law tradition, this documentary culture spawned a notarial class. Notaries drew up precisely-worded legal and financial contracts, they provided 'society with a class of trained men who preserved things in writing, [which] allowed illiterates to borrow memory and records'.4 Europe's oldest surviving notarial cartulary was compiled by a Genoese notary, Giovanni Scriba, between 1154-64.5 By the midthirteenth century several hundred notaries in Genoa formed a secular, elite class of educated men.<sup>6</sup> The literate interests of these men ranged far wider than just their professional work; a Genoese notary, Ruggero di Palermo, owned at least ten books when he died.<sup>7</sup> The first medieval writer to compose a treatise on urban government, Latini, was a Florentine notary. This commercial culture with its pragmatic literacy provided not just a pool of writers and scribes, but also a substantial audience for the historical works they produced.

True, neither Caffaro nor Doria nor Arnold were notaries. Indeed, London, which had not that same Roman law tradition, had no notaries until the late thirteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Yet in what Caffaro, Doria and Arnold wrote, the close relationship between law, documentary record and civic historical writing is evident. All three men exercised judicial responsibilities within their cities, and each wrote a functional, precise and accurate Latin that would not have been out of place in a notarial cartulary. One need only turn to Doria's lists of ships and manpower, or his detail of contracts and agreements, to see evidence of his notarial precision.<sup>9</sup> Caffaro, Doria and Arnold all possessed the 'sorte d'omniprésence' which Heers noted was typical of the notary:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chronici Rhythmici Coloniensis Fragmenta, MGH SS, xxv, ed. G. Waitz, (Hanover, 1880), 369-80; for Ludwig's authorship, Groten, Köln, 220-3. Cf. Chronica Regia Coloniensis, MGH SSrg, xviii, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1880).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Diceto; Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, iii, 2-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record, 224-52; Parkes, 'The literacy of the laity', 278-83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Epstein, Genoa, 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Il Cartolare de Giovanni Scriba, eds. M. Chiaudano and M. Moresco, 2 vols., (Rome, 1935).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Epstein, *Genoa*, 161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> G. Petti Balbi, 'Il libro nella società genovese del sec. XIII.', *La Bibliofolia*, lxxx (1978), 1-46 at 39.

<sup>8</sup> C.R. Cheney, Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (Oxford, 1972).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> E.g. Annali Genovesi, v, 30-45, 55-6, 62-4, 71-5, 146-52.

'homme d'écritures, homme d'affaires, mais aussi de gouvernement, de politique et d'administration, de plume enfin'.¹ Master Bartolomeo, who may have had a hand in composing the Genoese annals between 1225 and 1238, was notary to the commune.² When the Genoese authorities instituted a committee of four to write the annals, two of the men had to be 'iuris periti'.³ When Doria presented his annals to the commune in 1294, it was in the presence of Guilielmo di Caponibus, 'notarius'.⁴ In Cologne the *Schreinsbücher*, were, to all intents and purposes, notarial repositories. Hagen, knowledgeable of both Roman and canon law, compiled these as well as other notarial contracts before and after he wrote his chronicle.⁵ His two predecessors as city scribe, Henry von der Brothalle (*c.* 1225-48) and his anonymous successor (1248-71) both drafted notarial documents.⁶ The later Cologner writer, Van Hauwe, was a notary too.⁶ Notaries were men trusted to authenticate legal contracts, who could be more trusted, then, to write the past of these cities.<sup>8</sup>

These, then, were the two very practical preconditions necessary for the development of substantive, urban historical writing. What of its nature? One way in which it appears immediately different to contemporary historical writing produced in religious houses is that these urban writers were all eyewitnesses to, and often protagonists in, the affairs of which they wrote. Arnold played a leading role in the maelstrom of national and local politics. Caffaro, too, held political and diplomatic office, he went on crusade, and a typical entry in the Genoese annals reads 'Cafarus, qui hec scribere fecit, interfuit et uidit, et inde testimonium reddidit, et procul dubio ita uerum esse affirmat'. Master Bartolomeo, possibly one of Caffaro's continuators, was responsible, in November 1227, not just for recording a confirmation of peace and a communal oath (much like Arnold in 1264), he actually proclaimed both on behalf of the *podestà*. The first indication that Hagen was an eyewitness to events he recorded comes in the summer of 1262. Thereafter, Hagen acted as a *procurator* and messenger for the citizens of Cologne, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Heers, 'Le notaire dans les villes Italiennes', 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Annali Genovesi, iii, x-xxi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Annali Genovesi*, iv, 61, 81, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Annali Genovesi, v, 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, xii-xiv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For Hagen's predecessors, Groten, Köln, 56-7, 114-18, 319.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> De Boulay, 'The German town chroniclers', 457-8.

<sup>8</sup> Arnaldi, 'Il-notaio-cronista e la cronache cittadine in Italia', 293-309.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Supra, 23-31, 100-101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Annali Genovesi, iii, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, xii-xiii, v.2637-41.

he proclaimed the *Sühne* which restored peace between city and archbishop in April 1271.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the eyewitness testimony of these composers often makes their works unique sources for events.

Another feature common to all three urban chronicles is the absence, generally, of divine providence. Late in life, Doria wrote that it was right to give thanks to God who had so favoured Genoa in the wars against Pisa, but this was exceptional.<sup>2</sup> For the most part 'references to God's help or God's will' are 'conspicuously absent' from the Genoese annals; more apparent are 'patriotic zeal and secular preoccupation with naval glory and material gain'.<sup>3</sup> A typically bombastic Caffaro entry, *s.a.* 1157, reads 'quoniam bonum et utile *pro sua patria* honeste pugnare'.<sup>4</sup> This secular focus can invite the obvious comparison with Thucydides.<sup>5</sup> However, unlike Thucydides, all of our Genoese writers wrote easily intelligible prose. The mysterious way in which God moved is almost completely absent from Arnold's chronicle.<sup>6</sup> And while Hagen may have opened his *Reimchronik* with a hagiographical introduction, this was only done so that, in Groten's words, he could paint an 'anachronistic picture of the *Ratherrschaft* as the original form of the city's constitution [which] was convenient to confirm the position of the contemporary council'.<sup>7</sup> In all three chronicles, the focus is relentlessly secular.

It appears paradoxical, at first sight, that Arnold and the Genoese annalists, men with no evident clerical training, wrote in Latin, whereas Hagen, a man endowed with the title of Master, wrote his in German. The decision of the chroniclers in London and Genoa to write in Latin must have been a conscious one, which speaks to the elite audience for, and the importance of the documentary record to, the chronicles. In England, Latin was regularly spoken by far fewer people than either English or French, and Arnold, who probably spoke four languages, could certainly read and write French.<sup>8</sup> In midthirteenth-century England, French had been an established literary language for at least a century. Wace, Gaimar and Jordan Fantasome had shown that it could be used as a vehicle for historical writing. But, as we have seen, Arnold wrote in a very different tradition to these men. Arnold was familiar with the records of royal and local

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, xii-xiii, v.6271-82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Annali Genovesi, v, 174-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Face, 'Secular history', 174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Face, 'Secular history', 183, n.19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Supra, 115-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Groten, *Köln*, 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Supra, 95, 97.

government, legal documents and mercantile contracts and agreements, the vast majority of which were composed in Latin. Doria's contemporary Italian writers included the great Florentine, Latini, who composed his *Trésor* in French, and Dante, who wrote his masterpiece of the Italian language. But in Genoa the use of Latin was 'tenacious', and its exclusive use by the annalists there surely evidences the notarial influence on historical writing within the city.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise, Hagen was skilled in Latin, and, if he studied in Paris, one imagines French too. His decision to write German was just as conscious. German was generally more of a rival to Latin as an official language of record in the second half of the thirteenth century in Germany than any vernacular in London or Genoa: a corpus of Old German documents written prior to 1300 contains just 36 dated to before 1250, and nearly 3,000 composed German was also a well-established vernacular for between 1283 and 1300.2 Reimchroniken. There was, however, in Cologne no established German-language literary tradition, and the oldest surviving Cologner document drafted exclusively in German only dates from 1257.<sup>3</sup> From shortly thereafter, however, in addition to Hagen's Reimchronik, at least twenty-two documents written by Hagen himself, in German, survive.4 Hagen was clearly a driving force behind the use of German in Cologne who helped to establish its use on both a literary and documentary level.<sup>5</sup> Was, perhaps, one reason he eschewed Latin, that the overriding theme of his *Reimchronik* was the battle of urban, secular powers against their religious overlord? Certainly Groten has highlighted how the use of German in communal documents speaks to a volkssprachlich culture, which sought to identify itself against an elite, clerical culture.<sup>6</sup> The use of the vernacular in historical works composed in Germany as a tool to define identity predates anything seen in England or Italy also.<sup>7</sup> But Hagen could not, and would not have chosen the vernacular if there had not been an audience for his work in German. Reimchroniken were written for public recital, and Hagen's choice of German tells us that his audience must have been a great deal more public, and a great deal less elite, than the audiences for the chronicles written in either London or Genoa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Epstein, *Genoa*, 161-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity*, 489.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Groten, Köln, 183-4; Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln, ii, 376-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Welter, 'Urkundliche Quellen', 123-4, listed at 124, n. 4; Welter, 'Urkundschreiber und Chronikautor', 350.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Groten, 'Gottfried Hagen', 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Groten, Köln, 183-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 'Historical works, fundamental to defining common identities among their audiences, were in Germany being composed in the vernacular from comparatively early dates', Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity*, 490-1.

Almost all of the men responsible for the composition of these urban chronicles wrote because they believed that it was important and useful to record the deeds of men for future generations. As we have seen, Arnold was explicit that 'gesta et opera bonorum in scriptis reddiguntur ut ea ad eorum laudem et gloriam perpetuam possint posteris reduci ad memoriam'.¹ Caffaro set down the truth for 'presentibus et futuris hominibus', because it was 'good and useful to record the past'.² His continuator, Oberto the Chancellor was quite clear that 'multa namque utilitas et magna est presentia et preterita scribere ... quia si non scriberentur, futuris temporibus obliuioni traderentur'.³ Doria, similarly, wrote 'quoniam multa et magna utilitas est preterita et presentia scribere, ne in futuris temporibus non solum obliuioni tradantur, set etiam per preterita cognoscantur futura'.⁴ In Cologne, Hagen wanted his work to serve as a 'warnynge', and he hoped 'dat it uns allen nützlich [useful] werde'.⁵

There were, however, clearly other motivations beyond these explicit declarations, all of which were shared with Southern's monks.<sup>6</sup> Arnold wrote to preserve and glorify London's past, and to justify its, and his own, position in the world.<sup>7</sup> Hagen started his *Reimchronik* with a 686 line hagiographical introduction which reached back with evident pride to Cologne's Roman past. Caffaro began his annals with a lengthy description of Genoese crusading achievements.<sup>8</sup> When his annals were copied into the city's records, it was 'so that future generations of Genoese should know of the *victories* of the city'.<sup>9</sup> Doria opened his continuation by giving a historical justification for Genoa's place in the world, referencing every classical, late-antique and patristic citation of Genoa he could find.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, in Genoa, although the chroniclers often stated that they wished to record the 'ueritatem de his que comuni Ianue acciderint tam de prospere gestis quam eciam de aduersis', the truth, particularly 'de aduersis', was often less important than glorifying Genoa's past.<sup>11</sup> Caffaro failed to mention the bribing, by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 38, 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Annali Genovesi, v, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.16, 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Supra, 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Supra, 117-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 5-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *Supra*, 132, esp. n. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Annali Genovesi, v. 3-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Annali Genovesi, iv, 81.

Genoese, of Pope Calixtus II and his curia in 1121.<sup>1</sup> Rather, he noted simply that he himself 'honeste et sapienter tractauit' and that the Genoese 'cum triumpho et gloria Ianuam uenerunt'.<sup>2</sup> Caffaro was similarly reticent, in 1149-51, when he ignored a serious outburst of civic upheaval, a silence which, in Epstein's words, 'discredits the historian'.<sup>3</sup> In 1171, Coparion, the Genoese quarter of Constantinople, was sacked by the Venetians, and, in 1174, the Genoese failed to obtain compensation for this from Emperor Manuel Comnenus of Byzantium. Yet the reader of the Genoese annals would search in vain for record of these events in the civic chronicle.<sup>4</sup>

Civic pride was, however, mostly defined through the city's institutions. Arnold clearly had an interest in a broad span of history. He compiled into his book a substantial amount of material from the Gesta Regum Anglorum, yet neither his chronicle, nor indeed Caffaro's, reached further back in time than the establishment of their communal, political institutions. In both Genoa and London the consular/shrieval year was the framework upon which the annals were structured, and each year's report dutifully opened by naming the civic officers, frequently praised in Genoa by Caffaro and his continuators for actions which were 'ad honorem ciuitatis'. Indeed, from 1099-1122 Caffaro's narrative is presented in the four year blocks in which the consuls were sworn, rather than on an annual basis.<sup>6</sup> Hagen's pride in Cologne's Schöffenkolleg saw him dismiss as 'clots' and 'troublemakers' new *Schöffen* appointed by Archbishop Conrad on 17 April 1259, calling them 'the weaver', 'the fisherman' and 'the brewer'. In fact, Groten has shown that Hagen's contemptuous descriptions in no way accurately represented their positions within Cologne.<sup>8</sup> Their real sin, in Hagen's eyes, was that these men were dependent on Conrad and served his interests, not the city and its institutions.9

In Cologne and Genoa the pride which the writers took in their communities was reciprocated in the esteem in which the writers were held, something which in turn

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Face, 'Secular history', 176-7; Hall and Philips, *Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades*, 12; Epstein, *Genoa*, 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 19-20;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 'Caffaro, proud enough to document triumphs over the Muslims in the Holy Land, was apparently too ashamed of what was had happened in the aftermath of the Spanish debacle to record it. Given his own role in the plans, this omission is not surprising', Epstein, *Genoa*, 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Epstein, Genoa, 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 15, 41, 46; ii, 72-3; iv, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Wickham, 'The sense of the past', 174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.1230ff, 1247-55, 1398ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Groten, *Köln*, 206-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.1266-72.

justified their position within the city. Genoese annalists who followed Caffaro praised him as 'historiographus noster', who 'opus cepit laudabile'. Very unusually, we know the names of almost every annalist over a two-hundred year period, because they nearly all took pains to name themselves when they took over as continuators, frequently praising former writers and placing themselves in Caffaro's footsteps.<sup>2</sup> In Face's words, the decision made to copy Caffaro's work for the public archive 'speaks to the deep appreciation which Caffaro's contemporaries in Genoa's political hierarchy felt for the useful and patriotic work which he had begun more than half a century before; and it clearly illustrates their awareness of urban development per se, their pride in the accomplishments of the Republic and its distinguished chronicler.'3 The Genoese annalists made clear just how important scribes were in Genoa: the annals frequently record the names of the 'scribe uero comunis' and/or the individual officers' scribes.<sup>4</sup> In 1231 the annals record that the citizens elected six representatives and sent them 'cum uno de suis scribis' to Frederick II at Ravenna.<sup>5</sup> At some point during the first half of the thirteenth century, if not before, the authorities in Cologne employed an official city scribe to write *städtische* documents.<sup>6</sup> This role must have been of some standing: both Henry (scribe c. 1225-48) and Hagen (scribe 1269/71-1287) undertook difficult diplomatic missions on behalf of the city. Hagen was proud to name himself as both city scribe and author of the *Reimchronik*.8 In comparison to all of which, Arnold fitz Thedmar stands in some contrast. Arnold was clearly held in high esteem in London as an alderman, arbiter, chirographer and keeper of the civic chest, even if he was frequently at odds with many of his fellow citizens.9 Yet, there is no evidence that Arnold's contemporaries either paid or praised him for his efforts as a writer; nor does one find any commendation of Arnold's labours by the medieval writers who used his book after his death. What a contrast to the esteem Matthew Paris was held in at St Albans!<sup>10</sup> For all Arnold's official roles, and perhaps even a thus far undefined or unofficial position as town clerk or chamberlain, his role as a writer had clearly not been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Annali Genovesi, iv, 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 3-4, ii, 69, 157, iii, 4, iv, 61, 81, 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Face, 'Secular history', 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Annali Genovesi, iii, 36-37 and passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Annali Genovesi, iii, 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Henry von der Brothalle was employed as city scribe c. 1225-48, Groten, Köln, 56-7, 116, 319.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Groten, Köln, 319.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.6283-4, 6291.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *Supra*, 21-31, 99-100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *CM*, v, xiii-viv, 748; R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), 7, 19-20. I owe thanks to Michael Clasby for these references.

officially acknowledged in the same way that the Genoese and Cologners had recognised their writers.

Preserving and glorifying the past of the city and justifying its place in the world, then, runs through the chronicles of all three cities like the writing in a stick of rock; one can break into the chronicles at almost any point and find manifest civic pride, alongside both communal and self-justification. Yet there is far less uniformity in the treatment of urban liberties and privileges in the three chronicles. We have already seen that the defence of London's liberties was the predominant concern of Arnold's chronicle. True, similar entries appear in the chronicles of the other cities. These references are, however, nowhere near as prominent or ubiquitous as they are in Arnold's chronicle, and liberty was clearly articulated in very different ways in both Genoa and Cologne.

Rather than libertates civitatis, it is in fact honor civitatis which most exercised the minds of the Genoese writers.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, only once in a two-century-long tradition of historical writing does a lengthy treatment of Genoese liberty appear in the civic annals, when in response to demands made of the Genoese by Frederick Barbarossa in 1158, Caffaro reached back to antiquity to claim that the Genoese were exempt from all imperial exactions, as they had the expensive and onerous responsibility of guarding the coast against barbarians and pirates.<sup>4</sup> It is, perhaps, surprising that liberty, even in its negative sense of individual privileges and liberties, is so absent from the Genoese annals. Sallustian ideas of *libertas* were undoubtedly a part of the political discourse of eleventh- and twelfth-century Italian communal life, and the urban elites of Northern Italian towns quickly appropriated the more abstract idea of *libertas Ecclesie*, mutatis *mutandis*, for their own use.<sup>5</sup> The singular noun, *la nostra libertae*, is certainly visible in late fourteenth-century Genoa also.6 Although here, one must note that thirteenthcentury Genoa was, for the most part, a Ghibelline city, and the appropriation by the Guelph party in that earlier century of the ideology of libertà would have made thirteenth-century Genoese writers wary of using such a term.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 121-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hagen, Reimchronik, v.2669-3006; Annali Genovesi, i, 29, 32-3, ii, 38-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> E.g. *Annali Genovesi*, i, 15, 20, 30, 39, 41, and *passim*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Annali Genovesi, i, 49-53, esp. 50-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> S. Ferente, 'The liberty of Italian city-states', in Q. Skinner and M. Van Gelderen, eds., *Freedom and the Construction of Europe*, (Cambridge, 2013), i, 157-175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Quoted in Ferente, 'Guelphs! Factions, liberty and sovereignty', 592, n. 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ferente, 'Guelphs! Factions, liberty and sovereignty', 573-81.

One explanation for the absence of either liberty or liberties from the Genoese annals could be the simple practicalities of Genoese life. Genoa, a mercantile, trading city had no distinguished imperial past and no university. Julia Crick has shown how the term, libertas, was funnelled into English discourse through patristic and canonical texts, as well as papal documents, and that a 'proximity to Romanitas brought exposure to notions of liberty'. Notwithstanding Caffaro's isolated references to Sallust and Cicero, and Doria's prologue with its references to Livy, Isidore and Pope Gregory the Great, no one could argue that Genoese civic chronicling sprung from traditions such as these.<sup>2</sup> Nor were Caffaro's continuators any different. True, the Genoese annalists used the vocabulary of ancient Rome as a template for their writing, but referring to the Genoese polity as 'res publica' is not the same as espousing a republican philosophy of liberty.<sup>3</sup> The obvious weakness in such a hypothesis, however, is that, in London, Arnold's writing betrays no obvious proximity to Romanitas either, yet liberty dominates his narrative. Yet the comparison between London and Genoa probably gets us close to a second, and more compelling explanation. Simply put, the Genoese annalists, detached from imperial rule and largely self-governing, in contrast to thirteenth-century Londoners, seldom felt that their liberties and privileges were ever under enough pressure to need defending. As Crick has noted, 'freedom did not operate in a vacuum; freedom could only be understood in relation to something else', and it was only in response to this 'something else' – one of Barbarossa's rare attempts to impose himself on Genoa – that Caffaro felt compelled to address the issue.4

The importance of *Romanitas* and Gregorian ideals of *libertas Ecclesie* in forming a coherent ideology of *libertas ciuitatis* is, however, brought into focus once more by turning to Cologne.<sup>5</sup> Hagen had a precocious perception of liberty which shaped the Cologners' self-understanding for centuries, and in adapting Cologne's Roman past for his own ends, Hagen was typical of German writers, identified by Scales, who only engaged with 'the remote and alien Roman past ... when it seemed to speak to their own perspectives and understanding'.<sup>6</sup> This is first evident in his *Reimchronik*'s hagiographical introduction, where Hagen argued that Cologne was a city

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Crick, 'Pristina libertas', 63-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For Caffaro's classical references, Hall and Philips, *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades*, 4; For Doria's, *Annali Genovesi*, v, 3-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Annali Genovesi, ii, 3; Epstein, Genoa, 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Crick, 'Pristina libertas', 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For most of what follows, Groten, *Köln*, 246-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity*, 306-7.

commonwealth before it converted to Christianity, and that Cologne's conversion was achieved not by force, but peacefully. Thus, to Hagen, was 'der stede vryheit unzebrochen' and thus the city had the right, from antiquity, to choose its own 'scheffen' and 'stede rait ind potestait'. By portraying a citizen-led conversion, he argued, too, that the term *sancta Colonia* belonged not to the Church but to the Christian burghers. Moreover, in Hagen's philosophy, that the forcible conversion of Cologne was unnecessary, it must follow that God had already chosen Cologne for salvation. This and the martyrdoms of Cologne's saints, whose bodies rested within the city, made Cologne a holy city under divine protection.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, Cologne was, to Hagen, unconditionally a 'hilge vrye steide [holy, free city]'.4 Evidence of Hagen's understanding of liberty can be found outside of his *Reimchronik*, too. Hagen drafted the agreement of 7 May 1263 between Walram, brother of Count William von Jülich and the citizens of Cologne, in which the burghers of Cologne defended not just their 'rights' and their 'good customs' but also their 'freedom'. Hagen's conception of *freiheit* was much more profound than *libertates* in the sense of privileges. It made the citizens of Cologne 'vrie burgere', who would honour the archbishop as long as he respected and protected their freedom, but who could, and indeed should, oppose any attempts by the archbishop to infringe upon this.<sup>6</sup> Hagen argued that civic freedom and archiepiscopal lordship must stand in their rightful relation to each other.<sup>7</sup> Hagen's depiction of the Cologners as 'free, noble Romans' is absolutely unparalleled by anything written in London or Genoa.<sup>8</sup> However, rather than deriving directly from the classical tradition, Hagen's understanding of freedom probably derived from his profound understanding of *libertas Ecclesie*. It is no coincidence that the civic author with the best-defined and best-articulated concept of liberty is the one who had studied at Paris and the one who had obtained the title of 'Master'.

We have already seen how Arnold wrote to espouse an ideal of civic unity, most obviously against a backdrop of communal division and bloodshed. True, medieval towns were no place for the faint-hearted. They were dirty, unhealthy, loud and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.44-151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.77, 86-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.152-426.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.2447.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'Dad wir die stad inde de burgere van kolne na vnser maht halden in hüden sülen in alle deme rehte inde in der vrihende inde inde in den güden gewoneden', *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, ii, 468.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.691-5, 1276, 2997ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Groten, 'Gottfried Hagen', 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'Vrien edelen Romeren', Hagen, Reimchronik, v.663.

dangerous places, frequently disturbed by riots and other manifestations of violence. In twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Genoa blood was usually shed and hostilities engaged along vertical lines of kinship. There were defined horizontal divisions in Genoese society: Caffaro is quite clear that the plebeians formed a distinct group outside of the 'ciuitas'. However, the first brief outbreak of violence along obvious horizontal lines only came in 1227.<sup>2</sup> The same pattern is repeated in Cologne, where divisions among the citizenry were, for the most part, first drawn on vertical lines of kinship, fuelled by resentment at the monopolisation of power by the Geschlecht of the von der Mühlengasse. True, at times interference from the archbishops forced the citizens into communal solidarity, but it would be wholly wrong to think that the citizens were a united or homogenous group. It is hard always to be completely sure of what was going on in Cologne, but Hagen wrote that 1237 was a tipping point when the leading families turned on each other 'als katzen ind hunde'.3 There was a geographic element to this too, Hagen writes of 'those of St Kolumba' parish [the von der Mühlengasse] and 'those of the Rheingasse' [the Overstolzen].4 The archbishops Henry, Conrad and Engelbert II each sought to exploit all these many divisions for their own ends.<sup>5</sup> It is striking, however, that similar large-scale popular movements all emerged in London, Cologne and Genoa between 1257 and 1263. It is also no coincidence that their emergence, and therewith civic discord, proved the spur for such particularly fecund historical writing in all three cities.

In Genoa, in January 1257, a riotous *populo* shouting 'ad arma, ad arma! Fiat populus' elected Guglielmo Boccanegra captain of the people.<sup>6</sup> Thereafter, throughout the period covered by the Genoese annals, the city was frequently convulsed by violence fought along *both* horizontal and vertical lines. Fighting between the leading families of Cologne culminated in 1267/8 with the expulsion of the 'Weise' from the city.<sup>7</sup> But particularly visible from 1259 onwards, in Hagen's chronicle at least, are the horizontal divisions which were only partially evident in the early thirteenth century. On 4 April 1260 a pitched battle was fought between the *Geschlechter* and the *Gemeinde* in Cologne

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'Operibus tocius ciuitatis et plebium' and 'quod ciuitatis et plebium homines', Annali Genovesi, i, 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'Annali Genovesi, iii, 28-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.4057-65, 4134-9, 4211-14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hagen, Reimchronik, v.1495ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Groten, *Köln*, 122, 140-159, 163-179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Annali Genovesi, iv, 25-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Hagen linked the Weise with the von der Mühlengasse *Geschlecht*, but they were, in fact, a wider party than that, Groten, *Köln*, 275-6, 288-9.

which left sixteen dead and fifty wounded. On 31 May 1265, a battle raged in the Weißbüttengasse between the Geschlechter and the fraternities.<sup>2</sup> The popolo had actually appeared in a dozen or so Italian cities between 1200 and 1250; the maritime city-states of Genoa, Pisa and Venice, with their weaker guild structures and the pressure release valve of naval adventure, were among the last to experience the internal dislocation caused by the popolo's demands for fiscal, judicial and political reform.<sup>3</sup> The reasons for the rise of the *popolo* in twelfth- and thirteenth-century European towns are complex; the historian looking for further enlightenment in this matter will not find it in the chronicles under discussion here. Much like Arnold, Hagen showed no interest in recording financial affairs or economic difficulties, and he paid little attention to the demands of the Gemeinde in Cologne. The Genoese writers recorded nothing whatsoever on the banking collapses of 1256 and 1258 which may have acted as a catalyst for popular discontent.4 Indeed, almost on the eve of the outbreak of popular violence in Genoa the annals drily record that the *podestà* 'regimen suum finiuit et licet de puritate non fuerit laudatus, omnia tamen prospera suo tempore ciuitati Ianue contigerunt'. 5 Boccanegra appears in the Genoese annals as if from nowhere. The annals are similarly unhelpful in explaining the collapse of his regime in May 1262, writing little beyond accusations that almost everyone hated Boccanegra, which can hardly be true.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, the annals are inscrutable, in 1290, when the popolo, unhappy with the performance of the captains of the people demanded outsiders be appointed; Doria is clear that he will not be drawn on the matter 'que nimis longum esset his ponere'.7

The reactions of the writers in all three cities to the rise of the popular movement were analogous and explicit: in the first place, to condemn it out of hand. We have already discussed Arnold's denunciation of the *popolo* and its leaders in London.<sup>8</sup> In Genoa, the annals overtly criticised Boccanegra's regime, often levelling the same sorts of accusations that Arnold levelled against Thomas fitz Thomas and Hervey.<sup>9</sup> In Cologne,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.1298ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.3256ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Martines, *Power and Imagination*, 45-71; Waley and Dean, *Italian City-Republics*, 141-55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Epstein, *Genoa*, 40, 135-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Annali Genovesi, iv, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Annali Genovesi, iv, 38-48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Annali Genovesi, v, 121

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Supra, 118-121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Boccanegra acted 'sine discreto'; he was tyrannical; he sidelined the *podestà*, consuls and magistrates; and he overturned legal judgements, *Annali Genovesi*, iv, 26, 38, 45, 46.

Hagen called the Schöffen installed, in 1259, by Conrad and the Gemeinde 'clots' and asked, ironically, whether men who had been weavers, bakers and fishermen all their lives would know how to give judgments.1 He chastised the weavers for their revolt (probably in 1265) writing that they could have maintained their honour if they had acted in accordance with their social position.<sup>2</sup> However, once again, here Hagen appears slightly different both to his contemporary writers in London and Genoa, and to later medieval chroniclers in Germany. The writers in London and Genoa offered no historical justification of their position, rather they stayed very much in the present-day; and De Boulay showed that while late-medieval composers in Mainz, Lübeck and Cologne, who wrote against subsequent backdrops of internal revolt, did appeal to history, they did so 'without any exact historical sense of how power had come to be concentrated in certain hands'. Hagen's use of the term 'Geschlecht', however, stressed the importance of birth and lineage and does, therefore, attempt to explain how power had historically come to rest in the hands of the present elite, something made explicit in verses which connect the descent of 'noble citizens' of the present from those of the past when Cologne was converted to Christianity.4

In the second place, all the historical writers issued a plea for civic unity. Hagen attributed the citizens' success against the archbishop in 1252 to their solidarity.<sup>5</sup> He never tired of appealing to the citizens to stay united.<sup>6</sup> His chronicle is not obviously partisan towards either elite faction within Cologne.<sup>7</sup> The mid-twelfth-century section of the Genoese annals 'reminded people', as Hall and Philips noted, 'that both the consuls and crusading had achieved great things while the divisions of the present were to be ended and harmony restored'.<sup>8</sup> At other times it is clear that the annalist believes bad things happen when the city was disunited.<sup>9</sup> But it was always a unity on the terms of the urban elite. It is no coincidence that the Genoese urban elite began appointing committees to compose the annals in 1264, within parameters they had set, immediately following the collapse of Boccanegra's regime.<sup>10</sup> In Cologne Hagen, like Arnold, had a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hagen, Reimchronik, v.1230-9, 1254-5, 1398ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Groten, Köln, 254.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> De Boulay, 'The German town chroniclers', 458.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.2474, 3381-4, 3561ff, 3673; Groten, *Köln*, 255-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'Dar zo synt sy eindreichtich enbynnen', Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.797; Groten, *Köln*, 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hagen, Reimchronik, v.797, 831-3, 1132ff, 1374.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Welter, 'Urkundliche Quellen', 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hall and Philips, *Caffaro*, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Annali Genovesi, ii, 22, iii, 31-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Dotson, 'Genoese civic annals', 67-8.

clear idea of who should govern the unified city: 'de besten van der stat', 'de richsten' and the 'gude lude'. For Hagen free, noble citizens 'van heren ind van scheffen komen'. This should not surprise us: historical writing in London, Cologne and Genoa was undertaken by men who formed part of and/or allied themselves with urban elites.

The civic historical writing witnessed in thirteenth-century London and Cologne, and twelfth- and thirteenth-century Genoa was exceptional. In the great heyday of monastic writing these men all took the first, tentative steps along a road which would subsequently be well-trodden. That they did so independently of each other yet in such strikingly similar ways tells us much about the self-conception of urban elites in contemporary Europe. For example, we must conclude that in thirteenth-century London and Genoa written vernaculars were not yet a tool with which to articulate a civic identity, although German was beginning to assume that role in Cologne. Moreover, it appears that classical ideas of liberty had yet to take firm root among the mercantile classes of London, Cologne and Genoa in the thirteenth century; although in Cologne the first evidence of *libertas Ecclesie* being adapted to *libertas ciuitatis* is visible, albeit by a man bearing the title 'master'. Rather, in response to immediate concerns over jurisdiction, privilege and civic unrest, these men defined themselves very much in the present as the 'more discreet citizens', the 'nobler citizens' and the 'best of the city'. This comparison also serves to reveal several truths about Arnold as a writer that would not otherwise be evident. Arnold's pride in London's past, his desire to place London in the world and his defence of London's liberties was far from unusual, nor was there anything atypical about his call for civic unity. Across Europe, independently of each other, other writers were doing much the same thing.

Finally, it is also clear that in Cologne and Genoa historical writing by men employed by the civic administration was a very communal business indeed. True, the manuscript traditions for all the works in question here were small, clear evidence that the primary audience for these works was the urban elite.<sup>3</sup> But in Genoa the annals were officially authorised and *publically* presented to the city's governors. In Cologne they were undertaken by the city scribe and procurator and almost certainly *publically* proclaimed. Is it possible, even, that the burghers of Cologne commissioned Hagen's *Reimchronik*? Around 1350 the town scribe of Magdeburg dedicated his work to the governors of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.1190, 1212, 1284.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hagen, *Reimchronik*, v.3563.

 $<sup>^3\,</sup>Supra,$  13-20, 132 n. 1, 134 n. 7; infra, 158-60.

town, having composed his chronicle in accordance with their will;<sup>1</sup> and in 1385 the town council of Lübeck commissioned a chronicle of their town.<sup>2</sup> We have already seen some evidence that Arnold may have shaped his narrative for a very public audience indeed, and we shall see in the next section just how well-known and well-used his book was in London after his death.<sup>3</sup> If in these other towns the writing of history was so obviously a public, communal affair, does it not further suggest that this could have been the case in London also.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> De Boulay, 'The German town chroniclers', 465.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Van Houts, 'Local and regional chronicles', 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Supra*, 127-30; *infra*, 164-69.

### **Afterlife**

There has been deplorably little study of the afterlife of Arnold's book following his death in 1274; what follows is the first serious attempt to trace the use and influence of Arnold's book in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This analysis will show that almost immediately after Arnold's demise, his book was already at the London Guildhall, an important late-medieval centre for historical and legal writing, where it has remained, essentially, to this day. It will argue, too, that there Arnold's book enjoyed a very distinguished and public career, and it occupies an important place in London's late-medieval literary culture.

Before turning to the adventures of Arnold's book within London, however, it should be noted that Arnold's book was valued and known outside of London too. We have already seen how Arnold employed the annals of Southwark Priory, contained in BL Cotton MS Faustina A viii, for the compilation of his book.¹ In this Cottonian manuscript the annals stop in the year 1240. The same annals are, however, witnessed in a second manuscript: Oxford Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson B. 177, fos. 192ff, in which the narrative is continued until the year 1306.² This continuation was mostly compiled from the *Flores Historiarum*, as was the historical account on fos. 1-72v of the manuscript, covering the time from the Creation to 464; indeed, Luard even counted Rawlinson B. 177 among his manuscript sources for his edition of the *Flores*.³ Historians have recognised that other sources besides the *Flores*, hitherto unknown, were employed in this continuation of the annals from 1240-1306.⁴ It can now be shown for the first time that the other main source for this annalistic continuation was "The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar'.

The first demonstrable use of Arnold's book by the Southwark scribe comes in the report of the birth of Edward and Eleanor's son, John, in 1266. I have transcribed the entry below, and underlined the text shared with the reading in Arnold's book:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 88-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliotechæ Bodleianæ, 5 vols., (Oxford, 1862), i, 518-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Flores, i, xxix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Other material had been added 'hic et illic breviter', *Catalogi Bodleianæ*, 519; 'from 1246 to 1306 they [the annals] are an abbreviated version of the *Flores* with occasional independent additions', N. Denholm-Young, "The Winchester-Hyde chronicle', *EHR*, xlix, No. 193 (Jan., 1934), 85-93, at 91.

'Pridie (secundo *Arnold*) <u>idus Iulii uxor Domini Edwardi de nocte peperit filium suum primogenitum apud Wyndeleshore,</u> et uocatus est <u>Iohannes</u>'.<sup>1</sup>

Thereafter the textual similarities come thick and fast until the last shared reading between the two manuscripts, *s.a.* 1274, in which year, of course, Arnold ceased writing.<sup>2</sup> Following this entry in the Southwark manuscript is a change in the appearance of the hand, perhaps even of the scribe. This is not the place to reproduce all the shared readings, but one or two examples should suffice to show the evident connections, again, the text below is that of the Southwark manuscript with the shared text of Arnold's book underlined:

1268: 'Postea <u>in festo sancti Andree</u> (proximo preteritum *add. Arnold*) <u>obiit Clemens</u> 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.'3

1270: 'Postea circa (post *Arnold*) <u>festum Translacionis sancti Edwardi uenerunt rumores</u> (apud *add. Arnold*) <u>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 (et mediocres *add. Arnold*) <u>qui secuti sunt eum cum (de *Arnold*) exercitu Christiano, qui relinquentes (reliquens *Arnold*) in mari rectum iter uersus Acon uellificauerunt ad predictam insulam capiendam et ipsam intrauerunt, que insula ualde est opulenta, ut dicitur, et uocatur Tuniz.'.4</u></u>

Other readings too are particularly noteworthy. When Arnold recorded the excommunication ceremony of 13 May 1270 he knew not the names of the bishops of Bath and St Asaph; the Southwark manuscript has blanks for their names in its report too.<sup>5</sup> Also, the Southwark scribe left a space blank on fo. 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 which is found on fo. 123r of Arnold's book.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 879; *Flores Southwark,* fo. 243r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 1160; Flores Southwark, fo. 248v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 987; *Flores Southwark*, fo. 243v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 1019; *Flores Southwark*, fo. 245r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 1010; *Flores Southwark*, fo. 244v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 1030; *Flores Southwark*, fo. 245v; for an image of this drawing, fig.21, 260.

It is easy enough to show that the Southwark scribe was copying Arnold and not vice versa. First, he wrote a later hand of s. xiiiex. Second, whereas the account of the years 1265-74 in Arnold's book has been copied by several scribes in many different stints, the Rawlinson material is a fair copy. Finally, on occasions material from two distinct sections of Arnold's book has been edited down into a single section of the Southwark manuscript. As we have seen, Robert Kilwardby's appointment as archbishop of Canterbury on 11 October 1272, and his consecration on 26 February 1273 were recorded in Arnold's book by two different scribes writing in two stints very close to the time of the events themselves.<sup>1</sup> These two entries were distilled into a single report in the Southwark manuscript copied by a single scribe.<sup>2</sup>

Arnold's book, then, was well known enough for the monks of Southwark Priory to seek it out and subsequently use it. That they chose to use Arnold's book to supplement the *Flores Historiarum* tells us a great deal about the esteem in which they held Arnold's work. What of the esteem in which Arnold's book was held, or not, in London? Let us first turn to the various additions made to Arnold's book by several scribes after Arnold's death, *some* of which were printed by both Stapleton and Riley. Unfortunately, in so doing, neither employed a systematic methodology: both editors selectively chose what to edit, omitting material that they considered either unimportant or too hard to read; and both rearranged the material in their final printed editions. These are not unforgiveable 'crimes', of course, but if an editor is going to act in this way then he *must* make his methodology plain to the reader. Neither did. Nor was there any great attempt on either editor's part to analyse this material. Stapleton simply printed it as 'matter superinduced in the Liber de Antiquis Legibus' in an appendix to his edition.<sup>3</sup> Riley, too, printed the additions in a distinct section of his edition, however, he did at least pause to consider these, albeit briefly in his introduction:

The "Later Insertions" (pp. 208-228) occur on various leaves in the volume, which were left blank by the original compiler, and extend from the earlier part of the reign of Edward the first to the 20th of Edward the Second. They are of a miscellaneous character, inserted here and there, without any regular system or order, in hands more or less difficult to be deciphered, written in corrupt French, of a Walloon or Picard complexion, and apparently, from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 1095 (Arnold); c. 1107 (scribe 2); *supra*, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Flores Southwark, fo. 247v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cron. Maior., 242-253.

manner in which the commonest English names and surnames are dealt with, by scribes of anything but an English extraction. By way of recompense, however, for these aberrations, several curious particulars are given in reference to the reigns of the first two Edwards, which, in all probability, are nowhere else to be traced.<sup>1</sup>

It is hard to imagine a team of alien Walloon scribes hard at work in early fourteenth-century London on annalistic continuations of a London chronicle, but at least the reader of Riley's edition would know that various scribes were responsible for these additions, that they ceased work, on Arnold's book at least, in 1327, and that within these brief entries were unique notes of the reigns of Edward I and II. In addition, Riley also suggested, albeit wrongly, that Arnold's book was one of those bequeathed by Horn to the city in his will of 1328.<sup>2</sup> All told, these are clearly inadequate as studies of the manuscript's fortunes post-1274. In my edition of the text I have, then, printed the *entire* contents of the manuscript in the order in which it is to be found. The result is that, for the first time, all the original *and* supplementary material added to the main text of Arnold's book has been edited and published together. In the commentary to the text I have clarified and/or analysed these entries as appropriate.

Unfortunately, so jejune are *all* the later additions to Arnold's book, it is impossible to say whether they were the work of individual scribes who had sight of Arnold's book, and who simply updated the lists and reports independently of each other; or whether there was a single compiler/composer controlling the process. It is hard to believe that if the latter were the case, he would have employed scribe 4 as a professional copyist: he wrote the untidiest hand to grace the folios of Arnold's book. Nevertheless, scribe 4 appears to have been the only scribe to have worked consistently on Arnold's book throughout 1299-1327, and he, along with scribe 9, was most responsible for the additions. Both men wrote hands of s. xiiiex/xivin.3 Almost all of their entries were made on folios Arnold left blank so that various lists and reports in his book could be continued. Sometimes this happened, sometimes not. The registers of episcopal succession at Canterbury and London on fos. 52r-v were updated by scribes 4 and 9;4 Arnold's list of London's wardens and mayors from 1265-74 on fos. 56v-57r was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Riley, *Chronicles*, vii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Riley, Chronicles, x.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 62-3, 72-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 325-6.

continued by scribe 4 to 1308;¹ and Arnold's list of sheriffs from 1188-1273/4 on fos. 58r-60r was continued by the same scribe until the shrieval election of September 1298.² However, Arnold wanted to supply the names of the bishops of Carlisle on fo. 55r but his source failed him; instead scribe 4 added memoranda of the years 1318-22 on this folio.³ It is likely that Arnold left fo. 56r void to allow the metrical list of archbishops of Canterbury on fo. 55v to be expanded; instead scribes 4 and 9, working perhaps as closely as Arnold and scribe 2 were wont to do, filled this space with notes on weights and measures.⁴

There is no evidence that these two scribes, or indeed any others, copied anything into Arnold's book for a period of about twenty-five years after Arnold's death. There is, for example, not a single annalistic notice of any event which took place between 1274 and 1298 in Arnold's book – and this despite the fact that these were some of the most turbulent years in London's history; it is hard to believe that a London continuator at work during these years would have failed to note King Edward I's suspension of London's liberties between 1285 and 1298. Indeed, perhaps the restoration of London's liberties in 1298 was the spur for the continuations to begin in that year? Certainly, scribe 4's continuation of the mayoral succession looks as though it was completed in a single stint to the election of Elias Russell in October 1299; the note recording his election in October 1300, 'presente a le conetable de la Tour par .ij. ans duraunt', has been supplied in a different ink.<sup>5</sup> His extension of Arnold's list of sheriffs also seems to have been completed in a single stint, certainly until the election of Thomas Sely and Richer Refham in September 1298.<sup>6</sup>

What seems clear is that following this initial hiatus in copying, thereafter, from 1299 to 1327 material was being copied into Arnold's book very frequently indeed. The appearance of the hand of scribe 4, and the ink which he used, looks noticeably different in almost every entry which he made: these certainly do not appear to have been copied in a single stint of writing. Nor does any entry made by this copyist afford evidence of authorial hindsight, again suggesting that these were being scribed throughout 1299-1327. Indeed, the nature of scribe 4's additions changed from 1299 onwards too. For

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 346-72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 373-486.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 335, 336-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 341, 342-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c 364.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 486.

the period 1274 to 1299, he had been content simply to continue Arnold's lists with the names of London's municipal office-holders; from 1299 onwards, these became fuller entries, providing a brief, annalistic summary of each year. There is nothing unusual in that, many civic chronicles, including Arnold's, began as registers of municipal officers which grew into something fuller. Thus, on fo. 60v the continuation of London's shrieval succession becomes an annalistic summary of the years 1298-1300.1 When scribe 4 had filled fo. 60v, he added fos. 61-2 to the manuscript to maintain this continuation until 1308.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript must still have been unbound at this point then. Thenceforth, rather than keep adding folios, he supplied his memoranda of the years 1308-1327 on the various blank leaves scattered hither and thither throughout Arnold's book, occasionally duplicating material, which led Riley to conclude that these additions had been made 'without any regular system or order'. His last securely dateable entry is a report on King Edward III's brief campaign against the Scots in the summer of 1327; the latest name he added to any list within the manuscript was Walter Reynolds, archbishop of Canterbury (d. 16 November 1327): it would be fair enough to surmise, then, that he finished working with/on Arnold's book in 1327.4

The contributions made by other scribes to Arnold's book can be briefly described. Scribe 9 recorded an eclipse of December 1312 on fo. 40r and entered brief notices for the years 1310-14 on fos. 144v-145v.<sup>5</sup> We cannot know for certain when this scribe entered the names of John Pecham and Robert Winchelsey to the list of the archbishops of Canterbury on fo. 55v, but these were added in one stint so presumably at some point between 1294 and 1313 when Robert was archbishop.<sup>6</sup> Neither can we be sure when he added the notices on weights and measures, on fo. 56r, and on building encroachments on fo. 161v, but in light of the above, one would imagine that it was somewhere between 1310 and 1314 too.<sup>7</sup> On fos. 42v-43r scribe 10, who wrote a hand of s. xiiiex, copied a 'loving concord' between the citizens of London and the bishop and chapter of St Paul's.<sup>8</sup> The agreement itself is dated, albeit incorrectly to 1228, but from the appearance of the hand it was clearly copied out long after that, although when exactly one cannot be sure.

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  cc. 487-492.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 493-513.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  Supra, 160; These additions are found throughout the manuscript from fos. 2r to 158v; I have traced their order in the commentary to the text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 1285, 325.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 233, 1170-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 341.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 344, 1288.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> c. 253; supra, 74-5.

Two scraps of parchment were stitched to fo. 146 too: one containing scribe 15's report on the Anagni Outrage of 1303; the other scribe 16's note on the robbery of the royal treasury in the same year.<sup>1</sup>

Is it possible to draw any comprehensive conclusions from such ephemeral material? I would suggest two. First, Arnold's book stands as a remarkable witness of a wider cultural change in late thirteenth-century England, a period which saw a marked increase in the use of French as a written language, particularly of record.<sup>2</sup> Almost everything copied into Arnold's book prior to 1274 was written in Latin; almost everything copied after 1299 was written in French: a striking dichotomy. Second, Arnold's book was still very much in use as a working resource within London. Whoever was ultimately responsible for composing these additions, whether the scribes themselves or a compiler/composer, plainly had many of the same interests as Arnold did. Thus we find memoranda on weights and measures; thus the annalistic notices focussed, generally, on events in London; and thus of all the lists in Arnold's book, a concerted effort was made only to update those of London's sheriffs and mayors. The suggestion must be, therefore, that Arnold's book remained in the hands of men like Arnold. This is important, for the subsequent implication is that from very soon after Arnold's death his book was seen as a 'public' work, and something which ought to be continued. And where else would it have been continued but at London's Guildhall?<sup>3</sup>

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the literary output of men such as Horn and Carpenter, Londoners with close connections to the Guildhall, ensured that the London Guildhall became a great centre of legal and historical writing. Mooney and Stubbs have argued that in the period 1375-1425 the Guildhall was also a cultural hub for the dissemination of Middle English literature, and an important centre of lay manuscript production.<sup>4</sup> Its archives were well-stocked with civic records, Catto was undoubtedly right that after the exchequer, the London Guildhall was probably home to the largest secular medieval archive in Britain.<sup>5</sup> A record from 1425 perhaps allows us to glimpse

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 1177-78, 1179-80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record, 197-223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the London Guildhall was not among the archives searched for references supporting Edward I's claim to the throne of Scotland, probably depriving us of our earliest catalogue reference to Arnold's book, *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-6: An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause,* eds. E.L.G. Stones and G.G. Simpson, 2 vols., (Glasgow, 1978), i, 137-44, 222-4, ii, 6. The New Temple archive at London *was* searched, *Foedera*, I, ii, 757.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Mooney and Stubbs, *Scribes and the City*, esp. 7-16, 132-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Catto, 'Andrew Horn: law and history', 382.

how physically large a library it had. This tells us that its manuscripts were kept in a 'nova domus sive libraria'. Both Horn and Carpenter bequeathed their libraries to the city. Did Arnold do the same with his book? Is there any evidence from the Guildhall archive, in addition to what we have seen above, which places Arnold's book among the Guildhall records? And if so, how great was its influence on subsequent writers?

Our earliest securely dateable reference which places Arnold's book at London's Guildhall comes in the year 1684.<sup>3</sup> However, a list of manuscripts 'extant among the City's archives *temp*. Henry VI' (1422-1471), on fo. 197r of London's *Letter-Book D*, probably provides us with earlier evidence of the provenance of Arnold's book.<sup>4</sup> This catalogue records thirteen manuscripts, besides London's letter-books A-K, one of which is called the *Liber de Legibus regni Antiqus* [*sic*]; and Sharpe was the first to suggest that this was a probable reference to Arnold's book.<sup>5</sup> There admits little doubt that Arnold's book was known during the reign of Henry VI as 'The Book of Old Laws': the title 'de antiquis legibus liber' was written on the first of four medieval fly-leaves at the front of Arnold's book by a hand of s. xiv<sup>ex</sup>/xv<sup>in</sup>; and another fifteenth-century hand has written on to the back inside cover of Arnold's book 'item liber de antiquis legibus regni Anglie'.

However, identifiable use of Arnold's book by other medieval London writers provides even earlier evidence of its whereabouts in the Middle Ages. Horn, London's chamberlain from 1320-28, influenced by Latini, had 'perhaps the most coherent and comprehensive notion of specifically English liberties of any writer before the seventeenth century'. Horn compiled the *Annales Londoniensis* and several great custumals. In compiling these works, Horn made use of various manuscripts, almost certainly kept at the London Guildhall, including Hugh of Waltham's *Liber Ordinationum* and the Londoners' copy of the 1276 eyre visitation. It seems almost certain that he had had access to Arnold's book too. To the best of my knowledge it is only in Arnold's book and Horn's *Annales* that the baronial capture of London in May 1215 is incorrectly dated

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> N.R. Ker, 'Liber Custumarum and other manuscripts formerly at the Guildhall', in A.G. Watson ed., *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage* (London, 1985), 135-142, at 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wills, 344-5; T. Brewer, Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter, Town Clerk of London (London, 1856), 121-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 16-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> LMA COL/AD/01/004, fo. 197r; printed in *LBD*, 317-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *LBD*, 318, n. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> J. Catto, 'Horn, Andrew (c. 1275-1328)', ODNB.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Catto, 'Andrew Horn: law and history', 367-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> LMA COL CS/01/005; BL Add. Roll 5153; Catto, 'Andrew Horn: law and history', 380.

to the tenth day of that month.¹ Similarly, Horn's error in ascribing Andrew Bukerel's mayoralty to 1230-6 was almost certainly a result of following Arnold's same mistake.² Nor is it just shared errors that suggest Horn used Arnold's book. The 1226 judicial eyre in London is recorded in almost exactly the same wording in both Arnold's book and the *Annales*.³ Arnold's chronicle is our only surviving contemporary source that gives the names of the eight Londoners arraigned by Henry III in 1258; if Horn did not use Arnold's chronicle to supply these names in the *Annales*, then whence came his information?⁴ On numerous other occasions the text found in Arnold's book and the *Annales* is remarkably close.⁵ It is certainly possible that Arnold and Horn both had sight of some of the same source material, but these shared errors and such close textual similarities – almost verbatim at times – are unlikely to represent anything other than Horn's use of Arnold's book.

Perhaps even a comparison with Horn's career sheds light on a different aspect of the history of Arnold's book? We have seen how, from 1327, scribes stopped updating 'The Book of Arnold fitz Thedmar'. Horn died between 9 and 13 October 1328 and bequeathed his library to 'camere Gildaule London(ie)'. Horn's written output dwarfed Arnold's. His collection of statutes and annals were far more current than anything found in Arnold's book. True, Arnold's book was a useful reference guide for thirteenth-century custom to be consulted when needed (perhaps this explains how some of the missing quires became detached from Arnold's book), but once Horn's books had found their way to the chamber of the Guildhall there was no longer any point in updating Arnold's book. If we are looking for a moment when Arnold's book fossilised into the book of old laws then perhaps this was it.

Arnold's book certainly did remain in use as a reference guide. Some sixteenth-century doodles on this inside cover, including one which reads 'ego sum bonus puer', perhaps suggest that Arnold's book may have been, at that time, in the hands of young students.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps young law students? Arnold's book was clearly valued as a legal resource. Certainly when Stillingfleet had his seventeenth-century transcript of material from Arnold's book made, he inserted it into a manuscript with 'The Discourse of John Selden

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 609; Ann. Lond., 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 533-9; Ann. Lond., 29, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 629; Ann. Lond., 27.

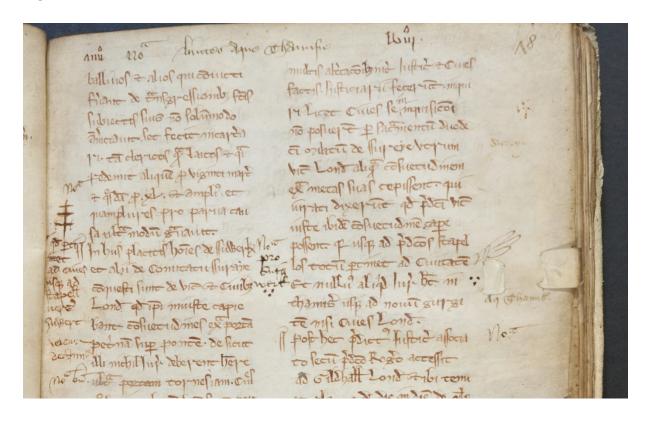
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc.702-8, Ann. Lond., 49-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 734-5, Ann. Lond., 54-5; cc. 824, 826, Ann. Lond., 66; c. 888, Ann. Lond., 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Jenny Stratford for this suggestion and for help in deciphering these doodles.

esq., or his Sence of Various Matters of Weight and High Consequence Relating Especially to Religion and State'.¹ Indeed, marginal annotations throughout Arnold's book afford clear evidence that Arnold's book was in the hands of men interested in London's rights, privileges and administration long before Stillingfleet's time. The below image is Arnold's account of the case heard on 21 November 1258 before High Bigod concerning jurisdiction in the Thames:²

Fig.20: Fo. 78r.



Five times a scribe writing a hand of s. xiv<sup>ex</sup>-xv<sup>in</sup> has written 'nota' or 'nota bene' around this entry. At both the top of the page and on the right hand side a scribe has noted 'aqua/aque Thamisie'. A flap has even been cut and attached to this folio to facilitate easy referencing, the only time this has been done within the 167 folios of the book. Where else but at London's Guildhall would so much obvious interest have been taken in a routine entry such as this? Or in a similar entry of 1263?<sup>3</sup> Many of these additions appear to have been made by scribes writing at the time of Carpenter, the compiler of the greatest custumal of London procedure, *Liber Albus*. Carpenter was London's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> MS Harley 690, fo. 180r.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 718.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 766-67.

common clerk from 1417-38, and the owner of 'one of the most extensive private libraries to be found in fifteenth-century London; it included works by Aristotle and Seneca'. Like Horn, Carpenter used Arnold's book as source material: Arnold's account of the high tide and the destruction of illegal fishing nets in the Thames in London, 1253-4, was copied verbatim into *Liber Albus*; and *Liber Albus* also relied on Arnold's report of the modification of terms, in 1258, on which the merchants of Normandy could trade in London.

Over the fullness of time, especially as Latin began to be used less and less by administrators and chroniclers, it becomes harder to trace the direct use of Arnold's book by later writers. Robert Fabyan composed a fifteenth-century London chronicle.4 Like Arnold he was an alderman, and like Arnold, his chronicle, which began in the year 1189, recorded the names of London's sheriffs and mayors each year, although Fabyan dated by mayoral, not shrieval, years. Several entries in Fabyan's chronicle certainly look as though they were derived from Arnold's book. Fabyan recorded the prohibition on London's sheriffs serving two terms (1230), Simon son of Mary's unsuccessful attempt to be installed as sheriff (1239), and the king's refusal to accept the elections of both Nicholas Bat and Michael Tovy to municipal office (1245).<sup>5</sup> Fabyan noted that Montfort's testicles were hung on either side of his nose after his death so that it 'made a present thereof vnto the wife of syr Roger Mortymer'.<sup>6</sup> Fabyan named Thomas fitz Thomas, Michael Tovy, Thomas Puleston, Stephen Bukerel, John of Fleet, Richard Bonaventure, Simon of Hadstock, William of Kent and William of Gloucester as those particularly singled out for punishment by King Henry III in 1265.<sup>7</sup> To the best of my knowledge, Arnold is a unique chronicle source for every single one of these events and all these names. However, Fabyan wrote in English and it is, therefore, hard to show direct textual parallels with Arnold's book. His earlier account is often confused and confusing. He cites Geoffrey of Monmouth under 1246, and London's troubled mayoral election of 1272 under 1274.8 If he did use Arnold's book, he did so carelessly. He died

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Barron, London, 306.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **ε-ε**, **ζ-ζ**, c. 682; *Albus*, 502-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 701; *Albus*, 228-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M.R. McLaren, the London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing (Cambridge, 2002), especially 16, 26-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 634, 652, 665; Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1811), 328-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 842; Fabyan, New Chronicles, 357.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 853, 855; Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, 358-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Fabyan, New Chronicles, 334, 384-5.

in 1513, almost 250 years after Arnold's death, and used a great number of sources; it is quite possible that material shared by Arnold and Fabyan was in fact witnessed in some of these works.

In the last analysis, perhaps it misses the point to concern oneself *too* much with questions of how much a writer at Southwark Priory or the London Guildhall directly used Arnold's book. These writers employed many manuscripts to compile and compose their works; to them Arnold's book was just one of many sources. Surely the three most important conclusions to be drawn from this study are these. First, Arnold's book was clearly known to many people and much used in the Middle Ages after his death, within and without London; indeed, it continues to be used by historians to this day. Second, if it had such a public afterlife so soon after Arnold's death, does this not provide further evidence, in addition to that we have already seen, that it was in some way a public production during Arnold's lifetime? Third, Arnold's book is numbered 001 among a *collection* of London custumals; it was the first of its kind. Arnold was the first of *his* kind. Arnold began a tradition of legal and historical writing in London that was followed by many great secular London writers connected with the London Guildhall. He set the standard for others to follow.

# **Commentary**

This commentary, much reduced from its original 60,000 words, contains cross-references to other primary material; citations of secondary literature; explanations of oddities and obscurities within the text; notes on the sources used; comment on the accuracy of the text; and references to historical, palaeographical and codicological context. I have tried to maintain a consistent approach to the selection and presentation of matter in this commentary, while allowing for the huge variety in and of that material. This commentary does not reproduce the text, and detailed discussions on authorship, compilation and source material are found elsewhere in the introduction.

i. A list of twelve names (perhaps a jury or an attendee list at London's Husting court?) on a pastedown on the inside cover. At least eleven of these men were aldermen of London, and together they figure prominently in London's records in the late 1260s. If a 'current' list then it must pre-date 1270 as William son of Richard was dead by then. Around this list a hand of s. xv has written various notes, two of which read 'iste liber intitulatur de aqua Thamisie' and 'liber iste intitulatur de aqua Thamisie'.

**ii.** Onto the recto of a fly-leaf, fo. i., a hand of s. xiv<sup>ex</sup>-s. xv<sup>in</sup> has written 'De antiquis legibus liber' onto an otherwise blank folio.<sup>4</sup>

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS fos. i v-ii v.

1] This material, which probably filled a whole quire, is missing from the manuscript.<sup>5</sup> **2-7**] cc. 55-62.

**8**] cc. 63-5.

**9-10**] cc. 66-9.

**11-25**] cc. 70-138.

**26-32**] Probably copied from *Gesta Regum*, now lost from the manuscript.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> McEwan, 'Aldermen', 192-6. For biographical notes on several of these men, appendix ii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> CR, 1268-72, 266-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, 17, n. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Supra, 38-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The order of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in cc. 26-31 is similar to that of the first book of the *Gesta Regum*. William then ended his first book with the reign of Brihtic (786-802), here Eylbritthus. The second book of *Gesta Regum* began with an opening similar to the heading given in c. 32, *Gesta Regum*, i, 150, ii, 12.

**33**] The earlier part of this material has been lost from the manuscript. What remains begins *in medias res* in 1189 on fo. 31r and continues until 1225, not 1272, in cc. 139-232, finishing on fo. 40r. It is unclear what was originally under the erasure.<sup>1</sup>

**34**] cc. 246-51.

**35-6**] This material, perhaps copied, ultimately, from Ailred of Rievaulx's *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, has been lost from Arnold's book.<sup>2</sup>

37] Also lost from the manuscript.3

**38**] cc.275-311.

**39**] cc. 312-327, 329-335.

**40**] c. 341.

**41**] cc. 373-486.

**42**] cc. 514-68 (cont. cc. 346-372).

**43**] cc. 569-1168.

**44**] cc. 1184-1274.

**45**] cc. 1275-81.

**46**] c. 1282.

#### SUMMARY OF ARNOLD'S FINANCIAL DISPUTES WITH FELLOW CITIZENS fos. 1r-2r.

**48-53**. Arnold's complaint that he has been excessively tallaged in the period 1265-74, continued from cc. 1291-6.<sup>4</sup> Neither letter Arnold copied was enrolled. Brief biographies of both Hervey and le Waleys are given in appendix ii.<sup>5</sup> This section must have been composed between 28 October 1273 and 1 May 1274.<sup>6</sup>

**54.** A brief entry about the cost, weight and measure of bread, dated 8 July 1312 – 7 July 1313, added onto a blank space on fo. 2rb.

### EXCERPTS FROM GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM fos. 3r-7r.7

<sup>2</sup> Supra, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> a-a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 28; Stone, 'Arnold fitz Thedmar: identity, politics and the City of London', 106-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Appendix ii, 407-8, 412-3. Cf. I. Stone, 'Hervey, Walter (d. in or after 1276), mayor of London', ODNB.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Supra, 52-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 2-7 in the contemporary table of contents.

- **55-62**. Fo. 2v was left blank. This material was chosen from the first three books of the *Gesta Regum* for its preternatural thematic consistency, then re-ordered here.<sup>1</sup> Once selected little was changed, and there was no attempt to date any of these stories.<sup>2</sup>
- **55**] Compiled from three chapters in the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>3</sup>
- **56**] Taken from one chapter of Gesta Regum.<sup>4</sup>
- 57] Almost entirely compiled from one chapter of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>5</sup> The heading 'Quartum capitulum' does not match the table of contents.<sup>6</sup>
- **58**] A single chapter of the *Gesta Regum* was the source for this entry.<sup>7</sup>
- **59**] Copied faithfully from a single chapter of *Gesta Regum*.<sup>8</sup>
- **60**] This entry omits William's introduction and a brief reference to St Gregory's *Dialogues*, but otherwise is largely a faithful copy of one chapter of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>9</sup>
- **61**] Compiled from one chapter of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>10</sup>
- **62**] Compiled from a single chapter of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>11</sup>

### SECUNDUS THE PHILOSOPHER fos. 7r-9r.12

- **63-5**. The source material has changed from those preceding, but this is thematically similar and it was copied by the same scribe (5) as the above.<sup>13</sup>
- **63**] A statue of St Paul at the church of Saint Trophime at Arles in southern France has the legend shown at  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$  depicted upon a scroll. 14
- **64-5**] The hagiographical story of Secundus the Philosopher was brought into Western Europe in 1167 by a certain William the Physician, who also translated the text from Greek into Latin. The Latin text, witnessed in over a hundred European manuscripts,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Only cc. 60-2 are copied in the same order from consecutive chapters of the *Gesta Regum*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> At St Albans, they dated c. 60 to 852, c. 61 to 1058, and c. 62 to 1037, *CM*, i, 381-3, 527-8, 511-2. At St Paul's Cathedral, c. 61 was dated to 1036, and c. 62 to 1043, *Diceto*, i, 179-80, 187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Gesta Regum,* i, cc. 79-81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gesta Regum, i, c. 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Gesta Regum*, i, c. 237 apart from the very last sentence which introduces c. 238.

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  'Do quodam archiepiscopo Coloniensi. De doubus clericis inter quos ita fide media conuenit, quod qui ante alterum obiret infra triginta dies de statu suo superstiti nunciaret', c. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *Gesta Regum,* i, c. 268,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gesta Regum, i, c. 293.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Gesta Regum, i, c. 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Gesta Regum, i, c. 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *Gesta Regum*, i, c. 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 'De philosopho nomine Secundo', c. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> cc. 55-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> R. Faveau, 'Controverses Judéo-Chrétiennes et iconographie. L'apport des inscriptions', *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 145e année, No. 3 (2001), 1267-1303, at 1291. <sup>15</sup> C.H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (New York, 1955), 146-7; L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science: During the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era*, ii, (New York, 1923), 487; B.E. Perry, *Secundus, the Silent Philosopher* (New York, 1964), 23-4.

has been edited several times.<sup>1</sup> However, no editor seems to have known of this version. With such a vast manuscript tradition containing so many corrupt and arbitrary texts, the text's most recent editor concluded that 'to classify all the manuscripts in an attempt to define their interrelationships would be a fruitless task'.<sup>2</sup> Without a classification of the Latin manuscript tradition, it would be pointless to speculate as to the possible source for this version; however, for the most part, the variant readings found in this text indicate that it is most closely related to Hilka's E text – actually a fourteenth-century manuscript.<sup>3</sup> There are, however, several variant readings shared with other versions of this text.<sup>4</sup>

In the textual apparatus I have only noted omissions and variants where they are needed to complete the sense.

## METRICAL LIST OF THE PAPAL SUCCESSION fos. 9v-10r.5

**66-8**. These verses were composed by Nicholas Maniacutius, a canon of St John Lateran.<sup>6</sup> Scribe 6 copied them onto what were two blank folios at the end of the current first quire. These verses are found in one witness of Ralph of Diss's *Abbreviationes* and in the manuscript containing the Winchester chronicle.<sup>7</sup> Otherwise, they seem not to have circulated very widely in and around thirteenth-century London. The verses have been annotated and extended here.<sup>8</sup>

This is the first and most elegant of three extended verse compositions in Arnold's book.<sup>9</sup> It is, in fact, probable that Arnold used these verses as a template to compose the other two.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The most recent edition is Perry, *Secundus*. For two editions based on two different manuscripts, A. Hilka, 'Das Leben und die Sentenzen des Philosophen Secundus des Schweigsamen in der altfranzösischen Literatur nebst kritischer Ausgabe der lateinischen Übersetzung des Willelmus Medicus, Abtes von Saint-Denis', *Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur*, lxxxviii (1910), 1-42; W. Suchier, 'Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti philosophi nebst einigen verwandten Texten herausgegeben', *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, xxiv (1939), 95-168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Perry, *Secundus*, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Printed in J. Bachmann, *Die Philosophie des Neupythagoras Secundus*, (Berlin, 1888), Anhang iii, 16-22. The shared readings are shown at (all c. 65)  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\theta$ - $\theta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$ - $\kappa$ ,  $\nu$ .  $\rho$ - $\rho$ , both texts also end at 'intitulari',  $\varsigma$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> All MSS *siglae* correspond with Hilka's classification,  $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ , L<sup>3</sup>;  $\delta$ , F;  $\eta$ ,  $\lambda$  and  $\sigma$ , M<sup>4</sup>;  $\pi$ - $\pi$ , Br and L<sup>3</sup>. See also 'insaturabilis' at  $\mu$ , in E, K M<sup>4</sup>, Br, L<sup>8</sup> and L<sup>10</sup> one finds 'insaciabilis'; and 'preciosum' at  $\xi$ , in Ch, E, L<sup>6</sup>, L<sup>7</sup>, L<sup>8</sup> and L<sup>10</sup> one finds 'perniciosum'. The variant shown at  $\varepsilon$ - $\varepsilon$  may be unique to this version?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'Nomina Romanorum pontificum metrice scripta', c. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevii posterioris Latinorum: Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge Mittellateinischer Dichtungen* (1 vol. + suppl., Göttingen, 1959-69), no. 18090.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Lambeth Palace Library MS 8, printed in *Diceto*, i, 259-62; BL Cotton MS Domitian A xiii, fo. 98va-99va.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The version in the Domitian MS has only five lines of continuation to Alexander III (1159-81).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> cc. 69, 341.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Infra, 174-5, 188-9.

- **1-2**] Used by Arnold in c. 341 for his 'Si uis pontificum Doroberne discere sedis / Nomina, quod sequitur lege, tunc ea scire ualebis.'1
- **77-8**] Used by Arnold in c. 341 for his 'Postea Siricheum legimus cathedram tenuisse / Et tunc Alfricum cathedrari promueruisse.'2
- 95] An incorrect annotation: John Gratian became Gregory VI (1045-1046).3
- 112] Used by Arnold in c. 341 for his 'Et tunc martirio Thomas cathedram decorauit'.4
- **118**] Ralph of Diss's metrical list finished with the papacy of Eugenius III (1145-53), and was subsequently continued with a simple list of names to Innocent III (1198-1216).<sup>5</sup>
- **124-5**] After Gregory IX, the brief papacy of Celestine IV (25 October 1241 to 10 November 1241) has been omitted. Used by Arnold in c. 341 for his 'Post hos Ricardus in sacra sede locatur / Et tunc Eadmundus predictis associatur.'6
- **129-33**] Scribe 6's last contribution to this list were the concluding verses on the papacy of Urban IV (1261-4). Arnold subsequently erased something from line 129, to add 'Quando' and 'quartus Vrbanus', before entering (at probably the same time) line 130 on Clement IV's pontificate (1265-8). Arnold's three lines on the papal vacancy (1268-71) were added in a different ink, presumably at a later date.<sup>7</sup>

Used by Arnold in c. 341 for his 'Si prescriptos pontifices numerare uelitis / Tunc quadraginta septem simul inuenietis'.8

**134**] This line added by scribe 2. Gregory X was consecrated on 27 March 1272 and died 10 January 1276.

### METRICAL LIST OF THE IMPERIAL SUCCESSION fo. 10v.9

**69.** Arnold originally scribed this in a single stint, finishing with Richard of Cornwall's reign as king of Germany (1257-72), onto fo. 10v, a blank folio at the end of the first quire. Scribe 2 then added four lines to note the reign of Rudolf of Habsburg (24 October 1273 to 15 July 1291). Although space remained to continue this list, no-one did so.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lines 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lines 14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Marginal ins. **a**; a mistake also found in cc. 18, 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Line 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Diceto*, i, 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Lines 26-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Arnold did not supply the name of Gregory X (consecrated 27 March 1272), but knew that the papal chair had been vacant for 'more than three years' (since November 1268): he probably added these lines between November 1271 and March 1272.

<sup>8</sup> Lines 31-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 'Nomina imperatorum Romanorum metrice scripta', c. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Printed in *MGH SS*, xxviii, 530-1.

Although unclear from which source material it was drawn, it is most likely that Arnold composed it himself: it is, to the best of my knowledge, unique to Arnold's book; it is rather inelegantly written; there is evidence from elsewhere in his book that he was working on these verses; and similar lines occur in other places throughout Arnold's book. Such a list would be of interest to someone of German descent like Arnold.

**4**] Perhaps the jottings in Arnold's own hand on fo. 162r show him working on these verses: 'Vna Nero die gladio Paulum cruce Petrum / In Roma Christi pro nomine martirizauit / Vna dies unus princeps urbs una necauit / Per diuersa loca gladio Paulum cruce Petrum / In Roma necat ense Nero Paulum cruce Petrum.<sup>1</sup>

**63-6**] Arnold entered these lines wrongly here. The correct order is: Lothar III, Conrad III, Frederick Barbarossa, Henry VI, Philip of Swabia, Otto IV, Frederick II. A hand of a later date has made sense of this by adding the indicative letters to each line.

**66-7**] Compare the two lines copied by scribe 2 on Henry III's death: 'Septuaginta duo fuerant et mille ducenti / Quando uir hic obiiit post partum uirginis anni';<sup>2</sup> and two lines added by scribe 12 on the death of Boniface of Savoy: 'Quando uir hic obiit fluxerunt mille ducenti / Et septemdecies post partum Virginis anni.'<sup>3</sup>

74-5] Richard actually died on 2 April 1272.4

#### EXCERPTS FROM GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM fos. 11r-30v.5

**70-138**. Scribe 7 copied all the material found on the next three quires (fos. 11r-30v). Sixty-nine chapters across five books of the *Gesta Regum* were used to compile this section.<sup>6</sup> There is a broad thematic range, but most prominent are the reports on the careers of several popes and the Investiture Dispute, and the narrative generally proceeds sequentially.

The changes that were purposefully made to William's text were few: William's distinctive style has been maintained throughout these chapters, and many of William's 'digressions' have been copied here.<sup>7</sup> Any changes were usually made simply to tie together the material chosen from different parts of William's book. The chapter

<sup>2</sup> c. 252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 1289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 341, lines 29-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. 'Anno septuagesimo secundo incipiente in fine mensis Marcii obiit Ricardus rex Alemannie', c. 1063.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 11-25 in the contemporary table of contents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Supra, 81-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Even when William's text was adapted, the first person style was kept,  $\alpha$ , c. 117.

headings stood in the exemplar.<sup>1</sup> The text was seldom annotated by later hands, and in its margins Arnold wrote only one note.<sup>2</sup>

**70-8**] Arnold selected nine consecutive chapters from the first book of the *Gesta Regum*, containing William's fulsome praise of Bede.<sup>3</sup> One revision, which stood in Arnold's exemplar, improves the text of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>4</sup>

**79-83**] A brief history, questionably accurate, of the Frankish kingdom from the fourth to the tenth centuries, skilfully compiled from five chapters within two different books of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>5</sup>

**84-5**] Three chapters of the *Gesta Regum* were used, briefly touching upon aspects of Cnut's reign, in order to lead into the subsequent history of Germany.<sup>6</sup> No doubt Cnut's reign was considered more fully in the section missing from Arnold's book.<sup>7</sup> Substantial sections from William's text were discarded, and instead epitomised at the start of c. 85.

**86-91**] A short account of the reign of Henry III of Germany compiled using six chapters of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>8</sup> The material selected here is of dubious accuracy; nevertheless, William's text has been copied faithfully with little having been changed.<sup>9</sup>

**92-3**] Arnold advanced into the third book of the *Gesta Regum*, and had this German miracle story copied almost verbatim from William's text, introduced with a single sentence taken from a preceding chapter of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>10</sup> It is unclear whether 'De quo alibi in hoc libro satis dictum est' in c. 92 refers to Berengar of Tours or William the Conqueror: either way, this material has been lost.<sup>11</sup>

**94-6**] Compiled from three consecutive chapters of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>12</sup> There has been some chronological confusion here as the career of Pope Gregory VI (1045-6), formerly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Marginal ins. **b**, c. 120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 54-62.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$   $\alpha$ , c.70. William wrote that, on the banks of the river Wear, Benedict 'monasteria ibidem construxit'. In fact, there was a single monastic institution comprised of St Peter's Monkwearmouth which was on the river Wear, and St Paul's Jarrow on the river Tyne – ten miles apart. 'Monasterium' here is to be preferred, *Gesta Regum*, ii, 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Gesta Regum,* i, cc. 68, 110-12, 128. William's editors discuss his errors at length in *Gesta Regum,* ii, 54-6, 83-6, 111-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c 84's heading is taken from *Gesta Regum*, i, c. 181, and text from *Gesta Regum*, i, c. 183; c. 85 taken from *Gesta Regum*, i, c. 188. 'De egregio imperatore Henrico primo qui Gonildam filiam predicti Cnutonis duxit in uxorem', and 'de Henrico imperatore Romane genere Cnutonis', cc. 16, 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 'De predicto Eylbrittho et successoribus suis qui regnauit in totam Angliam usque ad aduentum Normannorum', c. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 189-94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For William's accuracy in this chapters, *Gesta Regum*, ii, 182-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 284, 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *Prima facie* one would imagine it referred to Berengar, were it not for the fact that this chapter contained his only appearance in the *Gesta Regum*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 201-3.

Gratian, is considered before that of Silvester II (999-1003) in cc. 97-8. Doubtless a mix up occurred when William's chapters were selected and re-ordered, which led someone to underline 'sextus' for deletion, to be replaced by 'quintus'. This in turn led to Arnold's error in c. 67.<sup>2</sup>

97-8] Three consecutive chapters of the *Gesta Regum* were used for these legendary reports of Pope Silvester II (999-1003), formerly Gerbert.<sup>3</sup> An attempt was made, following the confusion of Gregory V and VI above, to connect this to the preceding material with the incorrect use of 'predicto' in the opening sentence of c. 97. Another error was made here: 'sextus' has been marked for deletion to be replaced by 'septimus'.<sup>4</sup> This was probably a result of confusion over the papacy of John XIV (983-4), which meant that John XV was reckoned as John XVI, and so on to John XIX.<sup>5</sup>

**99-100**] Two of William's digressions are copied here.<sup>6</sup>

**101-3**] Three consecutive chapters of the *Gesta Regum* are used to report the death of Pope Silvester II and another of William's digressions.<sup>7</sup>

**104**] Arnold advanced quite far into the *Gesta Regum* to find source material for the life of Robert Guiscard (1015-85).<sup>8</sup> Robert Guiscard is not mentioned in the table of contents; however, his career of and that of Pope Gregory VII (cc. 105-8) were intertwined and this material has been well chosen to fit the narrative here.

**105-8**] Four consecutive chapters of the *Gesta Regum* were used, and little changed, to sketch the life of Pope Gregory VII (1073-85), formerly Hildebrand of Sovana.<sup>9</sup>

**109-10**] Two chapters of the *Gesta Regum* were used to provide a brief and ambivalent report of Emperor Henry IV (1056-1106).<sup>10</sup> William originally wrote this between 1119-24.<sup>11</sup> Arnold did not change the text to reflect the passing of over a century.

**111-2**] Two miracle stories from consecutive chapters of the *Gesta Regum*. <sup>12</sup>

**113**] A brief note on Marianus Scotus copied almost verbatim from one chapter of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Line 95; see also, c. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **β**, c. 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 167-9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> **β**, c. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 67, lines 92-5; Cheney, *Handbook*, 53 n. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 170-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gesta Regum, i, c. 172-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gesta Regum, i, c. 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *Gesta Regum,* i, cc. 263-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 288-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> **α-α**, c. 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 290-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Gesta Regum, i, c. 292.

**114-6**] Arnold selected three chapters from the fourth book of the *Gesta Regum* to note the career of Pope Urban II (1088-1099).<sup>1</sup> A curious choice of source material in c. 115: one would not immediately think that canons of the council of Clermont would have interested someone like Arnold fitz Thedmar.<sup>2</sup> Also curious is the discarding of material from the *Gesta Regum* concerned with what was perhaps Urban's most famous act – the preaching of the first Crusade.<sup>3</sup>

117-35] This series of nineteen chapters was copied with very few changes from nineteen consecutive chapters of the fifth book of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>4</sup> In short, it offers a balanced summary of the Investiture Dispute between the Emperor Henry V (1106-25) and the popes, Paschal II (1099-1118), Gelasius II (1118-9), and Calixtus II (1119-24). Recorded in these chapters are both the treaty of Ponte Mammolo (11 April 1111), and the Concordat of Worms (23 September 1122).<sup>5</sup>

**136-8**] Arnold returned to the fourth book of the *Gesta Regum* and used one chapter containing a list of the patriarchs of Jerusalem which he breaks down into three sections here.<sup>6</sup> The list was copied fully here, although with some eye skip.<sup>7</sup>

### EXCERPTS FROM GESTA REGUM ANGLORUM fos. 31r-34v.8

**139-56**. English historical notices 1089-1135 copied by scribe 5.9 From the table of contents we learn that a history of England from the coming of the Anglo-Saxons once stood before these entries in Arnold's book.<sup>10</sup>

Arnold's use of the *Gesta Regum* in cc. 151-6 stands in stark contrast to his previous use of William's text. Whereas beforehand the text of the *Gesta Regum* was more often than not simply copied and its chapter divisions reproduced in Arnold's book, throughout these chapters there has been a much more obvious process of *compilatio*. Here, Arnold has, at times, selected material from several different chapters of the *Gesta Regum* and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 344-5, 350.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Even the Dean of St Paul's did not copy them out as fully as is done here, *Diceto*, i, 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 346-9; supra, 81-4.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  Gesta Regum, i, cc. 420-38. One notable change: William's 'magni pensaret' has been changed to 'paruipensaret',  $\alpha$ , c. 131

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 118-9, 133-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *Gesta Regum,* i, c. 368. The list was also broken down into sections with the same chapter headings in Aac, fo. 85va-b; Aa<sup>2</sup>, fo. 84vb-85ra.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$   $\alpha$ , c. 136. After 'Mazabanus' the list lacks 'Irmeneus, Zabdas, Hermon, Macarius', Gesta Regum, i, c. 368.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'De regibus Normannorum qui regnauerunt usque ad obitum Henrici filii regis Iohannis qui obiit anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo secundo mense Nouembris', c. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> cc. 139-50 copied from *Gesta Regum*, i, cc. 322-333.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> cc. 26-32; *supra*, 39.

edited that down into one chapter; at other times he has discarded substantial sections of text to maintain a thematic unity within a given chapter.

- **151**] This chapter is skilfully compiled, although (as the errors in the text show) perhaps a little carelessly copied, from three chapters of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>1</sup>
- **152**] Put together from two chapters of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>2</sup>
- **153**] Arnold moved backwards and forwards throughout the fifth book of the *Gesta Regum* and used five chapters of the *Gesta Regum* to compile this seamless summary of Henry I's character.<sup>3</sup>
- **154**] Copied from one chapter of the *Gesta Regum*: an 'ambivalent' sketch of queen Edith/Matilda.<sup>4</sup>
- **155**] William's detailed account of the white ship disaster was used for this chapter.<sup>5</sup> At  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$  the copyist got himself into a tangle: this should read 'Ricardus comes Cestrae et frater eius Ottuelus, nutritius et magister filii regis; filia regis, comitissa Pertice'.
- **156**] Compiled from the first two sentences of a single chapter of the *Gesta Regum*.<sup>6</sup> The only instance where the same material from the *Gesta Regum* has been copied twice.<sup>7</sup>

## EXCERPTS FROM LOST LONDON ANNALS fos. 35r-36v.8

**157-198**. A summary account of 1135-1199, all apart from the first sentence copied by scribe 8, compiled from a now lost set of annals. Despite being copied independently of the Merton Priory witness of these annals, the text here is very close indeed to the Merton text. As such, to give a feel of how much stood in Arnold's source, I have shown the text that they share in common in smaller type. On a few occasions, as a result of ink spills rendering the text unreadable, I have reconstructed the text from the Merton annals. On a few occasions, as a result of ink spills rendering the text unreadable, I have reconstructed the text from the Merton annals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> *Gesta Regum*, i, cc. 390-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 393, 401.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gesta Regum, i, cc. 399, 411-3, 417.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gesta Regum, i, c. 418; ii, 380.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gesta Regum, i, c. 419.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gesta Regum, i, c. 420.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'De regibus Normannorum qui regnauerunt usque ad obitum Henrici filii regis Iohannis qui obiit anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo secundo mense Nouembris', c. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Supra, 84-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> cc. 184, 185, 189.

It is a tolerably accurate summary.<sup>1</sup> In this section, the material was set out without paragraph divisions under headings for each of the four kings; however, for ease of reference, I have broken this down into chapter numbers by calendar year.

# **SUMMARY HISTORY 1200-1225 fos. 36v-40r.**<sup>2</sup>

**199-232**. Probably copied in a single stint. For this section Arnold made some use of the annals of Southwark Priory: I have shown the shared text in smaller type.<sup>3</sup> At times Arnold diverged from his source material to clarify deficiencies within his source, e.g. to explain why Henry IIII was crowned at Gloucester and not Westminster;<sup>4</sup> and to make it clear why and of what Prince Louis was absolved.<sup>5</sup> On the odd occasion Arnold's amendments were less successful: in c. 217 Arnold had originally copied the Southwark annalist's 'William of Cornhill, bishop of Chester', which he then amended wrongly to 'Chichester';<sup>6</sup> and his account, in c. 231, of the messengers being sent to Louis of France in 1224 is not wholly accurate.<sup>7</sup> However, most of Arnold's divergences from his source material here actually evidence his distinctive understanding of this period of history.<sup>8</sup>

### BRIEF NOTICES 1312-26 fos. 40r-40v.

**233-45**. Arnold left the remainder of fo. 40r-v blank, to which two hands of s. xiv<sup>in</sup> made various additions.

**234**] This pitiful account of the beginning of a three year famine in 1315-16 is a continuation from c. 274 on fo. 44v.<sup>9</sup> Stephen of Abingdon was elected mayor in October 1315 and before his term as mayor finished he was made royal butler.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The regnal years given are invariably wrong, *supra*, 87. Otherwise: in 1188 hostilities between Henry II and Philip II were brought to a halt at Bonsmoulins, not Beauvais, c. 187; Henry VI was crowned emperor by Pope Celestine III on 15 April 1191, not 17 June, c. 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'De regibus Normannorum qui regnauerunt usque ad obitum Henrici filii regis Iohannis qui obiit anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo secundo mense Nouembris', c. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Ann. Southwark,* fos. 138r-143v; *supra*, 88-91.

 $<sup>^{4}</sup>$  α-α, c 217; Cf. *Ann. Southwark*, fo. 141r; c. 613.

 $<sup>^{5}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 220; Cf. *Ann. Southwark*, fo. 141v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **b**. William of Cornhill was actually bishop of Coventry, for the use of the title 'bishop of Chester', *HBC*, 253, n. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Henry III sent messengers to Louis around the time of Louis's coronation in 1223, asking that he make good on his promise to return Normandy. Stephen Langton certainly was one of them, but I have been unable to find any corroboration for the presence of William Marshall, fifth earl of Pembroke, *CM*, iii, 77-8; *Coggeshall*, 197; *Ann. Dun.*, 81-2, 92-3, 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Supra, 107-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cf. *Flores,* iii, 160-1, 174, 340-1; *Ann. Lond.,* 236, 238; *Ann. Paul,* 278-9; *Ann. Berm.,* 470 (although whether the poor were driven to eat their own children as averred by the Bermondsey writer is less sure).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ann. Lond., 236, Cust., ii, 245, 294.

**235**] Gilbert of Seagrave died on 18 December 1316.<sup>1</sup> There is a biographical note on John of Wengrave in appendix ii.<sup>2</sup>

236] Gilbert Middleton led an armed band on 1 September 1317 in attacking the bishop elect of Durham, Louis Beaumont, and his retinue. This attack turned into a short-lived rebellion. He was brought to London with his brother on 21 January 1318, and on 26 January hanged, drawn and quartered.<sup>3</sup> The feast of Corpus Christi was actually first established in 1246, fleetingly became a universal feast in 1264, before Pope John XXII instituted it in November 1317.<sup>4</sup> John Prior and William Furneis were London's sheriffs 1317-8.<sup>5</sup>

**237**] John of Wengrave's third year as mayor was his most controversial.<sup>6</sup> John Poyntel and John Dalling served as sheriffs 1318-9.<sup>7</sup>

**238**] Hamo Chigwell was sworn as mayor of London for the first time on 28 October 1319.8 John of Preston and Simon of Abingdon served as his sheriffs.9

239] In September 1320 Reginald de Conduit and William Prudhomme were elected sheriffs; in October 1320 Nicholas of Farndon was elected mayor for the third time. The judicial eyre, 'the last and the worst the city had to face', began on 14 January 1321. 11

**240**] Edward II's disastrous campaign of 1322 against the Scots is tersely recorded here. Hamo Chigwell was confirmed as mayor in October 1321, 'without a new election, in order to please the king' and at his presentation he initiated a new tradition by travelling to Westminster and back by barge. Richard Constantin and Richard of Hackney served as sheriffs this year. Hamo Chigwell was confirmed as mayor in October 1321, 'without a new tradition by travelling to Westminster and back by barge. Richard Constantin and Richard of Hackney served as sheriffs this year.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ann. Paul., 279-80; Ann. Lond., 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Appendix ii, 413.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ann. Paul., 281-2; Flores, iii, 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M. Rubin, Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture (Cambridge, 1991), 174-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sheriffs, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Appendix ii, 413.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sheriffs, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> appendix ii, 405-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Sheriffs, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Sheriffs, 202; appendix ii, 406.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Williams, *London*, 286. The main records of this eyre are two rolls, TNA JUST 1/546 and JUST 1/547A, records of the financial exactions in TNA E 372/167, rot. 6, all analysed and printed in *The Eyre of London*, 14 Edward II, ed. H. M. Cam (Selden Society, lxxxv-lxxxvi, 1968-9). See also a record in *Cust.*, ii, 285-432, with Edward's letter summoning the eyre at 285-87; Cf. c. 338; D. Crook, *Records of the General Eyre* (London, 1982), 181-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ann. Paul., 304; Flores, iii, 209-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ann. Paul., 298.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Sheriffs, 202.

**241**] In September 1322 John of Grantham and Roger of Ely were elected sheriffs and in October Hamo Chigwell was retained as mayor.<sup>1</sup>

**242**] Hamo was suddenly removed from his position of mayor on 4 April 1323 [*recte* Edward's sixteenth year], by a king probably suspicious of latent Lancastrianism in London and subsequently arrested. Nicholas of Farndon was installed in his place.<sup>2</sup> John of Oxford and Adam of Salisbury were elected as sheriffs in September 1323.<sup>3</sup>

**243**] Hamo was recalled to royal favour on 5 September 1323. Nicholas of Farndon was removed from the mayoralty on 29 September, and in December 1323 Hamo was reinstalled as mayor. Benedict of Fulham and John of Caustone were sheriffs 1324-5.<sup>4</sup>

244] In September 1325 John Coton and Gilbert of Morden were elected as sheriffs.<sup>5</sup>

245] In September 1326 Roger Chaunteclere and Richard of Rocking were installed as sheriffs.<sup>6</sup> Edward fled London on 2 October. On 15 October riots broke out in the city in support of Isabella and Mortimer in which the treasurer, Bishop Stapledon of Exeter, was decapitated with a bread knife by a mob close to St Paul's.<sup>7</sup> On 15 November Hamo was removed from the mayoralty and replaced by Richard de Betoyne, who rode to his presentation.<sup>8</sup> On the next day, Edward was 'pris en sa terre de meyne' (in South Wales). This section is continued in c. 1285.

#### EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S DEATHBED VISION fos. 41r-v.9

**246-51.** Arnold copied this version of the 'Green Tree' deathbed vision of Edward the Confessor, derived ultimately from Ailred of Rievaulx's *Vita Sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris*; it ends imperfectly.<sup>10</sup> Ailred's *Vita* was widely copied across northern Europe; this section of it was particularly popular among English writers.<sup>11</sup>

Francesco Marzella is preparing a new critical edition of the *Vita*; until its publication, the *editio princeps* remains Roger Twysden's edition, based on a single manuscript.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ann. Paul., 304-5; Sheriffs, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Appendix ii, 405-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sheriffs, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sheriffs, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sheriffs, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sheriffs, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ann. Paul., 313-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For a brief summary of Richard de Betoyne's career, M. McKisack, *The Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs During the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1932), 101-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 'Visio Sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris quam uidit quando laborauit in extremis', c. 34. <sup>10</sup> *Supra*, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Hoste, *Bibliotecha Aelrediana*, 123-6; F. Marzella, 'La tradizione manoscritta della "Vita Sancti Ædwardi Regis et Confessoris" di Aelredo di Rievaulx', *Filologia Mediolatina*, xix (2012), 343-73; manuscript witnesses listed at 347-358.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Twysden, *Historiae Anglicanae*, 370-414.

The text in Arnold's book is heavily abridged and revised, and with no critical edition to work from, it would be a hopeless endeavour either to attempt a collation or to speculate further as to which manuscript Arnold compiled and copied it from: I have, therefore, presented the text simply as it is found in Arnold's book.

# VERSE OBITUARY FOR HENRY III fo. 42r.

**252.** The only entries on fo. 42r and evidently a continuation of c. 36 in the table of contents.<sup>1</sup> These verses are similar to two others found elsewhere in Arnold's book.<sup>2</sup> They must refer to Henry III, although he is only referred to as 'uir hic' and 'iste'.

#### 'A LOVING CONCORD' fos. 42v-43r.

253. Scribe 10 copied this 'loving concord' between the citizens of London on the one hand, and Eustace de Fauconberg (bishop of London 1221-8) and the chapter of St Paul's on the other. It is (perhaps?) surprising that a text dated 1228 is written in French as opposed to Latin; it is wrongly dated, presumably 20 May 1228 was meant;<sup>3</sup> and at one point it provides an imperfect reading.<sup>4</sup> it was copied into Arnold's book at the end of the thirteenth century, perhaps in response to one of the frequent disputes over jurisdiction in London?<sup>5</sup> It is not printed among the records of Eustace's episcopal acta.<sup>6</sup>

#### BRIEF NOTICES 1308-15 fos. 43v-44v.

**254-74.** A series of entries, continued from c. 513, which begin on fo. 44r,<sup>7</sup> continue on fo. 43v,<sup>8</sup> and then conclude on fo. 44v.<sup>9</sup> All of which are continued on fo 40r.<sup>10</sup>

**254**] This succession of the sheriffs is confirmed elsewhere.<sup>11</sup>

**255**] Simon of Merwood and Richard of Wellford were sheriffs 1311-12.<sup>12</sup>

**256**] John Gisors III was the grandson of John Gisors I, Arnold fitz Thedmar's brother-in-law, first elected as mayor in October 1311.<sup>1</sup>

¹ 'Nomina regum qui regnauerunt in Anglia a predicto Eylbrittho per ordinem scripta usque ad obitum predicti regis Henrici [II]', c. 36; *supra*, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 69, lines 66-7; c. 341, lines, 29-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> There is no such date as the 20th Ides of May,  $\beta$ - $\beta$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> α-α.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Supra, 74-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> English Episcopal Acta, 26, London 1189-1228, ed. David Johnson (Oxford, 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 259-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> cc. 254-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> cc. 266-74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> c. 234,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ann. Lond., 175; Cust., ii, 244-5, 294; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Sheriffs, 201; Ann. Lond., 198.

- **257**] A brief but accurate account of Piers Gaveston's capture and execution.<sup>2</sup>
- **258**] In July 1312 an emboldened king marched on London (*recte* sixth regnal year) and summoned 'the good people' of the city to Blackfriars, who promised to hold the city on his behalf. Similarities in language used here and by Horn may suggest that they were both eyewitnesses and/or they perhaps worked from a newsletter or proclamation.<sup>3</sup>
- **259**] An unclear entry: either St Nicholas [5-6 December 1308] or St Scholastica [9-10 February 1309]?
- **260-1**] An accurate record of the elections of various officers.<sup>4</sup>
- **262**] This was a particularly harsh winter.<sup>5</sup>
- **263**] Edward II summoned an army to meet at Berwick on 8 September 1310.<sup>6</sup> In September 1310 Peter Blakeney and Simon Corp were elected sheriffs, and in October Refham was elected as mayor for a single term of office.<sup>7</sup>
- **264**] Not widely reported.
- **265**] A vivid (perhaps eyewitness?) description of the burial of Henry de Lacy, the fifth earl of Lincoln, in the lady chapel of St Paul's Cathedral.<sup>8</sup>
- **266**] French ambassadors came to mediate between the king and his earls in September 1312.<sup>9</sup> It is somewhat surprising that there is no mention here of an outbreak of rioting in London in the same month, which resulted in the mayor and aldermen being hauled before the king and his council at Westminster.<sup>10</sup>
- **269-71**] John Lambin and Richard of Horsham were elected sheriffs on 28 September 1312. Presumably in an attempt to avoid holding the office, Richard left London on the day of his election. On 30 September the citizens attempted to present the newly elected sheriffs to the barons of the exchequer, despite Richard being absent. This was forbidden, so Richard of Wellford, sheriff in 1311-12 was re-installed in Richard of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Appendix ii, 406-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Flores, iii, 150-3; Ann. Lond., 203-7; Ann. Paul., 271.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. 'Il est nostre seignour lige ... et qil nous vult meintenir et governir com nostre seignour en totes nos dreitures: dunt il dient qil voilent sa citee sauver et garder a seon oeps et a ses heirs come lur heritages', *Ann. Lond.*, 208-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ann. Lond., 156-8; Sheriffs, 201; Cust, ii, 244, 294; appendix ii, 406, 411.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Flores, iii, 146; Ann. Lond., 158; Ann. Paul., 268.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ann. Lond., 174, Ann. Paul., 269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> After Blakeney had died in office, (marginal ins. **b** and c. 254), he was replaced by John of Cambridge, *Ann. Lond.*, 175; *Cust.*, ii, 244, 294; *Sheriffs*, 201. For Richer, appendix, ii, 410.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This description is actually fuller than the St Paul's annalist's, *Ann. Paul.*, 269. Cf. *Ann. Lond.*, 175; *Flores*, iii. 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Louis, count of Évreux; Arnold, cardinal-priest of Santa Prisca; and Arnold d'Aux, bishop of Poitiers, *Ann. Lond.*, 210. Louis and Arnold of Santa Prisca, *Ann. Paul.*, 271-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ann. Lond., 215-8; Ann Paul., 272.

Horsham's place.<sup>1</sup> Richard of Wellford died on 28 December 1312 and was replaced by Adam Ludkin.<sup>2</sup> In December *all* of the city's officers stood for re-election under the terms of the 1311 ordinances.<sup>3</sup>

**272**] Edward and Isabella left to attend the lavish ceremony in Paris where the three sons of Philip IV of France were knighted.<sup>4</sup>

**273**] These sheriffs were elected in September 1313 under very different conditions to their predecessors, for it had been recently 'ordained and agreed' within London that only 'the better men of each ward' were to attend the shrieval election.<sup>5</sup>

**274**] As part of the completion of the 'New Work', a huge new cross was placed upon the belfry of St Paul's.<sup>6</sup> These notices continue in c. 234.

# LONDON'S ASSIZE OF BUILDINGS fos. 45r-48r.7

**275-311.** With the exception of c. 311, Arnold copied this, the earliest text of London's Assize of Buildings, himself, after scribe 8 had copied the notices on King Stephen's reign.<sup>8</sup> This elaborate assize established clear building regulations in London, and the process for the resolution of neighbourly disputes. As a result, it came to be used as the framework for the procedure of assizes of nuisances in the city.<sup>9</sup>

It is unclear whether these regulations do indeed date from 1189, coincidentally the year of the extent of legal memory and the year the Londoners believed saw the establishment of London's mayoralty. Certainly the earliest known building regulations in London, some of which are also found in this text, are set out in a manuscript of s. xiiiin. The assize of buildings was subsequently copied into many other city custumals, perhaps using this version as an exemplar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ann. Lond., 218-9; LBD, 19-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cust., ii, 294; Ann. Lond., 229; LBD, 20-1; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *LBD*, 21, 275-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ann. Lond., 230; Flores, iii, 337-8; Ann. Paul., 274; E.A.R. Brown and N. Freeman Regalado, 'La grant feste: Philip the Fair's celebration of the knighting of his sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313' in B.A. Hanawalt and K.L. Reyerson, eds., City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe (Minneapolis, 1994), 56-86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ann. Lond., 230; Cust., ii, 245, 294; LBD, 22-6; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ann. Lond., 232; Ann. Paul., 276-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 'De placito usitato in ciuitate quod uocatur assisa', c. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **α-α**, c. 305.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> London's Husting court's rolls recording assizes of nuisance only survive from 1301: thirteenth-century London procedure is unclear. These rolls have been calendared and printed, *London Assize of Nuisance* 1301-1431, eds. H.M. Chew and W. Kellaway (London, 1973), xii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> c. 276; *Assize of Nuisance,* xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cf. cc. 281-2, 284, 287 and clauses in the 'Lex de Assisa', which cannot postdate 1216, Bateson, *Collection*, 506-7. For separate regulations issued after the fire of 1212, *Cust.*, ii, 86-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Later versions contain one paragraph not found here, perhaps a later clarification of procedure, between cc. 278-9. Arnold wrote cc. 285-6 across the bottom of fos. 45v-46r; in the later versions they

#### LISTS OF ENGLISH BISHOPS fos. 48v-54v.1

**312-35.** Arnold copied almost all these lists himself using Southwark Priory's version of Ralph of Diss's *Opuscula*; I have shown the text shared between them in smaller type.<sup>2</sup> After his initial stint of copying in 1270, Arnold and scribes 2, 3 and 12 all returned to these lists and made various additions to record the episcopal successions until the summer of 1274 when this process ended with Arnold's death.<sup>3</sup> Arnold left room for these lists to be extended by later owners of his book, but that generally did not happen.<sup>4</sup>

The story is different, however, for cc. 325-6, contained on fo. 52, the last folio of the seventh quire; like all the other folios in this quire, it is a singleton. This folio contains the names of the archbishops of Canterbury and bishops of London, copied by scribe 11 from a different source. Both of these lists were fair copies, dateable to 1263-70, on a folio which Arnold acquired independently.<sup>5</sup>

Considering just how incomplete our knowledge of the early medieval period is, one has to admire Ralph's efforts in compiling these lists. For the most part Arnold followed his exemplar faithfully, although if he could continue a list past the final name in his exemplar he did.

**314**] Arnold missed Walter de Gray (1214-15) and Silvester (1215-18) after Mauger as their names were missing from his source material: scribe 3 subsequently added Silvester in the margin.<sup>6</sup>

**315**] Arnold skipped four names in Ralph's list after Cyneberht.<sup>7</sup>

317] Lyfing was also known as Ælfstan, in Arnold's exemplar and here Ælfstan is wrongly shown as Lyfing's successor.<sup>8</sup> Arnold's eye skipped over Dudoc after Merehwit (1033-1060).<sup>9</sup>

form the final two clauses. In fact, given their position in Arnold's book and their similar subject matter with c. 284, they best belong in the position here. Other chapters Arnold entered in the margins of his text, cc. 292 and 299, are reproduced in the same places in later versions. For a summary of other versions of this text, *Assize of Nuisance*, ix-x. Riley's translation of Arnold's text is reprinted in *EHD*, 849-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'Nomina uniuersorum episcoporum qui fuerunt in Anglia postquam Angli uenerunt in Angliam', c. 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Supra, 88-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Supra*, 35, 50-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 161-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Supra, 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ann. Southwark, fo. 60v; Diceto, ii, 200-1; HBC, 218-9, 223-4, 278-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> α: Alwig, Aldwulf, Ceolwulf, Beorhtred, Ann. Southwark, fos. 60v-61r; Diceto, ii, 201; HBC, 215, 219, 255.

<sup>8</sup> α; Ann. Southwark, fos. 61r-v; Diceto, ii, 202; HBC, 222, 227-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> β.

**318**] This list lacks Hugh of Pattishull and Roger of Weseham after Stavensby (1240-57).<sup>1</sup>

**319-22**] This confused history of the East Anglian bishopric concludes with Roger of Scarning's installation as bishop of Norwich [1266-78].<sup>2</sup> Arnold's errors here have been discussed above.<sup>3</sup>

**325**] Scribe 11's initial stint ended with Boniface of Savoy [1241-70]; Arnold then added a plethora of notes.<sup>4</sup> The list was then continued by scribes 12, 2 and 4 to Walter Reynolds [1314-1327].

**326**] Scribe 11 also copied this list in a single stint to Henry of Sandwich (1262-73), to which various additions were made. It is odd that scribe 4, writing as late as 1327, did not take the list past the death of Richard Newport (*d.* 1318); he also mistakenly gave Ralph Baldock as Robert (Robert was a relative of Ralph and Edward II's unpopular chancellor 1323-6).<sup>5</sup>

**327**] Arnold omitted Robert de Béthune (1131-48), presumably as a result of eyeskip; and Hugh of Mapenore was wrongly called Walter in Arnold's exemplar and here.<sup>6</sup>

**328**] A note, very faded, at the foot of fo. 53r.

**331-3**] There was no archbishop 'John' following the death of Geoffrey Plantagenet in 1212.<sup>7</sup> This probably refers to King John removing Simon Langton, who was elected by the canons of York in 1215.

**335**] Arnold entered the title 'bishops of Carlisle', but with no information to hand could not enter any information.

#### BRIEF NOTICES 1318-22 fo. 55r

**336-40.** Scribe 4 filled this folio, to an extent duplicating material he entered on fo. 40v.<sup>8</sup> **336**] Wengrave was controversially elected mayor for the third time in October 1318.<sup>9</sup> **337**] Hamo Chigwell was first elected mayor in October 1319.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ann. Southwark, fos. 61v-62r; Diceto, ii, 203; HBC, 218-20, 253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ann. Southwark, fos. 62r-v; Diceto, ii, 203-4; HBC, 216-7, 243, 261-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 88-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> It is uncertain whether Cuthbert ( $\alpha$ ) was previously bishop of Hereford; Æthelheard ( $\beta$ ) was abbot of Louth in Lindsey prior to his transfer; Sigeric ( $\gamma$ ) was bishop of Ramsbury; Æthelnoth ( $\delta$ ) was dean of Christ Church, Canterbury prior to his election; Eadsige ( $\epsilon$ ) was suffragan bishop in Kent, 'Archbishops of Canterbury (597-2010)', *ODNB*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> HBC, 219-220, 258.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **α**, **β**; Ann. Southwark, fo. 63r; Diceto, ii, 206; HBC, 217, 250.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **b**, c. 333; *Ann. Southwark*, fos. 63r-v; *Diceto*, ii, 206-7; *HBC*, 224, 281-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> cc. 237-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Appendix ii, 413.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Appendix ii, 405-6.

338] Nicholas of Farndon was elected mayor for third time in October 1320.<sup>1</sup> The king wrote to the sheriffs of London on 20 November 1320 summoning the citizens to a royal eyre beginning on 14 January 1321.<sup>2</sup> Hervey Stanton presided over what became a twenty-four week long eyre session as chief justice, assisted by William Harle, Edmund Passelawe and Walter Friskney; it was prosecuted with zeal by Sir Geoffrey Scrope. The king took the city into his hand and removed Farndon from office in January 1321.<sup>3</sup> According to a record of the eyre, it was actually on Monday 23 February that Robert of Kendale was installed as warden.<sup>4</sup> Following the outbreak of civil war in May 1321, Edward sought conciliation with the Londoners; Hamo Chigwell was made mayor and on 4 July the eyre was brought to a close.<sup>5</sup>

**339**] It is surprising that the outbreak of civil war in May 1321 is not mentioned here, given that by 29 July 1321 the rebels were camped outside London.<sup>6</sup> Following the Battle of Boroughbridge in Yorkshire on 16 March 1322, Thomas second earl of Lancaster was executed on 22 March at Pontefract, and many others were indeed then either sentenced to death or life imprisonment.<sup>7</sup>

**340**] Sir Bartholomew Badlesmere escaped from Boroughbridge, but was captured and then hanged and beheaded on 14 April at Canterbury.

#### METRICAL LIST OF ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY fo. 55v.8

**341.** One of three extended verse compositions in Arnold's book.<sup>9</sup> Arnold originally scribed this list himself in one stint finishing with Boniface of Savoy (so presumably prior to Boniface's death on 14 July 1270); subsequently continued by three other scribes. Witnessed uniquely in Arnold's book, and stylistically very similar to Maniacutius's older verses on the papal succession elsewhere in Arnold's book – indeed many of the verses have been reproduced here almost verbatim – Arnold probably composed these himself using Maniacutius's work as a template and his list of archbishops of Canterbury as a source.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Appendix ii, 406.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For references to the eyre, *supra*, 181, n. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *LBD*, 31 n. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cust., ii, 378.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ann. Paul., 290-1; LBE, 144; Williams, London, 286-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ann. Paul., 292-7; Flores, iii, 196-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ann. Paul., 302-3; Flores, iii, 204-8, 345-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'Nomina archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium metrice scripta', c. 40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> cc. 66-8, 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> cc. 66-8, 325.

- **1-2**] Adapted from Maniacutius's 'Si uis pontifices Romane discere sedis / Carminibus nostris perlectis scire ualebis'. Although here one expects the plural 'quae sequuntur'.
- **14-15**] Adapted from Maniacutius's 'Postea Formosum cathedram legimus tenuisse / Inde Bonifacium papatum promeruisse'.<sup>2</sup>
- 22] Adapted from Maniacutius's 'Honorius cathedram post hos omnes decorauit'.3
- **26-7**] Adapted from Maniacutius's 'Gregorius nonus predictis associatur / Innocencius hinc in sacra sede locatur'.<sup>4</sup>
- **29-32**] Scribe 12's four line addition.<sup>5</sup> Lines 29-30 should be compared with two similar notices elsewhere in Arnold's book: 'Vsque uir hic obiit fluxerunt mille ducenti / Et Quinquaginta post partum Virginis anni', and 'Septuaginta duo fuerant et mille ducenti / Quando uir hic obiit post partum Virginis anni'.<sup>6</sup> Lines 31-2 adapted from Maniacutius's 'Si pontifices prescriptos omnes numeretis / Centum cum nonaginta tunc inuenietis'.<sup>7</sup>
- 33] Scribe 2's only addition noting Robert Kilwardby's enthronement on 17 September 1273.
- **34-5**] Scribe 9 (disappointingly) did not continue the verse format in noting the archiepiscopates of John Pecham (*d.* 1292) and Robert Winchelsey (*d.* 1313) in one stint.

## S. XIVIN NOTICES ON WEIGHTS AND MEASURES fos. 55v-56r.

- **342-5.** Arnold left part of fo. 55v and all of fo. 56r blank, perhaps so that the verses on the archbishops of Canterbury could be continued?<sup>8</sup> Instead, scribes 4 and 9 entered these notices.
- **342-3**] A shilling of silver weighed three-fifths of an ounce.<sup>9</sup>
- **344**] A detailed memorandum on the number of Tower grains to be found in various standard units of measurement.<sup>10</sup> A pottle is a liquid measurement equivalent to half a gallon.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 67, lines 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 67, lines 77-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 67, line 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 67, lines 124-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Compare his other entries at around the same time, cc. 325, 1014-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 69, lines 66-7; c. 252.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 67, lines 132-3.

<sup>8</sup> c. 341.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Riley, *Chronicles*, 216, n. 10.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  A Tower pound of silver should yield 243 pennies with each penny being equivalent to 22.2 Troy grains (1.44g). 22.2 Troy grains is itself equivalent to 32 Tower grains, shown here at  $\alpha$ , Martin Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England*, (Cambridge, 2012), 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> β.

**345**] A very faded note on the 'St Paul's foot', also known as 'Algar's foot', carved into the base of a column in the old St Paul's Cathedral, and subsequently used as a measurement standard within the city.<sup>1</sup>

# LONDON'S WARDENS, CUSTODIANS AND MAYORS 1265-1308 fos. 56v-57v.<sup>2</sup>

**346-72.** A continuation of Arnold's mayoral list, 1189-1265, on fo. 63r.<sup>3</sup> Arnold composed and scribed this continuation in four stints up to Hervey's election in October 1271;<sup>4</sup> thereafter scribe 2 added three entries;<sup>5</sup> then, *c.* 1299-1300, scribe 4 began his continuation, which he maintained in several stints to 1308.<sup>6</sup>

London's mayors traditionally assumed office on the feast of St Simon and St Jude (28 October), after the reinstatement of the mayoralty in 1270 all the mayoral years in this section are dated from this feast.<sup>7</sup> During the years of royal guardianship (1265-70) the king appointed his warden on irregular dates of his choosing; Arnold used London's shrieval years, beginning each Michaelmas (29 September), as his template.<sup>8</sup>

**346**] Hugh son of Otto was installed as custodian of the Tower of London and royal seneschal of the city on 15 October 1265.<sup>9</sup> He was actually replaced on 28 November 1265 by John de la Linde and John Walerand.<sup>10</sup>

**347-8**] Gilbert de Clare entered London in April 1267.<sup>11</sup> Following Clare's withdrawal, Henry III appointed Alan de la Zouche as warden from 23 June 1267 to 2 April 1268.<sup>12</sup>

**349**] On 2 April 1268, Thomas de Eppegrave was appointed custodian of the city and Tower.<sup>13</sup> He was replaced between 20-26 July by Stephen of Edworth.<sup>14</sup>

**350**] Henry III committed custody of both city and Tower to his son, Edward, on 17 February 1269; Edward subsequently appointed Hugh son of Otto as his warden. <sup>15</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> D. Keene, 'From conquest to capital: St Paul's *c.* 1100-1300', in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint, eds. *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London* (London, 2004), 17-32 at 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'Nomina maiorum eiusdem ciuitatis per ordinem scripta', c.42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 514-568, esp. c. 568.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 50-1; cc. 346-353; Cf. **α-α**, c. 346 and **α-α**, c. 1053; **α-α**, c. 347 and **α-α**, c. 992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 353-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 357-72; *supra*, 161-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 351-72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> cc. 346-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *CPR*, 1258-66, 512. Cf. 6 December here and 8 December in c. 857.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> cc. 887-902.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> c. 895; *CPR*, 1266-72, 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> c. 961; *CPR*, 1266-72, 215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Arnold gave 26 July, the commission was enrolled 20 July, c. 966; CPR, 1266-72, 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> c. 979; *CFR*, 1268-9, nos. 169-172.

**351-2**] The citizens choice of the royalist Adrian following the reinstatement of London's mayoralty was a clever move.<sup>1</sup>

**353-5**] Hervey was first elected mayor in October 1271.<sup>2</sup>

**356**] Le Waleys was first elected mayor in October 1273.<sup>3</sup>

**357-72** Scribe 4's continuation from Gregory of Ruxley's first term as mayor (1274-81) to Nicholas of Farndon's first term (1308-9).4 Originally copied in one stint, there are frequent changes in both the ink and the appearance of the hand from c. 364 onward. There is, among the London records, some confusion regarding the exact chronology of Ralph of Sandwich and John le Breton's succession, which is not made any the clearer here.<sup>5</sup> The exchequer was at York in October 1303 so it is doubtful that John le Blund would have been presented there following his election that year (c. 367); indeed, elsewhere in the manuscript the same scribe wrote that this year he was presented at the Tower, as did the compiler of Letter-Book C.6 In October and November 1304 Edward I was in the north of England, so Blund was presented at the Tower, not to the king at Westminster as written in c. 368.7 The following entry, c. 369, is only half correct: Blund was presented to the king in October 1305, but not 1306 when the king was also far from London.<sup>8</sup> I have found no other reference to William of Combemartin's two day term of office in 1307 (c. 370), nor does he appear to have died in that year either.<sup>9</sup> However, c. 372 is an accurate note on Nicholas of Farndon's election as mayor in October 1308. All of which means that John le Blund's final election in 1307 has been entered twice in cc. 370-1: most likely the change in regnal years in 1307 confused the continuator. Also wrong is the date given in c. 371, this date was a Sunday; indeed *Letter* Book C is clear that John was presented on the Monday. 10

#### LONDON'S SHERIFFS 1188-1298 fos. 58r-60r.11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc.1012-3; appendix ii, 404.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 1056. appendix ii, 407-8; Stone, 'Hervey, Walter', *ODNB*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 1125; appendix ii, 412-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Appendix ii, 406, 411.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Anne Lancashire tackled this in Barron, *London*, 322, ns. 155, 162. The note here that John le Breton served (what must have been a brief term) as mayor before Ralph of Sandwich did is not commonly found.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 500; *LBC*, 174; Cf. *Ann. Lond.*, 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *LBC*, 176.

<sup>8</sup> LBC, 177-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> William continued to play an active part in London's politics after 1307, *LBC passim*. The only enrolled will of a William of Combemartin (which may of course be his son's) is dated 1318, *Wills*, 276. <sup>10</sup> *LBC*, 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> 'Nomina uicecomitum Londoniarum per ordinem scripta', c. 41.

**373-486.** Doubtless a list drawn up by Arnold as the chronicle had become too cumbersome for quick reference. Originally scribed in one stint by scribe 13 to the election of September 1271.<sup>1</sup> Continued by Arnold in his own hand.<sup>2</sup> Scribe 4's original continuation, from 1275-1298, was done in one stint.<sup>3</sup> Thereafter he copied in several stints as this grew into a fuller annalistic summary of the years 1299-1308.<sup>4</sup>

This list is similar to two records preserved in *Liber Custumarum*:<sup>5</sup> all three lists run from 1276, the year of the preceding eyre;<sup>6</sup> and here and in one list in *Liber Custumarum* one finds the unusual and unique note recording Nicholas of Farndon's election as alderman in 1292-3.<sup>7</sup> Scribe 13 'drifted' into using French.<sup>8</sup> Arnold added the numerals, '.xv.', '.xvj.' etc in cc. 463-472 before his death; presumably he was counting 'in French' here (*soixante-quinze, soixante-seize,* etc.), as such I have not expanded these numbers. The calendar years given next to the names of the sheriffs have been added by a variety of hands; to avoid cluttering up the apparatus I have not shown these as additions. Comparison of the list with the exchequer records confirms its accuracy.<sup>9</sup>

**431**] Adam of Bentley's name has been miscopied as Adam de Beuerlee. 10

**454**] 'Septimo' should read 'octauo'.<sup>11</sup>

**464**] Ralph the Smith died in office and was replaced by Stephen of Cornhill.<sup>12</sup>

**467**] Thomas Box was briefly removed from his office for an unknown trespass around Easter [21 April 1280], and reinstalled on 22/23 June 1280.<sup>13</sup>

**469**] The freeze noted in the margin was one of the worst in living memory. <sup>14</sup>

**470**] Walter the Fair's name is given as both Walter and Ralph in *Liber Custumarum*, and as Ralph on the memoranda rolls. Stephen of Cornhill was originally elected as sheriff but was removed at the behest of the king and queen and Anketin installed in his place. <sup>16</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 460; *supra*; 51-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 461-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 463-486.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 487-513.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The sheriffs presented to the 1321 eyre justices is *Cust.*, ii, 291-4. Cf. 'Nomina Majorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum ab anno Regis Edwardi, filii Regis Henrici, quarto; quo anno fuit ultimum Iter Justiciariorum apud Turrim Londoniarum', *Cust.*, ii, 239-246.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The continuator missed the sheriffs for 1274-5, Luke de Battencourt and Henry of Frowick, *Eyre*, 1276, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Marginal ins. **a**, c. 480; *Cust.*, ii, 293.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> cc. 377, 388, 392, 404 and *passim*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Sheriffs, 200-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> c. 663.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> α.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ann. Lond., 87; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ann. Lond., 89; LBA, 196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Flores, iii, 55-6; Ann. Lond., 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Cust., ii, 240, 292; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> *Ann. Lond.*, 91; Stephen's name is also given in *LBA*, 197.

**471**] Jordan Godcheap was deprived of his office and sent to the Tower for his part in the shocking events surrounding the murder of Lawrence Duket.<sup>1</sup>

**473-80**] Edward deprived London of its liberties in June 1285. Walter the Fair and John Wade were chosen *in lieu* of sheriffs by the barons of the exchequer and the treasurer, John Kirkby.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent sheriffs were similarly appointed until Thomas Romeyn and William Leyre's election in 1290.<sup>3</sup>

482] Richard of Gloucester's name is given as Richard and Peter in Liber Custumarum.4

**486**] Richard the Mercer is more commonly known as Richer Refham.<sup>5</sup>

# BRIEF NOTICES 1299-1308 fos. 60v-62v

**487-513.** Scribe 4's continuation of the list of London's sheriffs (above) grew into an annalistic summary. With fo. 60v having been filled, fos. 61-2 were inserted to continue these memoranda.<sup>6</sup> Frequent changes in both the appearance of the hand and of the ink suggests that these additions were being made continuously throughout 1299-1308.

**487**] This earthquake was reported elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

**488-9**] The note here that Margaret of France, daughter of King Philip III of France (*d*. 1285) and half-sister of the reigning monarch Philip IV, was twenty years old at the time of her marriage is, I believe, unique.<sup>8</sup> Her subsequent splendid reception into London was not widely noted.

490] Henry de Fyngrie and John d'Armentiers were elected sheriff at Michaelmas 1299.9

**491**] Edward I's brother, Edmund (Crouchback), first earl of Lancaster died on 5 June 1296 at Bayonne. The return of his body back to England, and his funeral were delayed by his final request that his bones were not to be buried until his debts were cleared. 10

**492**] An accurate note on Edward I's proclamations of 1299 and 1300 against inferior coins called crockards and pollards, which, of course, was of particular interest to London writers.<sup>11</sup>

493] Luke of Havering and Richard Champs were sheriffs 1300-01.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ann. Lond., 92-3; Croniques, 18-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ann. Lond., 94-5; LBA, 197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ann. Lond., 95-102; LBA, 197-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cust., ii, 242, 293.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Appendix ii, 411.

<sup>6</sup> cc. 493-513; supra, 162-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Croniques, 26; Flores, iii, 297.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gervase, ii, 317; Flores, iii, 105, 299; Croniques, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cust., ii, 243, 293; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Prestwich, Edward I, 385.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 531-2; *EHD*, 867-9; *Cust*, ii, 187-92; *Croniques*, 27.

494] Robert the Caulmaker and Peter de Bosenho were sheriffs from 1301-2.2

**495**] John le Blund's first term of seven as mayor.<sup>3</sup> The right to present the mayor to the constable of the Tower, should the king and the barons of the exchequer not be in London, had been conceded to the Londoners on 28 May 1298.<sup>4</sup>

**496**] The justices refused to let Elias and the other defendants in this case clear themselves by oaths, as was the custom of London, because blood had been spilt. John the Shoemaker died on Friday 25 May and was buried at St Paul's on Wednesday 30 May.<sup>5</sup>

**497-503**] This succession of city officers is correct.<sup>6</sup> The Trailbaston Inquiry was first instituted on 23 November 1304.<sup>7</sup> The London Trailbaston trials of 1305-6 have been calendared in English translation.<sup>8</sup>

504] Horn provided the fullest account of William Wallace's trial, such as it was, and execution. No wonder London writers took particular note: Wallace was tried by John Seagrave, Peter Malore, John Bankwell (alderman of London and former common clerk), Ralph Sandwich (former royal warden of London), and John le Blund (the incumbent mayor); he spent the night before his trial lodged in the house of the London alderman William Leyre; and his ghastly end at Smithfield must have awed a city which had become used to grisly executions. Not all of Wallace's quartered body did go to Scotland (as one reads here and in the *Flores*, the author of which also agreed that Wallace's end was terrible, although deserved); his right arm was fixed above the bridge at Newcastle. 11

**505**] One is (perhaps?) surprised that Robert Bruce's outrageous murder of John Comyn in a church in Dumfries on 10 February 1306 is not reported here; his coronation was reported in similar language by two other contemporary writers.<sup>12</sup>

**506**] Following Bruce's coronation, Edward was in no mood to offer mercy to any captured 'rebels'. Simon Fraser was taken in August 1306 at Stirling and brought to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cust., ii, 243, 293; Sheriffs, 201.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Cust., ii, 243, 293; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Appendix ii, 404.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> LMA COL/CH/01/023/A; Historical Charters, 43-4; CChR, 1257-1300, 477-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ann. Lond., 127-8; CPR, 1301-7, 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cust., ii, 243-4, 293; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *EHD*, 519-22; *Ann. Lond.*, 134-7; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 285-8. For the Trailbaston commissions, C. Burt, "The peace less kept"? The origins, revelations and impact of Edward I's "Trailbaston" commissions of 1305-7', in *TCE*, xii, 123-37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Calendar of London Trailbaston Trials under Commissions of 1305 and 1306, ed. R.B. Pugh (London, 1975).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ann. Lond., 139-42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> CPR, 1301-7, 403; Croniques, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Flores, iii, 123-4.

<sup>12 &#</sup>x27;Fecit se ... coronari' and 'fecit se coronari', Flores, iii, 129; Ann. Lond., 144.

London, where, on 7 September 1306, he was dragged through the streets, hanged, taken down while alive and beheaded, before his heart and entrails were then burnt. His head was then stuck on a pole next to that of Wallace and his body hung back up, before it was burnt along with the gallows on which he had hanged on 27 September.<sup>1</sup>

**507**] Among the three hundred or so men knighted at this lavish ceremony was London's mayor, John le Blund.<sup>2</sup>

**508**] Geoffrey de Conduit and Simon Bolet were London's sheriffs 1306-7.3

**509**] Two months after Fraser's grisly execution (c. 506), John of Strathbogie, ninth earl of Atholl, was put to death in a similarly hideous manner.<sup>4</sup>

**510**] Edward died at Burgh-by-Sands.<sup>5</sup> There is no attempt at an obituary here, but the report of the procession of Edward's corpse, particularly through London, is detailed.<sup>6</sup>

**511**] Nicholas Picot and Nigel Drury were sheriffs 1307-8.<sup>7</sup>

**512**] Henry, bishop of Winchester, crowned Edward and Isabella; two other London writers noted that the Londoners fulfilled the office of butlery at the coronation.<sup>8</sup> These two London writers, along with a third, all add something not mentioned here, that Bankwell, former common clerk and alderman of London, was crushed to death at the ceremony when a wall fell on him.<sup>9</sup> 'Sire Iarles le duk de Brebaunt' here is wrong, his name was John (II).<sup>10</sup>

**513**] The first marriage is that between Gilbert de Clare, eighth earl of Gloucester, and Maud/Matilda, daughter of Richard de Burgh, second earl of Ulster; the second that between John de Burgh, Maud/Matilda's brother, and Elizabeth de Clare, youngest sister to Gilbert. This is continued in c. 259.

# LONDON'S MAYORS 1189-1265 fo. 63r.11

**514-568.** Arnold must have composed this list between October 1264 and July 1270, when London's mayoralty was in royal hands.<sup>12</sup> He copied it in one stint, apart from the note in c. 568, which directs the reader to its continuation in cc. 346-72. This list (just

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ann. Lond., 148; Flores, iii, 133-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gervase, ii, 321; Ann. Lond., 146; Flores, iii, 131-2; Croniques, 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cust., ii, 244, 293; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Flores, iii, 134-5; Ann. Lond., 149-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Prestwich, Edward I, 557.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. Flores, iii, 330.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cust., ii, 244, 294; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Flores, iii, 141-2; Gervase, 321-2; Ann. Paul., 258-62; Ann. Lond., 152-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid.; Croniques, 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> α-α.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> 'Nomina maiorum eiusdem ciuitatis per ordinem scripta', c.42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 'Iste fuit *ultimus* maior Londoniarum', c. 567; *supra*; 50.

like the list of sheriffs cc. 373-486) was almost certainly compiled from the chronicle in order to provide a quick reference guide.<sup>1</sup>

It is generally accurate; however, Arnold was wrong, in c. 519, to ascribe Serlo the Mercer's second installation as mayor to 1216, this rightly belongs in 1217.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, Arnold mistakenly gave Richard Renger's first installation in 1221 not 1222 (c. 524); Roger le Duc's in 1226 not 1227 (c. 529); and Andrew Bukerel's in 1230 not 1231 (c. 533): after Andrew's death in 1237 it runs correctly.<sup>3</sup>

After fos. 61-2 were inserted into the manuscript in the early fourteenth century, Arnold's note in c. 568 that the continuation to this list, on fos. 56v-57r, is found five and four folios preceding this list, was rendered incorrect.<sup>4</sup>

## THE CHRONICLE OF THE MAYORS AND SHERIFFS OF LONDON fos. 63v-144v.5

**569-1168.** The chronicle covering the years 1188-1274.

**569.** Henry of Cornhill and Richard son of Reiner were sheriffs for the year 1188-9, although, they were clearly not London's first sheriffs.<sup>6</sup>

**570.** Henry fitz Ailwin was undoubtedly the first mayor of London and the only man to have ever served a life-term; however, his first identifiable appearance as mayor can be dated to no earlier than 1194.<sup>7</sup>

 $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] Material shared with a set of lost London annals.<sup>8</sup>

**571-3.** The shrieval succession here is accurately recorded.<sup>9</sup> There is no mention here of the events of 8 October 1191 when a commune was supposedly granted to the Londoners.<sup>10</sup> One cannot draw too firm a conclusion *ex silentio*, but from Arnold's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. cc. 514 and 570; 518 and 613; 548 and 665; 560 and 707.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c 615

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. the error in c. 637, 'hoc anno factus est maior Andreas Bukerel in festo Symonis et Iude et durauit per septem annos' (Andrew was mayor for six years from 1231-7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 346, 351-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'Cronica maiorum et uicecomitum Londoniarum et quedam que contingebant temporibus illorum', c 43. <sup>6</sup> *Sheriffs*, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> J.H. Round, 'The first mayor of London', *The Academy*, 1887 (pt. 2), 320; J.H. Round, *The Commune of London and Other Studies* (London, 1889), 225; Williams, *London*, 4-5; Reynolds, 'Rulers', 349; D. Keene, 'Henry fitz Ailwyn (*d.* 1212)', *ODNB*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. c. 189; Ann. Southwark, fo. 136r; Ann. Merton, fo. 167ra; Ann. Berm., 447; Flores, ii, 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> It was, however, evidently a confused time in London's administration, in 1190 John (son of?) Herlisun, Roger le Duc and William of Haverhill together accounted for the farm 'as custodians', *Pipe Roll 2 Richard I*, 156; *Sheriffs*, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *Diceto,* ii, 99-100; Howden, *Chron.*, iii, 139-41.

silence we may perhaps infer that the events of 1191 saw the *post factum* recognition of an existing commune.<sup>1</sup>

**574.** Richard was actually taken prisoner in December 1192. The word 'marcas' has been supplied over an erasure, perhaps reflecting contemporary confusion over the total amount of Richard's ransom.<sup>2</sup>

**575.** Roger le Duc and Roger son of Alan were elected sheriffs in September 1192.<sup>3</sup>

**576.** Richard was actually released on 4 February 1194; other writers noted the splendour of his reception into London.<sup>4</sup> Material shared with the lost London annals.<sup>5</sup>

**577-8.** These were London's sheriffs elected in 1193 and 1194.6

**579.** Behind this rather jejune entry, which gives the correct day for the hanging of William fitz Osbert (6 April) but the wrong year (*recte* 1196), is a shocking story involving murder and a breach of sanctuary.<sup>7</sup>

**580-3.** An accurate account of the shrieval succession.<sup>8</sup>

**584.** Material shared with a set of lost London annals, most witnesses of which give 7 April, wrongly, as the date of Richard's death (*recte* 6 April).<sup>9</sup> John was crowned by Hubert Walter on 27 May at Westminster.<sup>10</sup>

**585-6.** These men were London's sheriffs in these years.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> John Horace Round believed that this was a watershed moment in London's history and that the commune was granted to the city 'as the price of her support` for John's cause, Round, *Commune of London*, 224. Since challenged in *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls* 1364-81, xiii-xiv; Reynolds, 'Rulers', 347-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gillingham, *Richard I*, 234-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Diceto, ii, 112, 114 (who dated Richard's landing to 20 March); Coggeshall, 62-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. c. 192; Ann. Merton, fo. 168ra; Ann. Southwark, fo. 136vb; Ann. Berm., 448.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sheriffs, 200

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 194; *Ann. Merton,* fo. 168rb; *Ann. Southwark,* fo. 137ra; Howden, *Chron.,* iv, 5-6; *Newburgh,* ii, 466-73; D. Keene, 'William fitz Osbert (*d.* 1196)', *ODNB.* 

<sup>8</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> c. 197; Ann. Merton, fo. 168vb; Ann. Southwark, fos. 137r-v; Ann. Berm., 449; Cf. Coggeshall, 96; Cf. Diceto, ii, 166; Howden, Chron., iv, 82, 84; Gervase, i, 593; Ann. Wav., 251.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$ c. 198;  $\it Diceto, ii, 166; Howden, \it Chron., iv, 90; \it Gervase, ii, 92; \it Coggeshall, 99-100.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

**587.** The Latin here is not as clear as it could be, is this in fact a committee of twenty-six? Historians have, at times, read a great deal into this enigmatic single-sentence entry made over fifty years after the events it describes.<sup>1</sup>

**588-591.** An accurate record of the succession of sheriffs.<sup>2</sup>

**592.** Presumably an eyre visitation. I have found no other reference to these pleas.

**593-5.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed by the exchequer records.<sup>3</sup>

**596.** Material shared with a set of lost London annals.<sup>4</sup>

**597.** Thomas son of Nigel (also called 'Thomas the Alderman') and Peter le Duc were London's sheriffs 1208-9.<sup>5</sup>

**598.** This 'momentous national episode' of September 1209 has been fully analysed by John Maddicott.<sup>6</sup> Of the other witnesses of the lost London annals, only the Merton annalist also recorded this event.<sup>7</sup>

**599-600.** These were London's sheriffs 1209-10.8

**601.** To the best of my knowledge this burning of a 'certain Albigensian' was not recorded by any other contemporary writer.

**602.** Joce son of Peter and John Garland were London's sheriffs 1211-2.9

**603.** This fire almost certainly began on the night of 11/12 July 1212, and several writers, some even quite far distant from London note how catastrophic a conflagration it was.<sup>10</sup> Into *Liber Custumarum* were copied a series of building regulations which were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R. Sharpe, London and the Kingdom, i, (London, 1894), 72; Round, Commune of London, 237-41; Reynolds, 'Rulers', 350; N. Vincent, Magna Carta: A Very Short Introduction, (Oxford, 2012), 66-69; N. Vincent, 'The twenty-five barons of Magna Carta: an Augustinian echo?', in P. Dalton and D. Luscombe eds., Rulership and Rebellion in the Anglo-Norman World, c. 1066-c. 1216: Essays in Honour of Professor Edmund King (Farnham, 2015), 231-51; Cf. Carpenter, Magna Carta, 328-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Sheriffs,* 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ann. Merton, fo. 170rb, 171vb; Ann. Southwark, fo. 138va, 139vb; cc. 203, 210.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> J.R. Maddicott, 'The Oath of Marlborough, 1209: fear, government and popular allegiance in the reign of King John', *EHR*, cxxvi, No. 519, (Apr., 2011), 281-318.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ann. Merton, fo. 170va.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ann. Merton, fo. 171ra; Flores, ii, 141-2; Crowland, 205-6; Ann. Wav., 268; Ann. Wig., 400; Ann. Tewk., 60.

promulgated in response to this fire 'on Monday [recte Tuesday] 24 July 1212, at the Guildhall, by Henry fitz Ailwin, then mayor, and the other barons of the same city'. It is odd that the two accounts of this fire produced at Southwark and Bermondsey, the two sites geographically closest to the site of the most damage, both give the wrong year. 2

**604.** This is a correct record of this year's sheriffs.<sup>3</sup>

**605.** Henry fitz Ailwin died on 19 September 1212.<sup>4</sup>

**606.** The exchequer records confirm the names of these sheriffs.<sup>5</sup>

607. Geoffrey fitz Peter, justiciar of England and earl of Essex, died on 2 October 1213.6

**608.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed by the pipe rolls.<sup>7</sup>

**609.** The barons actually entered London on the morning of Sunday 17 May when the majority of citizens were in church.<sup>8</sup> Notwithstanding the use of 'effectus' as opposed to 'electus' here, to my mind this entry does not mean that Serlo's elevation to the mayoralty resulted from the baronial seizure of the city.<sup>9</sup> There is no attempt to link the two halves of this entry with a phrase such as 'hac de causa'; Serlo's installation is recorded *before* London's fall; and in no other contemporary source is there any reference to a disorderly mayoral succession.<sup>10</sup> In fact, Serlo may well have taken the royalist side, as following the royalist victory in the civil war, he became mayor again in 1217.<sup>11</sup>

**610.** These were London's sheriffs 1215-6.<sup>12</sup>

**611.** Not mentioned here, surprisingly, is Louis's arrival into London on 2 June, where he was received at St Paul's, took possession of the Tower and accepted the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cust., ii. 86-88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 1207 Ann. Berm., 451; 9 and 11 July 1213, Ann. Southwark, fo. 139rb; Brett, 'Annals', 306.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This year's pipe roll is lost, for these sheriffs, Reynolds, 'Rulers', 356.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *RLC*, i, 124; *Ann. Merton*, fo. 171ra; *Ann. Southwark*, fo. 139rb (wrongly given under 1213).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Sheriffs,* 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> F. J. West, 'Geoffrey fitz Peter, fourth earl of Essex (*d.* 1213)', *ODNB.* Cf. 14/15 October 1213, *Ann. Merton,* fo. 171v; *Ann. Southwark,* 139vb; *Flores,* ii, 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *Gervase,* ii, 109; *Coggeshall,* 171; *Ann. Dun.,* 43; *Flores,* ii, 154. Although, see 24 May, *CM,* ii, 587; and the shared error of 16 June, c. 213; *Ann. Southwark,* fo. 140rb; *Ann. Merton,* fo. 172rb; *Ann. Wav.,* 282.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Holt, *Magna Carta*, 241, citing this entry and *Ann. Lond.*, 17. But Horn probably followed Arnold here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> James the Alderman's irregular term as mayor *is* noted, c. 613.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> c. 615.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Sheriffs, 199.

homage/fealty of the rebel barons and citizens.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, London's mayor, William Hardel, was the second man (after Robert fitz Walter) to offer Louis homage.<sup>2</sup>

**612.** Benedict and William were chosen as London's sheriffs in 1216.<sup>3</sup>

**613.** James the Alderman was removed from the mayoralty the day after the royalist victory at the battle of Lincoln, presumably not coincidentally.<sup>4</sup> John died at Newark castle on the night of 18/19 October 1216. Henry III was crowned at Gloucester on 28 October 1216.

**614.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed by the exchequer records.<sup>5</sup>

**615.** The peace of Kingston/Lambeth was agreed on 12 September 1217 and ratified on 20 September: Louis left for France shortly afterwards.<sup>6</sup> There is some evidence to suggest that as late as June 1218 Solomon of Basing was still mayor of London.<sup>7</sup>

**616-17.** These were London's sheriffs 1218-20.8

**618.** Three accurate annalistic notices.<sup>9</sup>

**619.** Richard Renger and Joce son of William were London's sheriffs 1220-1.<sup>10</sup>

**620.** The first visitation of the general eyre under Henry III had been ordered on 4 November 1218.<sup>11</sup> The London sessions were twice postponed.<sup>12</sup> These pleas eventually got under way, with Hubert de Burgh presiding, on 14 January 1221.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For Louis's invasion, progress throughout England and the siege of Dover, c. 216; *Ann. Southwark,* fo. 140v-141r; *CM,* ii, 653-4, 664; *Coggeshall,* 181-2; *Crowland,* 229-30; *Ann. Dun.,* 46-8; *Gervase,* ii, 110; *Ann. Wav.,* 285.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Ann. Merton,* fo. 172vb; *supra*, 90, n. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sheriffs, 199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> One assumes that he succeeded William Hardel as mayor at Easter [26 March 1217], although it is not immediately clear why Hardel was replaced/removed at Easter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Sheriffs,* 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For a summary of the terms of the peace, Carpenter, *Minority*, 44-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> CFR, 1217-18, no. 110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For Henry's second coronation, Carpenter, *Minority*, 187-191. Cf. 'Hubertus de Burgo factus est justitiarius totius Anglie' *Ann. Wav.*, 291; *Ann. Berm.*, 454. For Becket's translation, *Crowland*, 245-6; R. Eales, 'The political setting of the Becket translation of 1220', in D. Wood, ed. *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, Studies in Church History 30 (Oxford, 1993), 127-39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Carpenter, *Minority*, 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Crook, *Records*, 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *RLC*, i, 474; Crook, *Records*, 76.

Articles of this eyre (whether a complete list or not is unclear) are preserved in London's *Liber Albus*.<sup>1</sup>

**621.** Richard Renger and Thomas Lambert served as sheriffs 1221-2.<sup>2</sup>

**622.** Constantine son of Athulf was hanged, along with his nephew (Constantine?) and Geoffrey, after declaring his support for Louis of France following a riot in London.<sup>3</sup> Scribe 4's marginal addition that because of this hanging Louis seized Poitou (wrongly given as 'Normandy' by both Arnold and this scribe) reflect a widely held belief in London.<sup>4</sup> Walter Bukerel was expelled from London for his part in this rioting, his return to the city would lead to further trouble in two decades time.<sup>5</sup>

**623-8.** This succession of municipal officers is confirmed elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

**629.** These pleas were held from 9 March to *c.* 23 April 1226 at the Tower with Martin of Pattishall as chief justice.<sup>7</sup> Articles of this eyre, too, are preserved in London's *Liber Albus*;<sup>8</sup> accounts of the proceedings have also survived.<sup>9</sup> Hubert de Burgh was granted nearly all of Herlisun's property, before it was later divided among several other beneficiaries, including the House of Jewish Converts on Chancery Lane.<sup>10</sup>

**630-33.** An accurate record of London's sheriffs and mayors 1227-30.<sup>11</sup>

**634.** Implied here is that the consecutive terms served by the sheriffs in 1225-7 and 1227-9 had led to some disquiet.<sup>12</sup> A subsequent attempt in September 1245 to have Nicholas Bat elected for a consecutive term as sheriff, contrary to this agreement, led to a quarrel among the aldermen and 'magnates' of London.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Albus, 62-71. Cf. TNA KB 27/199, m. 90d, schedule; M. Weinbaum, *Verfassungsgeschichte Londons*, 1066-1268 (Stuttgart, 1929), 73-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 231-2; CM, iii, 71-3; Flores, ii, 176; Ann. Dun., 78-9; Ann. Wav., 297; supra, 107-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 231-2; *CM*, iii, 77-8, iv, 205-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ann. Lond., 24; cc. 660, 662.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sheriffs, 200; Eyre, 1244, 2-4,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The London sessions preceded the general eyre, Crook, *Records*, 78-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Albus, 62-71,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> TNA E 372/70, rot. 13d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> CR, 1227-31, 21; CR, 1234-37, 78; Eyre, 1244, 90; CChR, 1226-57, 290, 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Sheriffs, 200; Eyre, 1244, 2-4 (although at the London eyre of 1244 the citizens answered that Roger was first made mayor in 1228).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> cc. 627-8, 630, 632.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> **δ-δ**, c. 662, cc. 664-5.

**635-8.** This succession of city officers is largely confirmed elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> However, Bukerel was mayor for *six* years (not seven, c. 637) from 28 October 1231 until his death on 20 October 1237.<sup>2</sup>

**639.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] Contemporary chroniclers took great interest in Hubert's fall from power; this report agrees in its essentials with these other accounts.<sup>3</sup> David Carpenter's analysis of these events remains the best modern study.<sup>4</sup> Paris wrote that the Londoners rejoiced at the chance to settle a score with Hubert for his part in the hanging of Constantine son of Athulf.<sup>5</sup> Although Arnold was angry at Constantine's fate, he does not seem to 'rejoice' here.<sup>6</sup>

**β-β**] Probably not the 'Midsummer Watch' referred to in an early thirteenth-century London manuscript – that watch was summoned in June.<sup>7</sup> This August parading of what looks like the city militia at Cheapside and Mile End is of altogether grander proportions; rather it appears closer to a fourteenth-century description of 'the services and liberties of Robert fitz Walter in London'.<sup>8</sup>

**640.** The exchequer records confirm the names of these sheriffs.<sup>9</sup>

**641.** Simon son of Mary was alderman of Walbrook ward and is most famous as the founder of St Mary of Bethlehem, a religious house which would become the infamous Bedlam hospital.<sup>10</sup> If the references to him misbehaving and sowing discord among the city's leaders in Arnold's book are to be believed, he was also a controversial figure in London affairs.<sup>11</sup> Arnold's chronicle, however, offers the sole narrative source for Simon's life and career and it must be used with caution. At the Michaelmas 1234 exchequer sessions, Simon accounted for the farm of London alongside Roger Blund.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sheriffs, 200; Eyre, 1244, 2-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 648; 'Bukerel, Andrew', *ODNB*. It is generally accepted that Andrew was first elected mayor in 1231, Barron, *London*, 314. But see 1230 (and his death in 1236), *Ann. Lond.*, 29, 33; and 1232, *Eyre*, 1244, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CM, iii, 220-234, 249-50; Flores, ii, 176, 203-6, 211-12; Ann. Dun., 129-30, 137-8; Ann. Tewk., 86-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> D.A. Carpenter, 'The fall of Hubert de Burgh', in Carpenter, *Reign*, 45-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *CM*, iii, 224-26; Cf. cc. 231-2, 622.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Supra, 107-110.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Bateson, *Collection*, 502, 726-8. For the Midsummer Watch, S. Lindenbaum, 'Ceremony and oligarchy: the London midsummer watch' in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, 171-88.

<sup>8</sup> Cust., ii, 147-149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> McEwan, 'Aldermen', 191. For a useful summary of Simon's career, J.A. McEwan, 'The development of an identity in thirteenth-century London: the personal seals of Simon FitzMary', in M. Gil and J. Chassel, eds., *Pourquoi les Sceaux? La Sigillographie, Nouvel Enjeu De L'histoire De L'art* (Lille, 2011), 255-274.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> c. 652; **δ-δ**, c. 662; **\gamma-\gamma**, c. 671; *Eyre*, 1244, 76-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> TNA E 372/78 rot. 7.

**642-3.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

**644.** Eleanor of Provence married Henry III of England on 14 January 1236 at

Canterbury; she was crowned at Westminster on 20 January.<sup>2</sup>

**645.** These sheriffs' names are confirmed by the exchequer records.<sup>3</sup>

**646.** Arnold often recorded the destruction of illegal fishing nets.<sup>4</sup> Two later custumals

of London provide a fuller account of this episode, from which we learn that Jordan of

Coventry seized thirty nets, on 10 January 1237, along with twenty-eight master

mariners from Kent and London, who were imprisoned in Newgate Gaol for nine days

before being released.<sup>5</sup> On Saturday 8 February 1237 the king ruled in the Londoners'

favour, and the amercements were indeed granted to the Londoners.

**647.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

**648.** Bukerel died on 20 October 1237 and was succeeded by Richard Renger.<sup>7</sup>

**649-51.** An accurate record of the succession of municipal officers.<sup>8</sup>

652. The chronicle's first clash, of many, between king and citizens over municipal

liberties. It is uniquely recorded here and almost impossible to corroborate: Simon's

letters, if they ever existed, were not enrolled on the fine rolls, and the close and patent

rolls for the twenty-third year of Henry reign (1238-1239) are lost.9

**Marginal ins. b**] Technically wrong: Edward was born on the night of 17 June 1239 at

Westminster, during the shrieval year 1238-9, not 1239-40. The births of both Edward

and Edmund to Henry III and Eleanor were noted only in the margins of the text.<sup>10</sup>

**653.** Michael Tovy the elder and John de Gisors were sheriffs in September 1240.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ann. Dun., 144; Ann. Tewk., 99; Ann. Wav., 316; CM, iii, 336-9; Flores, ii, 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Cust.*, ii, 39-42; *Albus*, 500-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Where Gervase was called 'Gervase the Cordwainer', Sheriffs, 200; Eyre, 1244, 3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ann. Merton, fo. 178ra; Ann. Southwark, fo. 146ra; Eyre, 1244, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Sheriffs, 200; Eyre, 1244, 2-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> At the 1244 eyre the citizens answered simply that Gerald Bat was mayor for this year, *Eyre*, 1244, 2.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  CM, iii, 539-40; iv, 9; Flores, ii, 231, 236; marginal ins.  $\boldsymbol{b},$  c. 662; supra, 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

**654.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] Work to rebuild St Paul's Cathedral had begun following a fire of 1087 that destroyed much of London. The new cathedral was dedicated on 1 October 1240 by the bishop of London, Roger Niger.<sup>1</sup>

**β-β**] Henry was at Woodstock from 29 October to 6 November, and on 5 December 1240 the king wrote to the Londoners assuring them that his actions against Gerald Bat would not form a precedent contrary to their liberties.<sup>2</sup> Paris's account, although confused, confirms some of the detail found here.<sup>3</sup> At the 1244 eyre the citizens confirmed that Reginald of Bungay was mayor for this year.<sup>4</sup>

**655.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed by the exchequer records.<sup>5</sup>

**656.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] Bishop Niger had died by 2 October 1241. The solar eclipse took place over a two or three hour period on the morning of 6 October.<sup>6</sup>

**β-β**] Ralph Eswy was elected mayor this year.<sup>7</sup>

 $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] Richard had departed (unnoticed by Arnold) on crusade in June 1240. He returned from an indifferently successful venture in January 1242 and was well received in London.<sup>8</sup>

**δ-δ**] Henry's leave-taking of the Londoners preceded his departure for Portsmouth on 21 April.<sup>9</sup> Henry subsequently sailed for France in early May.<sup>10</sup>

 $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ ] This entry finishes imperfectly. There is a great deal more about William Marsh, and his ghastly end, in other contemporary chronicle and record sources.<sup>11</sup>

**657.** The exchequer records confirm the names of these sheriffs.<sup>12</sup>

**658.** During Henry's absence (May 1242 to September 1243) Walter de Gray, archbishop of York, was regent.<sup>1</sup> The election of Ralph Eswy, the mercer (as opposed to the sheriff, Ralph Eswy the goldsmith) was again confirmed at the London eyre of 1244.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CM, iv. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> CR, 1237-42, 246-8, 254.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CM, iv, 93-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Eyre, 1244, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> CM iv, 169-70; Ann. Tewk., 120; Ann. Wig., 433.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Eyre, 1244, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> CM, iv, 180; Ann. Merton, fo. 179vb; Ann. Wav., 329.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *CM,* iv, 190-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 5-15 May, CM, iv, 190-1; Ann. Dun., 158; Ann. Tewk., 122; Ann. Wint., 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> CR, 1237-42, 445; CPR, 1232-47, 300; CM, iii, 497-8; iv, 193-7; Ann. Dun., 159; Ann. Merton, fo. 179v-180r; Ann. Wav., 330; Ann. Lond., 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

- **659.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>
- **660.** The 1244 London eyre was originally commissioned on 28 December 1243 to begin on 27 January. It was subsequently postponed, and probably got under way on 17 April with William of York, Jeremy of Caxton and Henry of Bath presiding.<sup>4</sup> Three later London writers had some of the proceedings entered into their custumals of the city.<sup>5</sup> A record of the pleas survives, and was printed by the London Record Society;<sup>6</sup> its records confirm that this Ralph Eswy was mayor of London this year.
- $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ | Very similar language to that in the court record.<sup>7</sup>
- $\beta$ - $\beta$ ] At least two cases at this eyer were settled by compurgation on the oaths of forty-two men.<sup>8</sup>
- $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] Perhaps this William should be identified with William Bertone, who was accused, but acquitted of beating Isabel, wife of Serlo, so badly that she miscarried?<sup>9</sup>
- **δ-δ**] Walter Bukerel it is hard to explain the misspelling of his name here, perhaps the scribe read *bureller* (a maker of coarse woollen cloth) had been implicated in rioting in London in 1222 and forced to abjure the realm.<sup>10</sup> Paris wrote that the king punished the Londoners here for 'a trifling cause and fiction'.<sup>11</sup> After many adventures, including an escape from prison, Walter eventually abjured the realm in 1249.<sup>12</sup>
- $\varepsilon$ - $\varepsilon$ ] Under the Treaty of Newcastle's terms, arranged on 14 August 1244, King Alexander II of Scotland betrothed his son, Alexander, to Henry's daughter, Margaret.<sup>13</sup>
- **661.** Nicholas Bat and Ralph the Spicer were sheriffs this year. 14
- **662.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$  The manner in which his fine was paid has been analysed elsewhere. <sup>15</sup>
- $\beta$ - $\beta$ ] Fulk had been elected as bishop of London in December 1241. His consecration was delayed by the archbishopric of Canterbury being vacant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Henry landed in late-September, CM, iv, 255; Ann. Dun., 162; Ann. Wint., 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Evre. 1244. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sheriffs, 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> CR, 1242-7, 234; CPR, 1232-47, 442; Eyre, 1244, ix, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Liber Horn, Liber Ordinationum, Liber Albus, Eyre, 1244, xi-xvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> LMA CLA/040/01/001; Eyre, 1244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *Supra*, 92, n. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Eyre, 1244, 60, 70-71; Albus, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Eyre, 1244, 62-3; Albus, 103-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *Supra*, 107-10, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *CM*, iv, 395-6; Cf. *Eyre*, 1244, 90-1, 121-2; **α-α**, c. 662.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> CR, 1247-51, 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> For their marriage on 26 December 1251,  $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ , c. 677.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> *Eyre,* 1244, xxvii-xxviii; for the fine,  $\delta$ - $\delta$ , c. 660.

γ-γ] A terse note on Henry's unsuccessful Welsh campaign of August to October 1245.<sup>1</sup>

 $\delta$ -δ] The Londoners had agreed in 1229 that no one should be permitted to serve as sheriff for two consecutive years.<sup>2</sup> For the fallout from this disputed election, cc. 663-5.

**Marginal ins. a**] Once more the birth of a royal son, Edmund on 16 January 1245, is surprisingly not noted within the main text.<sup>3</sup>

**663-5.** This detailed account of the comings and goings of London's municipal officers agrees with Henry's itinerary, and other record sources which confirm that Robert of Cornhill and Adam of Bentley accounted for the farm of London in September 1246, and that John de Gisors was mayor of London this year.<sup>4</sup> It is not immediately clear why Henry would have been reluctant to admit Tovy in Richard's absence.

**666.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed by the exchequer records.<sup>5</sup>

**667.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] On 13 October 1246 the Londoners agreed to hold Queenhithe and all its liberties and revenues in return for an annual payment to Richard of Cornwall of £50.6 There is no mention of the 60s payment to the Hospital of St Giles in this agreement, but on 26 February 1247 the king ratified the agreement between the Londoners and his brother and it is likely that in return for this *inspeximus* the Londoners took on Henry's payment of 60s to the hospital for 'appointed alms'.<sup>7</sup>

**β-β**] This earthquake was felt across Britain and Ireland.<sup>8</sup>

 $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] John de Warenne, sixth earl of Surrey, was married to the king's uterine sister, Alice, on 13 August 1247.<sup>9</sup>

**δ-δ**] London legatory custom dictated that, on his death, a freeman would usually leave one third of his estate – land and chattels – to his widow as dower, one third to his children and one third for pious bequests; if he had either no children or a widow surviving him, then one half would be given for pious uses, and one half would go to the surviving estate.<sup>10</sup> The consequences of this case are set out in cc. 669, 671.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CPR, 1232-47, 456; CM, iv, 385-6, 407-9, 423; Ann. Dun., 168; Wykes, 92-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 634.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Marginal ins. **d**, c. 652; *CM*, iv, 406; *Wykes*, 92; *supra*, 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> CPR, 1232-47, 465-69; TNA E 372/90 rot. 7; Cust., ii, 46-7, 320; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> LMA COL/CH/01/015; *Cust.*, ii, 46-7, 320; *Albus*, 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> LMA COL/CH/01/016; *Cust.*, ii, 47, 320; *CPR*, 1232-47, 469. Cf. **γ-γ**, c. 682.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gervase, ii, 202; Ann. Tewk., 135; Ann. Burton, 285; Ann. Wint., 90; Ann. Wav., 338; Wykes, 96. Cf. 13 February, CM, iv, 603.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *CM,* iv, 629.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Wills, xxxiii; Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500, eds. C.M. Barron and A.F. Sutton (London, 1994), xiii-xxxiv, esp. xvii-xxi.

 $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ ] Two recurrent themes of the chronicle: the regulation of weights and measures, and the defence of London's liberties.<sup>1</sup>

**668.** Notwithstanding his removal from the sheriffwick on 14 December 1245, Nicholas Bat was elected sheriff again this year, and he served with William Viel.<sup>2</sup>

**669.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] The best contemporary account of the reception into London of the relic of the Holy Blood is provided by Paris.<sup>3</sup> Henry III's ultimate failure to establish a popular cult of the Holy Blood at Westminster has been analysed by Nicholas Vincent.<sup>4</sup>

 $\beta$ - $\beta$ ] The necessary decision to reform the coinage and introduce the 'Long Cross penny' may have been taken as early as spring 1247.<sup>5</sup> The biggest winner from this process was Richard of Cornwall.<sup>6</sup>

 $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] Arnold's chronicle is a unique source for Margery Viel's attempt to secure a third part of her late-husband's chattels, although the chancery enrolments confirm the details, given here, by which the king suspended and restored the city's liberties.<sup>7</sup>

**670.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

**671.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] The royal prohibition against the holding of any other fair at this time, instead requiring everyone to attend the Westminster fair, even led the bishop of Ely to complain unsuccessfully to the king.<sup>9</sup>

 $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] Simon son of Mary's controversial municipal career comes to an end (in this chronicle at least) here. <sup>10</sup> John McEwan has suggested that Alexander le Ferrun's hasty election 'in absencia illius' may speak to the Londoners' fear that Simon would have been able to use royal favour to win back his aldermanry. <sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 115-6, 121-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 664-5; *Sheriffs*, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CM, iv, 640-5; vi, 138-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> N. Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wykes, 96-7; Ann. Wav., 339.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *CPR*, 1232-47, 503, 505, 511. For a comprehensive account of the recoinage, R. Cassidy, 'Richard of Cornwall and the royal mints and exchanges, 1247-59', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, clxxii (London, 2012), 137-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **δ-δ**, c. 667; **α-α**, c. 671; *CR*, 1247-51, 79, 88; *CPR*, 1247-58, 26. Cf. a more colourful account, *CM*, v, 20-22. <sup>8</sup> *Sheriffs*, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CM, v, 28-9, 333-4; CChR, 1226-57, 334. For the Margery Viel case, δ-δ, c. 667; γ-γ, c. 669.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> cc. 641, 652; **δ-δ**, c. 662.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> McEwan, 'The development of an identity', 261.

**δ-δ**] Louis IX of France drew praise from many English writers by leading a Crusader army in taking Damietta.<sup>1</sup> Paris wrote that news of this was brought to England by the new archbishop of Canterbury, Boniface of Savoy.<sup>2</sup>

**672.** The exchequer records confirm the names of these sheriffs.<sup>3</sup>

**673.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] Two decisions taken at the Epiphany parliament of 1250.<sup>4</sup> First, the restoration to the Londoners of jurisdiction in pleas of land where one party was Jewish, which had for some time been exercised by the exchequer of the Jews. Second, the concession that Christian chirographers of the Jewish *archae*, who had previously claimed exemption from tallage, should be compelled to pay tallage as other citizens.<sup>5</sup>

**β-β**] Henry III took the cross in Westminster Hall.<sup>6</sup> Both Arnold and Paris commented on the families and women of London attending this ceremony.<sup>7</sup>

 $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] A lengthy and remarkable account, corroborated elsewhere, of a failed 'day of love' between the citizens of London and the abbot of Westminster.<sup>8</sup> The Londoners' various claims were based on numerous charters granted to the city;<sup>9</sup> on procedure confirmed at the visitation of the justices in eyre;<sup>10</sup> and, more controversially, on Magna Carta.<sup>11</sup> Boniface of Savoy's attempt to enforce his visitation rights on the canons of St Bartholomew's Priory had caused a dispute which led to violence – perhaps even some killings, the excommunication of the canons, and both parties in the quarrel to repair to Rome to put their case before the pope.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gervase, ii, 203; Ann. Dun., 179-80; Ann. Tewk., 138; Ann. Wint., 91; Ann. Wav., 339-41; Ann. Osney, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *CM*, v, 81; vi, 152-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Paul Brand for his help with these.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The city had been punished for trying to make Christian chirographers pay, CFR, 1249-50, no. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ann. Tewk., 140; Ann. Wint., 92; Wykes, 98. For the sincerity of Henry's crusading vows, A.J. Forey,, 'The crusading vows of English King Henry III', Durham University Journal, lxv (1973), 229-247; Carpenter, 'The gold treasure', 115-116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *CM*, 100-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Compare Arnold's 'et [ciues] clamabant omnes una uoce' with Paris's 'major civitatis cum tota communa unanimiter'; and Arnold's 'in absencia parium suorum, scilicet comitum baronum Anglie' with Paris's claim that the Londoners enlisted the help of Richard of Cornwall and Simon de Montfort, *CM*, v, 127-30. The letters committing custody of the city to William of Haverhill, Peter Blund and Arnold Geraudan were enrolled on 20 May 1250, *CPR*, 1247-58, 65; the letters restoring the city to the mayor and sheriffs were enrolled on 25 May 1250, *CR*, 1247-51, 285.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Compare 'ciues uero responderunt quod nullum diem habuerunt ad placitandum ibi contra abbatem Westmonasterii nec extra ciuitatem Lond' deberent placitare', with 'cives Londoniarum non placitabunt extra muros civitatis ullo placito' and variants thereon, *Albus*, 128-135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Compare the claim that 'nullus homo Lond" ought to swear at any inquisition, except in the manner of the oath he had already made to the king, with the declaration successfully made at the 1244 eyre that the sheriffs of London should answer only 'in the faith in which they are bound to the king and according to the fealty that they have done to him', *Eyre*, 1244, 5.

 $<sup>^{11} \,</sup> Supra$ , 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> CM, v, 120-7, 189-90; Ann. Tewk., 141; Ann. Burton, 304; Wykes, 101-2.

**ε-ε**] Louis IX of France was captured near to Mansura on 6 April 1250, and subsequently ransomed.<sup>1</sup>

**674.** The exchequer records confirm the names of these sheriffs.<sup>2</sup>

**675.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] John Norman was London's mayor 1250-1.<sup>3</sup>

 $\beta$ - $\beta$ ] Carpenter set out at length the customs which could be levied at the bridge and the fees that the bailiffs could claim.<sup>4</sup>

 $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] The Emperor Frederick II died at Castel Fiorentino on 13 December 1250. After Frederick's death, Pope Innocent IV returned to Genoa around Easter 1251.<sup>5</sup>

676. Nicholas and Lawrence served as London's sheriffs from 1251-2.6

**677.** α-α] The sheriffs of London were ordered to begin preparations for the eyre on 16 August 1251; the eyre began on 30 September.<sup>7</sup> The record of the eyre has since been lost, but it had probably concluded by 3 November, and the justices were William of York, bishop of Salisbury; John of Lexington; Gilbert of Seagrave; Giles of Erdington; William Breton; and John de Plessis, earl of Warwick.<sup>8</sup> Isolde of Tattershall was accused at the 1244 eyre of arson and soliciting murder; Thomas de Falaise was accused at the same eyre of murder.<sup>9</sup> John the Clerk, who presumably could not claim benefit of clergy, was also accused of involvement in a murder at the 1244 eyre.<sup>10</sup> John was still alive when taken down after his hanging, he died shortly afterwards in a church at Tyburn.<sup>11</sup>

**β-β**] Adam of Basing was mayor 1251-2.<sup>12</sup>

 $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] A marriage arranged as part of the treaty of Newcastle in August 1244.<sup>13</sup> On 25 December 1251 Alexander III was knighted by Henry III, and married Henry's daughter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Wykes, 99; Ann. Wig., 440; Ann. Burton, 285-9; Ann. Dun., 179-80; CM, v, 147, 204, vi, 191-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Albus,* 234-7; for a punishment for illegal tolls, *Cust.*, ii, 409-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CM, v, 190, 216; Ann. Dun., 181; Ann. Wig., 440; supra, 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> CR, 1247-51, 554-5; CPR, 1247-58, 110.

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  *CPR*, 1247-58, 110; Crook, *Records*, 115-6. The answers to the eyre articles survive in a single damaged membrane: TNA SC 5/8/5, no. 13, 1m; the account of the eyre is: TNA E 372/96 rot. 17d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Eyre, 1244, 57-8, 71-2; Albus, 100-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Eyre, 1244, 61-2; Albus, 103,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ann. Lond., 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1. On 9 June 1253 Adam was granted a royal exemption from being made mayor, sheriff, or other bailiff, *CPR*, 1247-58, 196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> **ε-ε**, c. 660.

on the following day at York.<sup>1</sup> The Londoners paid tallage of 1,000 marks of silver and 20m of gold for this marriage.<sup>2</sup>

**678.** Many people died and the harvest was seriously damaged by a drought which lasted from Easter to autumn this year, exacerbated by a two-week heatwave towards the end of June.<sup>3</sup>

**679.** The exchequer records confirm the names of these sheriffs.<sup>4</sup>

**680.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] John de Toulouse was mayor 1252-3.<sup>5</sup>

**β-β**] In return for the granting of an aid of which Henry was in dire need, Magna Carta was reconfirmed and a sentence of excommunication was proclaimed against all transgressors of the Charter in a solemn ceremony at Westminster. One imagines that Arnold was there; his account also relies on a subsequent publication of that sentence.<sup>6</sup>

 $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] A Jewish tallage of 4,000 marks was levied this year.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the Statute of Jewry was published in January 1253, it is perhaps surprising it is not mentioned here.<sup>8</sup>

δ-δ] This charter was granted to the citizens of London on 12 June 1253.<sup>9</sup> The Londoners' claim that the 'leges et consuetudines' confirmed in this charter dated from 'tempore regis Henrici primi' is dubious.<sup>10</sup> Behind the chronicle's seemingly consensual account, however, lies a more complicated story. There appears to have been a riot in London between 5 and 19 March.<sup>11</sup> The king seized the city into his hand, before returning it to the citizens on 30 March 1253, doubtless his anger assuaged by the Londoners' gift to him of 10 marks of gold (100 marks of silver) 'from their free will'.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CM, v, 266-69; Ann. Burton, 296; Ann. Wint., 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ann. Tewk., 145; CFR, 1251-2, no. 1174; S.K. Mitchell, Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III (New Haven, 1914), 250-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CM, v, 278-9, 317; Ann. Tewk., 147; Ann. Wint., 93; Ann. Wav., 344; Wykes, 103; Ann. Wig., 441.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See 'pontificalibus induti, candelis accensis', *Statutes of the Realm*, i, 6-7. The excommunication was widely copied, for a full list of MS sources, *English Episcopal Acta, 35, Hereford 1234-1275*, ed. J. Barrow (Oxford, 2009), 43-7. A copy of this sentence was available at London's Guildhall in the early fourteenth century, *Cust.*, ii, 42-4. For Arnold's interest in excommunication ceremonies, *supra*, 102-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Huscroft, *Expulsion*, 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Supra, 27, 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For the payment of 500 marks, *CR*, 1251-3, 376; for the charter, LMA COL/CH/01/017/A; *CChR*, 1257-1300, 477; *Cust.*, ii, 37-8; *Albus*, 136-7; *Historical Charters*, 34-5; for the £7 allowance, *CFR*, 1249-50, no. 435; *CFR*, 1251-2, no. 79; *CFR*, 1252-3, no. 87; *CR*, 1251-3, 361, 368.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> C. Brooke, G. Keir and S. Reynolds, 'Henry I's Charter for the City of London'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> CM, v, 367-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> CR, 1251-3, 335; CFR, 1252-3, no. 630 (see also no. 634, where the Londoners paid £100 to clear up two longstanding issues). That this 500 marks was part of the aid granted in May 1253, Mitchell, *Taxation*, 256.

- $\epsilon$ - $\epsilon$ ] Henry eventually left for Gascony, having appointed Queen Eleanor as regent to be assisted by Richard of Cornwall and a council.<sup>1</sup>
- **681.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>
- **682.** A brusque record of certain events of this year focussing almost exclusively on London customs.
- $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] Heavy rains at the end of September caused flooding elsewhere in England too.<sup>3</sup>
- β-β] Nicholas Bat was mayor 1253-4.4
- $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] In October 1246 Richard of Cornwall had leased Queenhithe to the mayor and the 'tota communa' of London in return for an annual payment of £50.<sup>5</sup> In this year the citizens took steps to prevent Queenhithe being farmed.
- **δ-δ**] Smithfield, just to the north of London, was where animals were brought for slaughter and sale. Scavage was a fee paid to the officials, usually the sheriffs, who inspected merchandise which was liable for customs duties.<sup>6</sup>
- $\varepsilon$ - $\varepsilon$ ] The king was in Gascony, both of these orders were actually sent by Richard of Cornwall.<sup>7</sup> As with many entries pertaining to the Thames this has been much annotated by both contemporary and later hands.<sup>8</sup>
- $\zeta$ - $\zeta$ ] Edward had been betrothed to Eleanor, sister of Alfonso X of Castile. Edward set sail for Gascony with his mother and other nobles either at the very end of May or beginning of June 1254.<sup>9</sup>
- **683.** This year's disorderly shrieval succession is confirmed elsewhere. <sup>10</sup>
- **684.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] Ralph Hardel was mayor from 28 October 1254 until 1 February 1258.<sup>11</sup> Richard of Cornwall, who was regent and who stood to gain handsomely from any amercements levied for offences contrary to the statutes of the exchanges, had previously amerced two foreign communities in London, along with those in the city

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CM, v, 381-3; Ann. Dun., 186; Ann. Burton, 307.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CM, v, 395; Albus, 502; supra, 167-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **α-α**, c. 667.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Albus, 223-234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 16 February 1254, *CR*, 1253-4, 27; 10 May 1254, *CR*, 1253-4, 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *Supra*, 115-6, 167; copied into *Albus*, 502-3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CM, v, 447; Ann. Dun., 188, 191; Ann. Tewk., 154; Ann. Burton, 317-8; Ann. Wint., 94; Prestwich, Edward I, 9-10; Albus. 503.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Sheriffs, 201; Eyre, 1276, 2. At the Michaelmas 1255 exchequer session, Henry Walemund and Stephen of Oystergate accounted for the farm of London, TNA E 372/99 rot 14; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1-2.

who were exchanging money illegally, 200 marks each in June 1254.<sup>1</sup> This suspension and restoration of London's liberties, along with eventual payment of 600 marks to Richard, can be traced and corroborated in the record sources.<sup>2</sup>

**β-β**] Edward had married Eleanor of Castile at Burgos on 1 November 1254. Henry III arrived back in England on 27 December 1254.<sup>3</sup> This grant of lands to Edward had been made on 14 February 1254.<sup>4</sup>

γ-γ] John of Frome had been arrested and imprisoned in Hereford, and then taken to Newgate, whence he escaped.<sup>5</sup> Alan of Shoreditch, warden of Newgate Gaol, was probably most culpable for his escape: he fled London; had his houses, tenements and chattels seized by the king; and was subsequently outlawed, although later pardoned.<sup>6</sup> London's sheriffs certainly had a responsibility for prisoners in Newgate, and consequently Robert of Linton and William Eswy were removed from shrieval office in February 1255.<sup>7</sup> Over twenty years later, Robert was amerced £10 for his offence.<sup>8</sup> Not mentioned here is a royal tallage of 3,000 marks which Paris conflated into his account of John of Frome's escape.<sup>9</sup>

**685.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed by the exchequer records. 10

**686.** Eleanor of Castile, recently married to Edward, arrived at Dover on 9 October 1255.<sup>11</sup> Orders were issued on 24 September to decorate the city and arrange a procession which was quite spectacular.<sup>12</sup>

**687.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] Ralph Hardel was mayor again this year. Arnold's note 'quod ciues possunt ammouere maiorem suum in fine anni et alium substituere uel eundem retinere si

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CR, 1253-4, 76-7.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  CFR, 1253-4, no. 944; CR, 1254-6, 2; TNA E 159/27 m. 27d; E 368/29 m. 17. For the Londoners' charter, δ-δ, c. 680.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CM, v, 475-84; Ann. Dun., 193-4; Ann. Burton, 327-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *CPR*, 1247-58, 270. 30 September 1249, *CChR*, 1226-57, 345; 27/8 April 1252 (after Montfort's removal from the duchy), *CChR*, 1226-57, 386, 389; Cf. *CM*, vi, 284-6. For the full list of lands granted to Edward, Prestwich, *Edward I*, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hereford Episcopal Acta, lii-liv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *CR*, *1254-6*, 145, 202-3; *CPR*, *1258-66*, 8; *CFR*, *1254-5*, no. 74. In September 1256, the prior of Holy Trinity Aldgate fined 50 marks with the king for harbouring Alan and two other outlaws, *CFR*, *1255-6*, no. 1046.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. 'Quolibet anno in uigilia sancti Michaelis solebant noui uicecomites cum ciuibus equitare ad Neugate ad recipiendos prisones', c. 689; and the sheriff's oath in *Albus*, 45-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Robert would be elected bailiff of the city of London by the commoners during Clare's seizure of the city in 1267, c. 889. Robert paid his fine promptly, no doubt William would have been similarly amerced, had he not died, *Eyre*, 1276, 86-7, 134; Cf. *Ann. Lond.*, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CM, v, 485-7; supra, 105-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> CM, v. 513.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> CR, 1254-6, 224-5, see also, 128, 136, 144-5; CM, v, 513-4.

uoluerint' is taken almost verbatim from Henry III's charter to the Londoners of 18 February 1227.<sup>2</sup>

 $\beta$ - $\beta$ ] Letters returning custody of the city to the mayor and the community were issued on 15 November 1255 at Windsor.<sup>3</sup> The Londoners subsequently paid the queen 400 marks to settle this dispute, and on 23 December 1255 the queen issued a charter of quitclaim.<sup>4</sup>

 $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] The accusation that Jews had, in July or August 1255, murdered Little St Hugh of Lincoln was reported at length by contemporaries.<sup>5</sup>

ε-ε] Henry III's daughter, Margaret, arrived with her husband, Alexander III, king of Scots, to celebrate the feast of the Assumption at Woodstock, before travelling on to London.<sup>6</sup>

**688.** The exchequer records confirm the names of these sheriffs.<sup>7</sup>

**689.** Ralph Hardel was mayor again this year.<sup>8</sup> Carpenter set out the procedures by which, on 28 September each year, the new sheriffs would take charge of the prisoners in Newgate Gaol, and the sheriffs' officers would be sworn to office in his *Liber Albus*.<sup>9</sup>

**690.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] Reginald of Bungay had been made mayor of London in 1240 following Gerald Bat's deposition. A month after his daughter's will had been challenged in the Husting court, the parties contesting this case agreed to submit the matter to judgement 'according to the laws and customs of the city of London'. For a similar case, see that of Emma Wylekyn in 1307. 12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evre, 1276, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'Quod liceat eis [ciuibus] ipsum [maiorem] in fine anni amovere, et alium subsituere, si voluerint, vel eundem retinere', LMA COL/CH/01/012; *Cust.*, ii, 45; *Albus*, 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CR, 1254-6, 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> δ-δ; Cust., ii, 38-9. Cf. '500 marks', CM, v. 568.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ann. Burton, 340-8; CM, v, 516-9; Cf. CPR, 1247-58, 451-2, 510; CR, 1254-6, 145, 241. For summaries of these reports, and of the later cult of Hugh, D.A. Carpenter, 'Crucifixion and conversion: King Henry III and the Jews in 1255' in S. Jenks, J. Rose and C. Whittick, eds., Laws, Lawyers and Texts: Studies in Medieval Legal History in Honour of Paul Brand (Leiden, Boston, 2012), 129-48; G.I. Langmuir, 'The knight's tale of young Hugh of Lincoln', Speculum, xlvii (Jul., 1972), 459-82; and H.J. Lorrey, 'Hugh of Lincoln (c. 1246-1255)', ODNB.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> CM, v, 573-4; Ann. Lond., 48-9; Ann. Wint., 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Albus, 45-7, 215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> c. 654.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> CR, 1256-9, 114, 121; CPR, 1247-58, 585.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Wills, 188.

 $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ ] Elsewhere, the offering of the crown of Germany to Richard of Cornwall was dated to 26 December.<sup>1</sup> Wykes, possibly Richard's chaplain, gave the most detailed account of the unedifying electoral process.<sup>2</sup>

**691.** This innocuous provision would subsequently be used by the king against a number of leading citizens.<sup>3</sup>

**692.** Presentations of vintners who had sold wine contrary to the assize were usually made at the visitations of the royal justices to London.<sup>4</sup> Henry of Bath's commission was given on 17 February 1257.<sup>5</sup>

**693-4**. Richard's journey to Germany and his coronation by Conrad von Hochstaden, archbishop of Cologne, was widely reported.<sup>6</sup> Similar copies of Richard letter circulated widely in England.<sup>7</sup>

**695.** The first appearance of Arnold's hand in the main text of the chronicle. Rebellion, led by Llywellyn ap Gruffudd, had broken out in Wales in November 1256, and Arnold was not the only English chronicler sympathetic to Welsh grievances.<sup>8</sup> Arnold's account is more sympathetic to Henry III than those of other chroniclers who were not afraid to refer to an 'inglorious king' returning without honour.<sup>9</sup>

**696.** The first mention of this three-year-long dispute. Stallage was a fee paid for the right to erect stalls at markets and fairs. The Londoners refusal to pay stallage was no doubt based on numerous royal charters which acquitted them of paying various tolls.<sup>10</sup>

**697-8.** Ralph Hardel's retention as mayor, along with this disordered succession of sheriffs is confirmed elsewhere.<sup>11</sup> The reasons for Matthew Bukerel's removal from office are given in cc. 706-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> *CM*, v, 601-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wykes, 111-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **α-α**, c. 705.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Eyre, 1244, 92, 130; Eyre, 1276, 82, 122-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CPR, 1247-58, 585.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ann. Dun., 202-3; Wykes, 115-7; Ann. Wint., 96; CM, v, 621-2, 625-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Foedera, I, i, 356; CM, vi, 366-9; Ann. Burton, 392-5.

<sup>8</sup> CM, v, 639; Ann. Tewk., 158; Ann. Dun., 200-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CM, v, 649, 651; Ann. Burton, 408; Ann. Dun., 203-4; Wykes, 116-8; Ann. Tewk. 158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Collated in *Albus*, 128-36. Stallage is not specified in these charters, but the Londoners were exempt from many other named duties 'and any other custom'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1-3; Sheriffs, 201.

**699-700.** Henry III had written to the sheriffs of London on 16 August 1257, proclaiming that his new gold coinage should run current.<sup>1</sup> The reasons behind both Henry's accumulation of a gold treasure, and his desire to mint this into a coinage have been best analysed elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

**701.** Woad was used in the clothmaking process and the Londoners had regulated this trade with foreign merchants since at least the early thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

**702-708.** Arnold's eyewitness narrative is by far the fullest account of a tumultuous two-month period in London.<sup>4</sup> It was not copied into his book until after May 1264, but its accuracy and attention to detail make it almost certain that Arnold wrote it using copious notes and perhaps court records.<sup>5</sup>

702] On 26 January 1258, the king ordered John Mansel, Imbert Pugeys and Aubrey de Féscamp to enquire into the accusation that the mayor and his accomplices had misappropriated a tallage in the city. The folkmoot was an assembly of all the freemen of London that had traditionally met three times a year on ground to the north-east of St Paul's cathedral; in appealing to the citizens as whole the king and his officers were attempting to bypass the governors of the city. Arnold was disgusted by this populist appeal. Otherwise, these early inquisitions proceeded with some sensitivity to London's custom: albeit in the absence of the aldermen, the juries of thirty-six men (the same number as was needed to wage the great law in London) were sworn in the wardmote; and when the men of the juries came to be sworn, they stood on London custom and refused to take any oath beyond that which they had already taken to the king. Thomas Esperon was probably the royal chamberlain removed, to be replaced with Peter de Gisors; the constable of the Tower was Imbert Pugeys.

**703**] Surprisingly, the presentations and interrogations of the juries (3 to 10 February) began and ended on a Sunday. Again the accused stood on London's customs, asserting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CR, 1256-9, 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Carpenter, 'The gold treasure', 107-36; Cf. supra, 103, 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Bateson, *Collection*, 724-6; *Cust.*, ii, 64-66, 68-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 101, 124-26; Cf. CM, v, 663; Ann. Lond., 49-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Supra, 43-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **β-β**; *CPR*, 1247-58, 614.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$   $\gamma$ ; Bateson, *Collection*, 502-3; *Albus*, 118-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> η-η.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> δ-δ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> ε-ε; Cf. similar claims, *Eyre*, 1244, 5; **γ-γ**, c. 673.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> **θ-θ**; *CPR*, 1247-58, 538, 614, 618.

their right to wage their law.<sup>1</sup> Essentially, by this practice a freeman of London could clear himself (compurge) of an accusation by oaths of other men of London; depending on the severity of the charge this was done by thirty-six, eighteen or six compurgators.<sup>2</sup> By 1258 this custom was well-established.<sup>3</sup>

704] On 5 March 1258 the king forbad Arnold, Henry and all of those previously named by Arnold from selling any houses or tenements in London.<sup>4</sup> Arnold's claim that Ralph Hardel and Nicholas Bat 'opposuerunt se in inquisicione coram rege quando fuerunt apud Windleshoram' may refer either to the defiant refusal to pay the 3,000 mark tallage demanded by the king in January 1255;<sup>5</sup> or to an enquiry into tallage unmentioned by Arnold.<sup>6</sup>

**705**] The Londoners' response that 'statera et pondera non sunt mutata, set forma tantummodo et modus ponderandi' refers to the provision of December 1256.<sup>7</sup> Arnold's scathing denunciation of the London *populus* affords some of the chronicle's most memorable language.<sup>8</sup>

**706**] Arnold's remarkable sense of place brings a rather functional account of the deposition of civic officers to life.<sup>9</sup>

**707**] The two men raised to the office of sheriff here would both subsequently rebel against the king; indeed, William would die on the field at Lewes in 1264.<sup>10</sup> William son of Richard appears to have been a staunch royalist.<sup>11</sup>

708] Although unrecorded by Arnold, there certainly had been royal tallages during the mayoralties of John de Toulouse (1252-3) and Ralph Hardel (1254 until his deposition in February 1258). Moreover, these men had served as sheriff together in 1249-50, when the Londoners had flatly refused to concede certain liberties to the monks of Westminster, and made the extraordinary demand that they be judged by their peers,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> δ-δ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Albus, 56-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Bateson, Collection, 707-8; CFR, 1226-7, no. 71; Eyre, 1244, 25-6, 62-4, 71-2, 77-8, 134-5; Albus, 91-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> **α-α**, c. 703; *CR*, 1256-9, 298.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Supra*, 105-6. At that time the king was at Windsor and Ralph Hardel was mayor; Nicholas Bat had been mayor the year previously, cc. 682, 684.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> CPR, 1247-58, 614.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 691.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> β-β.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Supra, 101-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> CPR, 1258-66; 468, CPR, 1266-72, 435; for Thomas, appendix ii, 408-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Appendix ii, 413.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> CFR, 1251-2, no. 1174; Mitchell, Taxation, 283; supra, 105-6.

'scilicet comitum baronum Anglie'.<sup>1</sup> Arnold noted his own recall to favour in a subsequent entry.<sup>2</sup>

**709.** As a result of the failure of the harvest and subsequent famine, thousands made their way to the towns, where many subsequently died.<sup>3</sup>

**710.** Arnold provides one of the briefer chronicle accounts of the parliament at which the Provisions of Oxford were agreed.<sup>4</sup> It is most famous for his description of the parliament as 'insane', which was supplied over an erasure, probably after the collapse of the Montfortian regime.<sup>5</sup>

The Provisions were probably never formally published.<sup>6</sup> There were fifteen people sworn to the king's council at Oxford, Arnold only records fourteen names, of which one, Hugh Bigod, is wrong.<sup>7</sup> Arnold omitted John fitz Geoffrey and Richard de Grey. True, John died in November 1258, and in 1259 Richard was stripped of some of his official positions, but it is unlikely that these factors explains Arnold's error. In his account of July 1258, Arnold named John as one of the 'certain of the aforesaid *twelve* barons [who] came to the Guildhall', and Richard remained on the council after the loss of his offices.<sup>8</sup>

711. Although unnoted by Arnold, hostility towards the king's half-brothers was a major factor in the collapse of Henry III's regime in 1258.9 Arnold is well-informed here: he names the four half-brothers correctly; 14 July 1258 was the day given to them to leave the realm; and Arnold is essentially right that 'non fuit permissum' for the brothers 'ad ducendum secum aliquid de thesauris suis nisi tantummodo quantum oportebat eis ad expensas'. Arnold's method of dating is, however, odd; St Silas is a fairly obscure saint and the royal letter used the format 'the Sunday next after the Translation of St Thomas the Martyr', i.e. Thomas Becket, London's own saint.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 673.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> α-α; c. 729.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CM, v, 693-4; Flores, ii, 419; Ann. Tewk., 166; Ann. Berm., 462; DBM, 84-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ann. Burton, 438-53: DBM, 6, n. 2; Wykes, 118-20; Ann. Dun., 208-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **c**; supra, 112-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For the Provisions of Oxford, *DBM*, 96-113. For discussions thereon, H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, "The Provisions of Oxford, 1258', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xvii (1933), repr. in *iidem*, *The English Parliament in the Middle Ages* (London, 1981), 3-33; R.F. Treharne, *The Baronial Plan of Reform*, 1258-1265 (Manchester, 1932), 65-101; *DBM*, 8-12; Maddicott, *Montfort*, 156-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Hugh Bigod was not elected to the council of fifteen, although he could, *ex officio* as justiciar, sit on the council, *DBM*, 104-5, n. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **α-α**, c. 714.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Carpenter, 'What Happened in 1258?', 190-197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> CPR, 1247-58, 640-1; CR, 1256-9, 245, 317; DBM, 92-5.

The best contemporary source for the departure of the king's brothers is a remarkable letter written by someone from within the king's court.<sup>1</sup>

## **712.** Discussed fully above.<sup>2</sup>

**713.** There had been no justiciar in England since the dismissal of Sir Stephen of Seagrave in 1234. At some point before 16 June and during the Oxford parliament Hugh Bigod was appointed justiciar by the king's council; on 22 June he was granted custody of the Tower of London.<sup>3</sup> Arnold's description of Hugh as 'iusticiarius tocius Anglie' is fastidiously correct.<sup>4</sup>

**714.**  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] The reformist barons did indeed come to London on 22 or 23 July to secure the Londoners' support.<sup>5</sup> Arnold's account of the accommodating reception offered to them, albeit with the Londoners' ever-present qualification 'saluis tamen eis omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus suis', and the daily meetings of the barons to reform 'the usages and customs of the realm' is the fullest that we have. These barons were almost certainly, over the summer of 1258, working on proposals that would eventually be presented in both the Provisions of the Barons and the Provisions of Westminster.<sup>6</sup> It is not clear who the 'predictis duodecim baronibus' are, of whom three came to the Guildhall.<sup>7</sup> Arnold's only prior list of barons named fourteen, of whom John fitz Geoffrey (named here) was not one.<sup>8</sup> Nor is it clear to whom Arnold was referring when he wrote 'postea predicti barones habuerunt de die in diem colloquium'?<sup>9</sup> The three named above who visited the Guildhall?<sup>10</sup> Or the baronial twelve at the start of the chapter?<sup>11</sup>

**δ-δ**] It is not surprising that Arnold took particular interest in the issue of prise.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the Londoners had long been concerned with the rightful exercise of this royal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ann. Burton, 443-5; DBM, 90-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Supra, 43-44, 112-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 16 June he is styled *iusticiarius Anglie,* TNA JUST 1/1187, m. 1; *CPR, 1247-58,* 637-8; Cf. 'before 18 July(?)', *DBM,* 90-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bigod's appointment 'marked the determination of the barons to re-establish barriers to absolute royal rule. This is shown by the fact that Hugh is called *iusticiarius Anglie*, rather than *iusticiarius regis*', *DBM*, 6. <sup>5</sup> *CR*, 1256-9, 317-8; *DBM*, 94-5; *CM*, v. 704.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> P. Brand, 'The drafting of legislation in mid-thirteenth-century England', in *idem, The Making of the Common Law* (London, 1992), 325-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **β-β**.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> c. 710.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> ν-ν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Brand, 'The drafting of legislation' 325-67; Cf. slightly revised in Brand, *Kings, Barons and Justices*, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Maddicott, *Montfort*, 166, n. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Supra, 30-31, 115-17.

privilege, and two tuns of wine was the quantity that the citizens accepted was lawful.<sup>1</sup> From May 1258 onwards reform of the king's right to take prise was on the agenda of the reformers, almost certainly at the instance of representatives from London.<sup>2</sup>

**715-6.** The names of these officers are confirmed elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

717-9. Arnold rather abruptly skips over the October 1258 parliament at Westminster, at which two particularly important letters were issued in English, French, and Latin.<sup>4</sup> Hugh Bigod, assisted by Roger de Thurkelby and Giles of Erdington, held his special eyre in Surrey and Kent from November 1258 to February 1259. The original plea roll survives and it has been edited and published by Andrew Hershey.<sup>5</sup> Arnold's chronicle is the only source, of which we know, that 'casts any disparagement upon Bigod's conduct while in office'.<sup>6</sup> Arnold's criticism is understandable. In the first place he had to clear his own name in one case.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, in fulfilment of its mandate Hugh's eyre did, at times at least, proceed contrary to local custom.

**717**] Several bailiffs were indeed amerced and imprisoned.<sup>8</sup>

**718**] Much annotated by later writers at the Guildhall.<sup>9</sup> This case was heard on 21 November 1258 and is on the plea roll.<sup>10</sup> Arnold's summary is condensed but accurate.

**719**] Bigod was probably at the London Guildhall from 21 November to 15 December 1258.<sup>11</sup> Arnold's complaints about the use of *querelae* to hear cases and that essoins were not accepted have some basis.<sup>12</sup> On Tuesday 17 December 1258, in London's Husting, Arnold was forced to defend his actions and those of his son Thomas in a case brought through a *querela* by Robert the Cordwainer.<sup>13</sup> Andrew Hershey has shown that, in total, nineteen per cent of all cases heard on Bigod's eyre rolls were *querelae*.<sup>14</sup> And

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bateson, *Collection*, 500; *Albus*, 247-8; Cf. Henry III's charter to the Londoners (26 March 1268) which confirmed that the king would pay 20s for each tun, c. 964.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The London merchants' voice is heard in the complaint that 'alien merchants for this reason [unlawful prise] refuse to come with their goods into the kingdom, wherefore the land suffers grievous loss'. *DBM*, 84-7, quote at 87. Cf. cc. 766-7, 964; *DBM*, 274-7, 322-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sheriffs, 201; Eyre, 1276, 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> α-α, c. 717; CPR, 1247-58, 655-6; CPR, 1258-66, 3; Ann. Burton, 453-6; DBM, 116-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> TNA Just 1/873; *Special Eyre*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Special Eyre, xxxv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 719; *supra*, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Carpenter, 'English peasants in politics', 330; Special Eyre, l-lxiv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *Supra*, 167-8, fig.20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Special Eyre, no. 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Jacob, *Studies*, 40, n. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> α-α

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The case dated to July 1245, TNA Just 1/1187 m. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Special Eyre, lxvii-lxxiv, appendix ii.

across twelve sittings of the justices in nine months there are in fact only twenty-eight essoins recorded.

Arnold took especial interest in the regulation of London's bakers.<sup>1</sup> By the early fourteenth century, the punishments for bakers who transgressed the assize of bread were: for the first offence, to be drawn through the streets on a hurdle; for the second offence, drawn to the Cheapside and there placed in the pillory; for the third offence, the whole oven of bread was to default to the king; and for a further offence, the guilty baker would lose his oven and permission to trade in London as a baker.<sup>2</sup> In November 1297 the pillory replaced the hurdle as punishment.<sup>3</sup>

**721.** Richard of Cornwall landed at Dover after lengthy attempts had been made, at St Omer, to obtain his oath to uphold the Provisions of Oxford.<sup>4</sup> He took this oath at Canterbury on 28 January, and Arnold's date of 1 February for his reception into London is presumably correct.<sup>5</sup>

**722.** Probably a response to an increasing backlog of cases in the Husting court.<sup>6</sup>

**723**.  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ] Another provision aimed at freeing up the running of the Husting court.<sup>7</sup>

**β-β**] Fulk Basset died of plague on 21 May 1259.<sup>8</sup> Arnold may be a unique source for noting that the 'New Work' (the name given to the construction of the cathedral's Lady Chapel) got underway in late 1259.<sup>9</sup>

**724.** The exchequer records confirm the names of these sheriffs.<sup>10</sup>

**726.** The Provisions of Westminster had been developed by the reformers during an eighteen month period leading up to October 1259.<sup>11</sup> Arnold's (presumably?) eyewitness account of the proclamation of the Provisions of Westminster in the Great

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **γ-γ**; *supra*, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cust., ii, 284; Albus, 265-6. For the assize of bread, Albus, 349-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> LBB, 243-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> CM, v, 732-6; Gervase, ii, 207; Wykes, 121-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wykes 1 February; Paris 2 February.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Barron, *London*, 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In the early thirteenth century, debt cases were heard in the Husting, Bateson, *Collection*, 492-3. For a late-medieval description of the business that was heard in London's sheriffs' courts, *Albus*, 199-223. <sup>8</sup> *CM*, v, 747.

 $<sup>^9</sup>$  C. Davidson Cragoe, 'Fabric, tombs and precinct 1087-1540' in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London*, 127-142 at 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Brand, *Kings, Barons and Justices,* 15-41, with a detailed analysis of the longer term context of the Provisions at 42-105; Jacob, *Studies,* 86-101, *DBM,* 20-25. They were never called the 'Provisions of Westminster' in the thirteenth century, instead they soon became conflated with the 'Provisions of Oxford', *DBM,* 137, n. 1.

Hall of Westminster, accompanied by a solemn ceremony of excommunication is a unique record of the ceremony of excommunication.<sup>1</sup> Arnold made no attempt, however, to copy out the Provisions themselves as the 'composicionem factam per barones' was 'in alio libro notatas'.<sup>2</sup> The obvious inference here is that there was in London and known to Arnold a book containing a copy of the Provisions and perhaps other legal material; certainly, a copy of the Provisions was sent to each county.<sup>3</sup> This entry is not without its difficulties, however: the plural 'notatas' does not agree with the singular 'composicionem'; and what, if any significance is there in the fact that 'alio libro' was supplied over an erasure?

For more on Henry's departure for Paris, cc.  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , 728, 730-1.4

**727.** William was mayor 1259-61.<sup>5</sup>

**728.** Pleaders acted in the courts on behalf of citizens.<sup>6</sup> Prohibition of them, except in certain cases, should be seen as a part of the general move throughout the thirteenth century to adapt London's legal customs to meet new challenges.<sup>7</sup>

**729-30.** Arnold had already cast his eye forward to his recall to royal favour and reinstatement to his aldermanry.<sup>8</sup>

**731.** Bukerel was recalled to royal favour on 12 November 1259, after Henry of Wingham's intercession.<sup>9</sup> The date of John of Toulouse's death is unknown, but the wills of both Hardel and Nicholas Bat were proved and enrolled on Monday 5 May 1259.<sup>10</sup> According to Paris, Ralph died broken-hearted from the king's treatment of him.<sup>11</sup>

**732.** Arnold's summary of the Treaty of Paris is brief but accurate enough.<sup>12</sup> Arnold was not alone in recalling an ancient prophecy of Merlin – perhaps this prophecy was the

<sup>1</sup> α-α.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  **β-β**. For the Provisions, *CR*, 1259-61, 146-50; *Ann. Burton*, 471-84; *DBM*, 136-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Brand, *Kings, Barons, and Justices,* 38; There is copy of the Provisions in the fourteenth-century *Liber Custumarum*, BL Cotton Claudius D ii, fos. 128v-131: not printed by Riley. Several manuscripts are known to have been lost from the London Guildhall collection, *Albus*, xvi-xvii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> γ-γ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Eyre, 1276,* 1; appendix ii, 413.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **β-β**; *Albus*, 521-2, 525,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Supra, 42-3, 93-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **α-α**, c. 708.

<sup>9</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 63.

<sup>10</sup> Wills, 3-4; Cf. CR 1256-9, 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> CM, v, 675.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> *CR*, 1259-61, 267-8; *DBM*, 164-9; *Ann. Burton*, 486-7; *Ann. Dun.*, 213; *Wykes*, 123-4. The Treaty is printed in English translation in *EHD*, 376-9. For two studies which approach the Treaty's ratification from two

subject of some popular discussion at this time.<sup>1</sup> In fact, Henry III had already began a considered policy to remove the sword from physical depictions of his kingship before the striking of this new seal.<sup>2</sup>

Arnold surprisingly did not mention two events here: the first, an attempt by Montfort to hold a parliament in London 'along with the other sound councillors' in accordance with the terms of the Provisions of Oxford in February 1260;<sup>3</sup> the second, the murder in February/March of three Italian clerks in broad daylight in London.<sup>4</sup>

**733.** Henry of Wingham was consecrated as bishop of London on 15 February 1260.<sup>5</sup>

**734-5.** The Lord Edward and Richard de Clare were at odds with each other.<sup>6</sup> Arnold is right that a parliament had been summoned to meet, although the official writ specified London, not Westminster, as the meeting point.<sup>7</sup> Arnold's account of events in London is corroborated elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> Arnold probably had sight of the king's subsequent letter to Hugh Bigod, the mayor and the community of London.<sup>9</sup> Arnold is again correct that the king landed on 23 April.<sup>10</sup>

**736.** Two days prior to his brother's departure from London and at Richard's request, Henry III promised to maintain the liberties and free customs of the German merchants who had seisin of the 'guildhall of the Teutons' in London, which agreement Arnold witnessed as 'alderman of the Germans'.<sup>11</sup>

different angles, P. Chaplais, 'The making of the Treaty of Paris (1259) and the royal style' in *EHR*, lxvii, No. 263 (Apr., 1952), 235-253; D.A. Carpenter, 'The meetings of Kings Henry III and Louis IX' in *TCE*, x, 1-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Marginal addition **c**; Cf. Ann. Burton, 486-7.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  D.A. Carpenter, 'The burial of King Henry III, the regalia and royal ideology', in Carpenter, *Reign*, 427-459, at 439-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *DBM*, 206-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> One was murdered at St Paul's churchyard, another on Cheapside in front of a huge crowd, and a third beheaded having fled over a bridge (London presumably, but perhaps one over the river Fleet?), *Ann. Dun.*, 214. At the 1276 eyre, the citizens only knew of two murders, perhaps the third murder was not presented as it happened outside the city walls? *Eyre*, 1276, 30; *Ann. Wig.*, 446; *Croniques*, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wykes, 122-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *Gervase,* ii, 210; *Ann. Lond.,* 54-5; *Ann. Tewk.,* 168-9; D.A. Carpenter, 'The Lord Edward's oath to aid and counsel Simon de Montfort, 15 October 1259' in Carpenter, *Reign,* 241-252; Treharne, *Baronial Plan,* 163-4; Prestwich, *Edward I,* 28-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> CR, 1259-61, 157-9; CPR, 1258-66, 123; DBM, 180-3; Maddicott, Montfort, 195; Maddicott, Origins, 250.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **β-β**, c. 734; Wykes, 124-5; CR, 1259-61, 282-3; DBM, 184-5; Ann. Dun., 214-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Supra, 95-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> **α-α**, c. 735. Cf. *CR*, 1259-61, 287; *DBM*, 190-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 77; Fryde, 'Arnold fitz Thedmar', 27-8.

**737.** The 'said' parliament (c. 735) met in July and was the occasion of the famous 'Trial of Simon de Montfort'.<sup>1</sup> Following the Welsh seizure of Builth Castle parliament was adjourned until October.

**738.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed by the exchequer records.<sup>2</sup>

**739.** There was much rejoicing at the knighting of Henry's son-in-law, John de Dreux.<sup>3</sup>

**740.** Hugh Despenser replaced Hugh Bigod as justiciar, chosen by a committee of five chosen by the council of fifteen – much to Henry's chagrin.<sup>4</sup> William was mayor again this year.<sup>5</sup>

**741.** Richard had gone to Germany intending to travel to Rome and be crowned emperor by the pope. Those plans came to naught, and on 24 October he arrived back in England, before coming to London.<sup>6</sup> Margaret, queen of Scots, remained in England until after the birth of her first child, a daughter called Margaret on 28 February 1261.

**742.** In an attempt to manage its workload better, the Husting court had held pleas of land and all other pleas (common pleas) on alternate weeks since 1244.<sup>7</sup> In a further clarification, pleas of dower *unde nichil habet* and customs and services were now added to those of common pleas.<sup>8</sup>

**743.** On 8/9 February 1261, beginning his recovery of power, Henry III took up residence at the Tower of London. The Tower was never one of Henry's favourite residences, he only went there when he expected trouble and this was the first of three extended stays during 1261.9 Doubtless Arnold, as an alderman, played a leading role in administering the taking of the oath and fortifying the city.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CR, 1259-61, 172, 181; E.F. Jacob, 'A proposal for arbitration between Simon de Montfort and Henry III in 1260', EHR, xxxvii, No. 145 (Jan., 1922), 80-2; Treharne, Baronial Plan, 238-41; DBM, 32-4, 194-211; Maddicott, Montfort, 197-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CR, 1259-61, 113, 116-7, 267-8; Wykes, 124. For his earlier marriage to Beatrice, c. 732,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *DBM*, 34-5, 215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Eyre, 1276,* 1; appendix ii, 413.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Wykes, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Eyre, 1244, 95-6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *Albus*, 180-90, particularly 185-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Carpenter, 'King Henry III and the Tower of London', in Carpenter, *Reign*, 199-218; Cf. Henry's evident trepidation, *CR*, 1259-61, 457.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> For other instances of oaths taken *en masse* within London, cc. 769, 792, 832, 1175-6.

**744-6, 749.** It is no surprise that Arnold took such interest in a dispute centred on London's liberties, and that this spat failed to attract the attention of other chroniclers.<sup>1</sup>

744] Northampton fair was usually held throughout the month of November.<sup>2</sup> The four Londoners detained were Richard the Potter, Thomas Paternoster, Peter Rok' and Adam of Hepworth; the goods of a further seven Londoners were seized.<sup>3</sup> In response, the Londoners' strident defence that 'nullus Londoniensis debet placitare extra muros ciuitatis preter placita de tenuris exterioribus' was taken directly from numerous charters of London's liberties.<sup>4</sup> The royal letter was issued from the Tower on 10 February 1261.<sup>5</sup>

**745**] This chapter was composed from a (lost?) court record.<sup>6</sup> The charters to which Arnold refers are tabulated in *Liber Albus*.<sup>7</sup>

**746**] Once again, a court record of some description has provided the source material for this entry.<sup>8</sup> On 30 March 1261 a letter was issued ordering the mayor and bailiffs of Northampton to release all the goods and chattels seized from the Londoners.<sup>9</sup>

**749**] Perhaps Arnold's source material failed him hereafter, or perhaps the case went no further, as this adjournment is the final mention of this case.

**748.** Aymer de Lusignan (or 'de Valence') had been consecrated bishop of Winchester by the pope while in exile from England on 30 May 1260; he died at Paris on 4 December 1260.<sup>10</sup> William, Aymer's younger brother, had also been exiled, he secured the 'assensum baronum' by professing his allegiance to the Provisions of Oxford.<sup>11</sup>

**749.** See above. 12

**750.** Philip Basset replaced Hugh Despenser as justiciar in June 1261, not at Easter.<sup>13</sup> The 'aliis de causis' were: first, Henry's publication, on 12 June 1261 at Winchester, of three papal bulls which absolved him, the clergy and the magnates from their oaths to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 121-5; for a summary of these jurisdictional issues, Barron, London, 76-83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Victoria History of the County of Northampton, iii, (London, 1930), 23.

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ; CR, 1259-61, 452.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  **β-β**; 'quod nullus civium placitet extra muros civitatis, excepto de tenuris exterioribus' *Albus*, 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> γ-γ. This letter does not mention Adam of Hepworth, *CR*, 1259-61, 457-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Supra, 91-94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>  $\delta$ - $\delta$ ; *Albus*, 130-6; printed in *Historical Charters*, 5-35.

<sup>8</sup> Supra, 91-94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CR, 1259-61, 458.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ann. Tewk., 169; Gervase, ii, 211-12; Ann. Osney, 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Flores, ii, 466.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> cc. 744-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> DBM, 38.

uphold the Provisions, and warned everyone, on pain of excommunication, to be loyal and faithful subjects of the king;<sup>1</sup> and secondly, the replacement by the king, on 8/9 July, of the sheriffs of thirty-four counties with his own men.<sup>2</sup>

**751.** The names of these sheriffs are confirmed by the exchequer records.<sup>3</sup>

**752.** Arnold provides unique information about where the royal family stayed in London at this time.<sup>4</sup> Arnold's chronology here is slightly confused. The Treaty of Kingston-on-Thames which settled these issues was agreed on 21 November, and ratified on 9 December.<sup>5</sup> The eyre had actually been prevented, in places, from going about its duties, and 'wardens of the counties' had been appointed *prior* to October; after the 'pacification of the aforesaid dissension' the judicial eyre was again sent out.<sup>6</sup>

**753.** Thomas fitz Thomas's was mayor from 1261 to August 1265.<sup>7</sup>

**754.** Arnold recorded neither the death of Pope Alexander IV on 25 May 1261, nor the consecration of his successor, Urban IV, on 4 September 1261. Urban's bull was dated 25 February 1262.<sup>8</sup> Arnold, doubtless an eyewitness to its proclamation, provides a unique report of its publication, although he makes no comment on the rights and wrongs of Henry III's actions in obtaining and publishing this bull. The letters to which Arnold referred were sent in May 1262.<sup>9</sup>

**755-56.** The king and his brother worked together in May to essentially overturn what was left of the Provisions.<sup>10</sup> Both then turned their attention overseas.<sup>11</sup> As is customary, Arnold recorded the king's leave-taking of the Londoners, and like other chroniclers, noted that the queen left with him.<sup>12</sup>

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  α-α, c. 754; *DBM*, 238-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *CPR*, *1258-66*, 162-4; for the baronial response, c. 752. Cf. *CFR*, *1260-1*, nos. 729, 766; *Flores*, ii, 467-70; *Wykes*, 125-9; *Gervase*, ii, 211; *Ann. Osney*, 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ann. Dun., 217; Ann. Osney, 128-9; Gervase, 213.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Treaty itself is recorded in *Ann. Osney,* 128-9, and reproduced with different arbiters named in *Foedera,* I, i, 415. For the general picture July to October 1261, *CPR, 1258-66,* 178-9, 189-90, *Wykes,* 129, *Ann. Dun.,* 217, *Ann. Wig.,* 446, Maddicott, *Montfort,* 211-214.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 200, 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *Eyre, 1276,* 1; appendix ii, 408-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For the text of the bull, *DBM*, 248-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> **β-β**; *Foedera*, I, i, 419.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> CR, 1261-4, 123, 126; Ann. Osney, 128-30.

<sup>11</sup> Wykes, 131; Ann. Osney, 130; Maddicott, Montfort, 217-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ann. Burton, 499; Ann. Osney, 130.

**757.** Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, died on 15 July 1262 near Canterbury; Henry of Wingham, bishop of London, died on 13 July at Stepney.<sup>1</sup>

**758.** The king's illness was noted elsewhere in similarly stark terms.<sup>2</sup>

**759.** Richard had been elected bishop on 18 August 1262, the king assented to his election on 6 September, and he died on 28 September.<sup>3</sup>

**760-1.** This municipal succession is confirmed elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

**762.** Arnold is a unique source for this outbreak of anti-Semitic rioting.

**763.** Henry spent Christmas at Canterbury before his arrival in London.<sup>5</sup>

**764.** The Thames occasionally froze over enough for it to be walked and ridden upon.<sup>6</sup>

**765.** While disagreeing on the exact date of this fire, writers from the South Coast to the Peak District also list the various rooms that were damaged in this fire.<sup>7</sup> One wonders if a newsletter of some description circulated.

**766-7.** Passages concerned with the Londoners' rights on the Thames in Arnold's book are usually heavily annotated by later hands: this is no exception.<sup>8</sup> The Londoners' claim that only they had the right to make attachments on the Thames was frequently made in court and duly recorded in Arnold's book.<sup>9</sup>

Royal prise had been, and would continue to be a concern of the Londoners and the baronial reformers throughout this period.<sup>10</sup> In this specific instance, William of Wilton's ignorance of how best to proceed is understandable:<sup>11</sup> in August 1258 an edict

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ann. Dun., 219; Gervase, ii, 215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ann. Dun., 219-20; Ann. Burton, 499; CR, 1261-4, 174-6. For an embarrassing consequence of this illness, D.A. Carpenter, 'An unknown obituary of King Henry III from the year 1263', in Carpenter, Reign, 253-260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 730; Wykes, 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1-2; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Gervase*, ii, 218; *Ann. Dun.*, 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 165; *Flores*, iii, 55-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gervase, ii, 219; Ann. Burton, 500; Ann. Dun., 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *Supra*, 166-68, fig.20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> **β-β**, c. 766; Cf. 1254, **ε-ε**, c. 682; 1258, c. 718.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> c. 714; *DBM*, 84-7, 274-7, 322-3; the issue of royal prise was only finally resolved on 6 March 1327, LMA COL/CH/01/033/A; *Ann. Paul.*, 325-32; *Albus*, 146; *Historical Charters*, 52-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> **β-β**, 767.

had been issued forbidding the taking of prise, but here the Londoners accept the king's right to take a small prise on corn.<sup>1</sup>

**768.** In 1263, to shore up his support, the king twice (in January and June) reissued the Provisions of Westminster, here called the Provisions of Oxford.<sup>2</sup> Although this entry comes chronologically *after* Arnold's report of the taking of prise in February 1262, it is most likely that Arnold refers to the January reissue here.<sup>3</sup> Arnold's unique addition that Montfort was working on 'aliis' to be observed with Norfolk, Hugh Bigod and Philip Basset is remarkable. Montfort was in France until April 1263, if Arnold is right, then it shows just how much 'indirect influence' Montfort could exercise from afar.<sup>4</sup>

769. The king ordered this oath to be taken as a response to on-going fears over his health, no doubt exacerbated by the deteriorating political situation.<sup>5</sup> During the period of reform and rebellion, communal oath-taking in London became a commonplace; what is particularly noticeable about this account is the lengths the city administrators went to in order to see that everyone took the oath.<sup>6</sup> Arnold did not mention something which can only have further increased tension in the city: just days before the Londoners began to swear their oaths, the king ordered the mayor and citizens to collect 'without delay' the arrears of the tallages outstanding since the investigation of 1258.<sup>7</sup>

**770-1.** The real significance of what Arnold has written here is not to be found in his description of events in Hereford and the Marches, all this has been better recorded elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> His claim that the barons were acting properly, moreover, is dubious.<sup>9</sup> But, Arnold has uniquely preserved the *petitio Baronum* of 1263.<sup>10</sup> This *petitio* would subsequently be incorporated into the *forma pacis* of late June/early July 1263, and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , 767; compare  $\delta$ - $\delta$ , c. 714.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> By now, Arnold had along with other writers, conflated the Provisions of Westminster and other enactments made between June 1258 and October 1259 under the title 'Provisions of Oxford', *DBM*, 97, n. 1; *Ann. Dun.*, 221; *Ann. Burton*, 500. For the reissues, Brand, *Kings, Barons and Justices*, 140-61; Maddicott, *Montfort*, 221, 228; *DBM*, 41-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> cc. 766-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Maddicott, *Montfort*, 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 758; Carpenter, 'An Unknown Obituary', 253-4; *CPR*, 1258-66, 285-6; *Ann. Dun.*, 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 743, 792, 832, 1175-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> CFR, 1262-3, nos. 293-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gervase, ii, 221-2; Ann. Dun., 221-2; Wykes, 133-5; Flores, iii, 256-7; Cf. Maddicott, Montfort, 225-9; Prestwich, Edward I, 38-9.

 $<sup>^{9}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 770; Cf. Maddicott, *Montfort*, 235-6.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 771; D.A. Carpenter, 'King Henry III's "statute" against aliens: July 1263', in Carpenter, *Reign*, 261-280, esp. 265-68.

'Statute against Aliens' proclaimed on 16 July 1263.<sup>1</sup> The *petitio*'s final demand that the realm be governed only by native-born men *and not by others* marked a turning point in the period of reform and rebellion and 'this is the first indication that such a measure was on the political agenda'.<sup>2</sup> True, the citizens' double declaration that the Provisions were 'ad honorem Dei, ad fidem regis et ad utilitatem regni' was well-established formulaic language probably taken from Montfort's letter of *c.* 24 June 1263.<sup>3</sup> Arnold made it plain, however, that the Londoners, mostly, were firmly behind the reformers.<sup>4</sup>

772-6. Arnold vividly conveys a sense of the anarchic situation in London *c.*24 June to *c.*21 July.<sup>5</sup> We can corroborate some of what Arnold has written: a plea roll for this year records 'the mayor and other good men of the city patrolling the streets' having to deal with marauding gangs;<sup>6</sup> the king was at Westminster on 16 July, and Hugh Despenser was reinstalled as justiciar and given custody of the Tower;<sup>7</sup> Arnold also no doubt witnessed the proclamation of peace at the Guildhall on 21 July.<sup>8</sup> It is harder to find corroboration for Arnold's denunciation of Thomas fitz Thomas and the London mob in cc. 773-4;<sup>9</sup> and there is, unfortunately, no surviving record of the fleetingly ratified ordinances to which Arnold refers in c. 776. Arnold's complaint that nothing was done for the augmentation of the city's liberties is, however, exaggerated – as a result of a process began in the summer of 1263, in October of that year the long-running dispute between the Londoners and the abbey of Westminster was finally settled in the Londoners' favour.<sup>10</sup> Arnold's omissions here are discussed above.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Carpenter, 'King Henry III's "statute" against aliens', 279-80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Carpenter, 'King Henry III's "statute" against aliens', 265. For anti-alien feeling and English national identity at this time, *Flores*, ii, 481; M.T. Clanchy, *England and Its Rulers*, 1066-1272, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1998), 173-189. Cf. H.W. Ridgeway, 'King Henry III and the "Aliens", 1236-72', in *TCE*, ii, 81-92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **γ-γ** and **ζ-ζ**, c. 711. See the oath of the twenty-four in the Provisions of Oxford, 'Chescun iura sur seintes Euangeles, ke il al honur de Deu, e a la fei rei, a al profit del reaume', reported by Wykes as 'quod provisiones Oxoniæ factas per viginti quatuor inviolabiliter observarent ad honorem Dei, ad honorem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, ad commodum regis, ad utilitatem totius regni', *DBM*, 100; *Wykes*, 119; and the baronial submission to Louis at Amiens, 'Vnde patet quod prouisio siue ordinacio ista sancta est et honesta, ad honorem domini regis et communem regni sui utilitatem factam', *DBM*, 264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> **β-β** and **ε-ε**, c. 771; *supra*, 45-46, 112-15; Cf. *Gervase*, ii, 223; *Ann. Dun.*, 223-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Ann. Dun.*, 222-3; *Gervase*, ii, 222-3; *Flores*, ii, 482; *Wykes*, 136; for a good modern account, Williams, *London*, 219-22, 227-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **α-α**, c. 772; *Eyre*, 1276, 38, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **β-β**, c. 772; *CPR*, 1258-66, 269; *Gervase*, ii, 223-4; Maddicott, *Montfort*, 232.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> c. 775; *CPR, 1258-66,* 269-70.

 $<sup>^9</sup>$  *Supra*, 118-21. The Cahorsins ( $\gamma$ , c. 773) were originally merchants from Cahors in Southern France; by this time, the name was used more loosely, usually referring to unpopular Italian money lenders N. Denholm-Young, 'Merchants of Cahors', in *idem, Collected Papers of N. Denholm-Young* (Cardiff, 1969), 290-7. Purprestures ( $\alpha$ , c. 774) were illegal buildings, frequently the subject of much complaint, deemed a public nuisance as they obstructed streets, *Eyre*, 1244, *Eyre*, 1276, passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> **β-β**, c. 776; c. 782.

**777.** The garrison at Windsor did mostly comprise foreign mercenaries.<sup>2</sup> Arnold's dating is spot on: safe-conducts were issued to those inside the castle on 26 July 1263.<sup>3</sup>

778. The clamour for the restoration of order and property began almost immediately following the king's submission to Montfort. The new government attempted to do this by issuing a series of letters, releasing prisoners, proclaiming a general peace and holding a September parliament.<sup>4</sup> Arnold was right that the matter was set for further discussion at the parliament of 13 October.

**779.** Arnold correctly notes the composition of the royal party, the date of its departure from England, and that the conference with Louis IX of France at Boulogne was attended by many nobles from various countries.<sup>5</sup> Neither Arnold nor Wykes support the Tewkesbury annalist's report that at this parliament Louis IX lent his support to the maintenance of the Provisions.<sup>6</sup>

**780.** The exchequer records confirm the names of these sheriffs.<sup>7</sup>

**781.** The king arrived in London both to celebrate the Confessor's feast day on 13 October and attend the parliament summoned for that day.

**782.** On 26 August 1263 Gilbert of Preston was ordered to enquire into 'contentions between the abbot and convent of Westminster and the citizens of London, touching certain liberties'.<sup>8</sup> Arnold must have written this entry close to the time of Gilbert's 'imperpetuum' judgement on 9 October.<sup>9</sup> After Henry regained his power in 1265, this judgement was set aside.<sup>10</sup>

**783.** The issue of restitution was an 'open goal' for the royalists. The orgy of violence that had broken out in the summer of 1263 had left many people 'quibus iniuste depredaciones seu transgressions facte fuerant', and presented the reformers with an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 127-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gervase, ii, 223; Ann. Dun., 224; Ann. Wig., 449.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 272.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Maddicott, *Montfort*, 241-4; *DBM*, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CR, 1261-4, 312; Gervase, ii, 224-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ann. Tewk., 176; Wykes, 136; Maddicott, Montfort, 244 n. 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sheriffs, 201. For Gregory of Ruxley, appendix ii, 411.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *CPR*, 1258-66, 288; for some 'contentions',  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 671,  $\gamma$ - $\gamma$ , c. 673.

 $<sup>^{9}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ; *supra*, 43-4; On 9 October the king had ordered Gilbert to postpone the matter, but this order sent from Dover presumably arrived too late, *CPR*, 1258-66, 283.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> CChR, 1257-1300, 238, 241; CPR, 1258-66, 588; cc. 871-2; **δ-δ**, c. 964.

insoluble problem. Arnold was aware that it was this issue along with the king's desire to take control of his own household, that saw the breakup of the October parliament.<sup>1</sup>

**784-5.** Arnold was well-informed for events during the last two weeks of October. Edward did leave London for Windsor *c.* 16 October, and his father did follow hard upon. They were indeed joined by a large number of followers, and it was on 1 November that an agreement was reached to submit the dispute to Louis IX of France.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, in London, Thomas fitz Thomas was re-elected mayor, and as Arnold notes, he was refused admission to office.<sup>3</sup> All of which makes it even more surprising that Arnold made no mention of the king's brief military campaign in the south of England which saw Montfort and his army trapped outside London at Southwark on 11 December, before they were rescued by the Londoners.<sup>4</sup>

**786.** The royal letters were dated 16 December 1263 and Henry crossed to France on 28 December.<sup>5</sup> The baronial letters were dated 13 December.<sup>6</sup>

**787-8.** Arnold copied the Mise of Amiens into his chronicle without giving any indication of his thoughts on its terms.<sup>7</sup> It has been printed in full with an English translation.<sup>8</sup> Arnold's version omits the preambles at the start, and the dating clause at the end, otherwise it is an almost verbatim copy.<sup>9</sup> Not many chroniclers took pains to copy it, but it was certainly well-known and must have circulated quite widely.<sup>10</sup>

**789.** Henry landed on 15 February 1264 and was immediately refused entrance into Dover Castle.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> *Flores,* ii, 484-5. For Henry's desire to control his household, *DBM*, 254-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 290, 296; Gervase, ii, 225; Ann. Dun., 225; Wykes, 137-8; DBM, 280-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1; CPR, 1258-66, 295.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 127-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *DBM*, 284-5.

<sup>6</sup> DBM, 286-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> There is no evidence that contemporaries called it the 'Mise of Amiens' (Arnold simply calls it an arbitration), this was a title first bestowed by Stubbs, W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development*, 3 vols., (Oxford, 1874-8), ii, 88. Other writers were not afraid to criticise Louis for this award, *Ann. Tewk.*, 179; *Ann. Dun.*, 227; *Wykes*, 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *DBM*, 280-91. For the Mise, R.F. Treharne, 'The Mise of Amiens, 23 January 1264' in R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin and R.W. Southern, eds., *Studies in Medieval History presented to F.M. Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), 223-239; R.C. Stacey, 'Crusades, crusaders and the baronial *gravamina* of 1263-1264' in *TCE*, iii, 137-150; Maddicott, *Montfort*, 248-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Modern editors have divided the Mise into numbered paragraphs; Arnold's version represents paragraphs 9-19, *DBM*, 286-91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> It was copied by the Tewksbury annalist in almost exactly the same form as here, Ann. Tewk., 177-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Gervase, ii, 232-3.

**790.** Arnold is unsure of specific dates and places here, no doubt because much of this action took place far from London. The attacks on Roger Mortimer's lands had actually begun *before* the king's return in c. 789, and his castle at Wigmore was soon captured.¹ Worcester was attacked and pillaged on 28/29 February, and Edward was nearly captured at Gloucester.² The 'parliament' to which Arnold refers was summoned on 6 March to muster by 30 March; however, one must be careful with Arnold's 'inter dominum regem et predictos barones': those opposed to the king were expressly not invited to Oxford, this was the mustering of a royalist army.³ Where Arnold is absolutely clear is in his memorable claim that the Mise of Amiens was wholly rejected, not just by the Londoners and Portsmen, but by 'fere omnis communa mediocris populi regni Anglie'.⁴ In this phrase, it is possible to glimpse just how wide the political community had become in England in 1264.

**791.** By 10 March 1264, if not earlier, bands of Londoners led by Despenser were attacking exchequer and royal officers in London, and ravaging the lands of royals and royalists around London.<sup>5</sup> Arnold paints an ambiguous picture of the London squadrons. On the one hand, they were organised enough to elect a marshal (Master Thomas Puleston) and a constable (Stephen Bukerel); to come to arms when summoned by the great bell of St Paul's – the traditional summons for the folkmoot; and they were well-armed.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, he described a mob who 'know not where they were going or what they supposed to do'.<sup>7</sup> In fact, the former is probably closer to the truth: the Londoners hardly chose their targets indiscriminately and Despenser was a capable leader.

**792.** Arnold's brief note on the battle of Northampton (5 April 1264) is accurate; and, in later legal inquisitions, the civil war was said to have begun on this day.<sup>8</sup> Before the battle, on 31 March, a party of reformist barons and the men of London took an oath 'to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gervase, ii, 233; Flores, ii, 486; Ann. Dun., 227; Ann. Tewk., 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Flores, ii, 486-8; Ann. Wig., 448-9; Ann. Dun., 227-8.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ; *CR*, 1261-4, 377-82; *Ann. Wig.*, 450. Meetings were held at Brackley and Oxford between the king and Montfortian bishops, *Ann. Lond.*, 61; *CPR*, 1258-66, 307-8, 310.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> β-β.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *CR*, 1261-4, 375-6; *Gervase*, ii, 234; *Flores*, ii, 487; Wykes was nonplussed at the attack on Richard of Cornwall's manor of Isleworth, as Richard 'is considered to be the particular protector of the same community [i.e. London]', *Wykes*, 140-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **α-α**; appendix ii, 404-5, 409-10.

<sup>7</sup> **B-B**.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> R.F. Treharne, 'The Battle of Northampton, 5th April 1264', in E.B. Fryde, ed., *Simon de Montfort and Baronial Reform: Thirteenth Century Essays* (London, 1986), 299-316. The chroniclers' reports of the battle are all in general agreement as to the facts of the battle, if not its rights and wrongs, for references, *ibid*.

help each other against all people who would wrongfully wish to harm us'. Arnold kept a copy of this oath, on the back of which he wrote a note to its administration. 2

**793.** This attack on the Jewish community of London during the week 6 to 13 April 1264 was especially violent and there is no reason to think that Arnold's figure of 500 deaths is inaccurate.<sup>3</sup> On 11 June 1264, the mayor and sheriffs of London were ordered to see to the safe return of the Jews still in the Tower to their houses.<sup>4</sup>

Some Londoners captured by the royalist army after the siege of Rochester 17-25/6 April met an unhappy fate.<sup>5</sup>

**794-800.** Arnold devoted several chapters to the battle of Lewes and its aftermath.<sup>6</sup> **794**] It is regrettable that Arnold neither named a single Londoner who fought at Lewes, nor reported how many Londoners took to the field that day: how useful Arnold's testimony on that score would have been.<sup>7</sup> It is, too, rather surprising that 'The Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London' does not report the death of at least three former sheriffs of London in the battle.<sup>8</sup> Arnold also has no record of an attempt on the night before the battle by a royalist, Richard of Ware, to set a fire in London that caused considerable damage.<sup>9</sup>

There has been an intriguing erasure here: after the words 'rex Alemannie captus est', Arnold has crossed out (perhaps after Evesham?) 'et dominus rex et Edwardus reddiderunt se'. Compare this with the Worcester annalist's 'Dominus autem Edwardus nulli se reddidit; sed consilio patris sui baronibus se subdidit'. It is striking that two chroniclers, working independently of each other, both stress that Edward, at least, did not surrender himself.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> α-α.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 1175-6; Stone, 'The rebel barons', 1-18; *supra*, 16, 101, 112-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Gervase,* ii, 235; *Flores,* ii, 489; *Ann. Wint.,* 101; *Ann. Osney,* 145; *Ann. Dun.,* 230; *Ann. Wig.,* 450; *Wykes,* 141-3. There was a similar but smaller outbreak of anti-Semitic rioting in Canterbury too.

 $<sup>^{4}</sup>$  *CPR*, 1258-66, 322; Cf. **α-α** here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 315-6; CR, 1261-4, 343; Gervase, ii, 235-6; Ann. Lond., 62; Wykes, 146-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The best modern account of the battle of Lewes is D.A. Carpenter, *The Battles of Lewes and Evesham,* 1264/65 (Keele, 1987). In what follows some specific references to the primary sources are given, but in all other instances, *ibid.* 19-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For the names of some Londoners there that day, *Wykes*, 147-52; Cf. *Ann. Wav.*, 356-7; *Flores*, ii, 492; *Ann. Dun.*, 232; *Ann. Wig.*, 451-2. According to Rishanger (perhaps confused following *Flores*'s figure for the total rebel army) the Londoners' contingent numbered the implausible 15,000 men, *Rishanger*, 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> William Grapefig (February 1258), cc. 698, 707; *CPR*, 1258-66, 468; *CPR*, 1266-72, 435. Stephen of Oystergate (February 1255), c. 684; Williams, *London*, 225. Richard Picard (1253-4, 1260-1), cc. 681, 738; *Wykes*, 147-52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Eyre, 1276, 84; Ann. Lond., 63; Flores, ii, 498; Ann. Osney, 147; Croniques, 5; supra, 127-30.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ann. Wig., 452. Here the Worcester annalist is following BL MS Cotton Vespasian E iv.

Otherwise Arnold's reporting of the 'Mise of Lewes', agreed on the evening following the battle, is excellent;<sup>2</sup> only Arnold and a monk at Furness correctly recorded 'the most important details of the settlement which followed the battle' via a newsletter which circulated at the time.<sup>3</sup> This entry must have been made close to the time of the battle.<sup>4</sup> **796**] On Monday 26 May, a letter was sent to King Louis of France with a copy of the Mise asking him to use his good offices to bring the Mise into effect.<sup>5</sup> Did the proclamation of peace on 27 May involve publication of the letter with the Mise? It is not clear whether the baronial army's arrival 'in crastino' should be understood as occurring on the next day (28 May) or on 'the morrow of Ascension' [30 May].<sup>6</sup> Arnold did not say how the baronial army was received into London, he certainly made no reference to any celebrations. The various destinations to which the two kings and their sons were sent were noted elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

**797-800**] 'These letters appear in more chronicles than do any other documents from the period 1258 to 1265' – they were probably widely publicised after the battle to vindicate the baronial cause.<sup>8</sup> Arnold has indented c. 797 as if to receive an illuminated initial letter.

**801-2.** Richard was probably taken from the Tower to Wallingford, not Berkhampstead.<sup>9</sup> The most famous result of the parliament held in London, in June 1264, was the publication of an ordinance, of which Arnold clearly had sight, for the government of England.<sup>10</sup>

**803-811.** Alongside reform to the governance of England, the June 1264 parliament also saw the beginning of an attempt to bring order back to the English church.<sup>11</sup> Arnold seems, uniquely, to have obtained some form of unpublished memorandum from this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> DBM, 290-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the name 'Mise of Lewes', Wykes, 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Maddicott, 'The Mise of Lewes, 1264', 591-5, with Arnold's text printed alongside that from Furness at 602-3. For other analyses of the Mise, Carpenter, 'Simon de Montfort and the Mise of Lewes', 281-91; Maddicott, *Montfort*, 272-5, 292-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 43-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Maddicott, 'Mise of Lewes', 595.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. '25 May', *Gervase*, ii, 238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Flores, ii, 498; Gervase, ii, 238; Wykes, 152-3; Ann. Dun., 232-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Maddicott, 'Mise of Lewes', 589, n. 2 with a comprehensive list of copies of these letters.

<sup>9</sup> N. Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall (Oxford, 1947), 129, n. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cf. c. 802, with 'ad reformationem status regni Anglie eligantur et nominentur tres discreti et fideles de regno', *DBM*, 294-301. For full analysis of the Ordinance, and its implications, Maddicott, *Montfort*, 285-89. <sup>11</sup> Maddicott, *Montfort*, 303-6.

parliament; and his text here has been printed in *Councils and Synods*.<sup>1</sup> The text which Arnold copied was some sort of working draft, which, stylistically, switches between the first and third person. Arnold is usually a good copyist of source material, but the text here is corrupt in several places, so presumably it was in his exemplar too. Arnold is also a unique source for further action taken by the Montfortian regime, in October 1264, to reform the church.<sup>2</sup>

**812-14.** Other chroniclers, too, particularly noted the role played by Eleanor of Provence in gathering together a huge force of mercenaries at Damme to invade England.<sup>3</sup> Arnold has copied the royal letter, summoning a huge army to repel the 'alienigenarum magna multitudo', sent to the sheriff of Essex.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps one was not sent to London? Had the London militia not been stood down since Lewes? Or perhaps the raising of London's militia was effected differently, through the aldermen in their wards?<sup>5</sup> What is clear is that a huge army, 'innumerabiles populi equitum et peditum' in Arnold's words, gathered in Kent in August 1264.<sup>6</sup>

**815.** The king and the barons actually travelled to Canterbury, not Dover, where they arrived on 12 August. On 15 August the 'Peace of Canterbury' was agreed and sent to Louis IX of France.<sup>7</sup>

**816.** The four men named by Arnold, along with the bishop of Winchester and Richard of Meopham, archdeacon of Oxford, were named as proctors and envoys to travel to France.<sup>8</sup> September 1264 actually saw the proposition of two separate peace plans by the Montfortian government, of which Arnold was less well-informed.<sup>9</sup>

**817.** The clergy did grant a tenth.<sup>10</sup>

**818.** An enigmatic entry. The exchequer memoranda rolls give no indication that these sheriffs did not swear at their presentation.<sup>1</sup>

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  *Councils and Synods*, i, 694-700. Powicke and Cheney printed the abbreviated **R**s as 'respondeo', I have chosen 'responsum'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 820.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Rishanger, 35-6; Flores, ii, 500; Wykes, 154; Ann. Wig., 452.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Foedera, I, i, 444; CPR, 1258-66, 360-1, 364-5. Cf. CR, 1261-4, 395, 399-401.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Supra, 25-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 814; Flores, ii, 499-500; Wykes, 154-5; Ann. Wig., 453.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *DBM*, 294-301; *CPR*, 1258-66, 366. For an analysis of the terms, context and implications of the 'Peace', Maddicott, *Montfort*, 293-6. Cf. *CR*, 1261-4, 390, 396-7, 398-9.

<sup>8</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 370.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Maddicott, *Montfort*, 296-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *CPR*, 1258-66, 568-9; *Gervase*, ii, 242; Mitchell, *Taxation*, 290-1.

**819.** King Henry returned to Westminster in time to celebrate the Confessor's feast on 13 October. Arnold is silent on the excommunication of the rebel barons, the Londoners and the men of the Cinque Ports by the papal legate on 20 October 1264,<sup>2</sup>

**820.** Arnold, again uniquely among the chroniclers, reported measures taken by the Montfortian government in 1264 to reform the state of the English church.<sup>3</sup> The letters patent to which Arnold refers must be those of October 1264.<sup>4</sup> These make no reference, however, to the excommunication of those refusing to accept the bishops' judgement, nor to the collection of revenues from the benefices of aliens.

**821-3.** Thomas fitz Thomas was indeed elected mayor again in 1264 and his presentation noted on the exchequer memoranda rolls.<sup>5</sup> No Husting records of pleas of land or common pleas survive from before 1272, it is, therefore, impossible to judge the accuracy of Arnold's accusations against Thomas. It is certainly true that from 1261-4 no wills were proved and enrolled at the Husting court, but that was not particularly unusual.<sup>6</sup> Arnold made similar accusations against Hervey in 1273.<sup>7</sup>

**824.** Trouble had broken out in the Welsh marches in October 1264; Montfort summoned an army to muster in November; and by mid-December, the Marcher barons had been forced to come to terms at Worcester, not Gloucester.<sup>8</sup> The agreement made at Worcester does not survive, but it was widely reported in similar terms by several chroniclers, including Arnold, and it is possible to reconstruct its conditions.<sup>9</sup> It may even be that we can recover some of its language: Arnold's use of the future participle, and future perfect and future simple tenses in this report certainly reads as if it has been taken from an agreement setting out the future obligations of the Marchers.<sup>10</sup> 'Quod non stetit' is a later addition which shows that this entry was almost certainly written before March 1265.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> TNA E 368/39 m. 1; E 159/39 m. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Supra, 127-30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. cc. 803-11; Councils and Synods, i, 694-700.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 375; Cf. CPR, 1258-66, 393.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1; TNA E/159/39 m. 4d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Only one will was proved and enrolled between November 1264 and November 1271, *Wills*, ix-x, 9-10. <sup>7</sup> c. 1113

<sup>8</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 389; CR, 1264-8, 35; Ann. Dun., 234-5; Ann. Osney, 154-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ann. Dun., 234-5; Ann. Osney, 156-8; Flores, ii, 504; Wykes, 159, who wrongly gives a three year exile: Arnold's is an accurate enough summary. For a summary of the terms, Maddicott, Montfort, 307-8; for a series of safe-conducts and chancery orders, *CPR*, 1258-66, 394-5, 398, 399, 410, 415.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> **c-c**; *supra*, 46-47.

Arnold (surprisingly?) did not note the that, in December 1264, Montfort acting in the name of the king reissued the Provisions of Westminster, a copy of which was certainly sent to the county of Middlesex and preserved in London's archive.<sup>1</sup>

**825-30.** The reasons for the summoning of this parliament, to secure the release of the Lord Edward from captivity and to confirm a lasting peace, were set out in the writs issued on 14 and 24 December 1264.<sup>2</sup> Parliament met from January to March 1265. Lacking noble support, Montfort summoned, for the first time, knights *and* burgesses to this parliament, whose role he extended beyond that of just approving taxation, actively encouraging their participation in the politics and government of England.<sup>3</sup> For this reason this parliament has been called 'a great step forward to the final formation of parliament' and 'the House of Commons in embryo'.<sup>4</sup> Sophie Ambler has written the most detailed analysis of its proceedings.<sup>5</sup>

Arnold wrote the fullest contemporary report that we have of this parliament, which he stiffened with details taken from official letters and proclamations.<sup>6</sup> Arnold possibly witnessed Henry III's promises in the Chapter-House at Westminster.<sup>7</sup> He almost certainly did witness the ceremony in the Great Hall at Westminster.<sup>8</sup>

A small error that Arnold made is instructive.<sup>9</sup> The summons sent to 'qualibet ciuitate et burgo' requested that they send two, not four representatives to this parliament.<sup>10</sup> There is no surviving copy of the writ sent to London, but presumably Arnold's error reveals that the Londoners, like the men of the Cinque Ports, sent four representatives.<sup>11</sup> Arnold must have written this report up close to the time of the events themselves.<sup>12</sup>

**831-2.** Arnold correctly noted that all free men renewed their fealty to the king.<sup>13</sup> The swearing of oaths of loyalty in London, *en masse*, had been a frequent occurrence during

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Brand, *Kings, Barons, and Justices*, 161-5, 429-51; for the Middlesex copy *Cust.*, iii, 666-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> CR, 1264-8, 84-7; DBM, 300-303.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Maddicott, Origins, 260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> DBM, 51; D.A. Carpenter, 'The Beginnings of Parliament' in Carpenter, Reign, 381-408, at 393.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ambler, 'Magna Carta: its confirmation'; Cf. Maddicott, *Montfort*, 316-20; Maddicott, *Origins*, 257-61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *Supra*, 95-6, 100-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 825. Recorded in a final agreement published on 14 March 1265, *CChR*, 1257-1300, 54; *Foedera*, I, i, 453; *DBM*, 308-15. Cf. *Ann. Wav.*, 358-61; *Ann. Dun.*, 236-8. For the June 1264 ordinance, c. 802; *DBM*, 294-301. <sup>8</sup> c. 826.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> **α-α**, c. 825.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The writ was addressed to the 'citizens of York, the citizens of Lincoln and to the other boroughs of England'—NB. not the sheriffs of the counties but the citizens themselves, *DBM*, 303.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> CR, 1264-8, 89; DBM, 304-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Supra, 46-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 'E pur ceo que nostre seignor le Roi devant la bataille de Lewes avoit defie plosiers de ses bone gent de sa tere, et mis hors de sa foie, e eus par leur bone volentee le vollent reconustre derichef com siegnor,

the period of reform and rebellion.<sup>1</sup> This particular occasion, however, is made especially memorable by Arnold's report that the king of England was told to his face by Thomas fitz Thomas, in an Aragonese 'if not, not' style, that if he should be a good king, he would find the Londoners 'faithful and devoted'.<sup>2</sup> This marginal insertion was probably added after the battle of Evesham when Thomas had been imprisoned.<sup>3</sup>

**833.** Clare had almost certainly left London by 19 March 1265, probably departing sometime between 27 February and 14 March.<sup>4</sup> It was, however, only when Gilbert came not to Northampton for a tournament to be held on 20 April, that it was evident that he and Montfort were at odds.<sup>5</sup> The king was at Gloucester from 28 April, and the arbitration which was agreed between Simon and Gilbert was confirmed on 12 May.<sup>6</sup> That this agreement 'ad effectum non uenit' would have been almost immediately obvious following Edward's escape from custody on 28 May.<sup>7</sup>

Gilbert would, over the next three years, portray himself as the defender of the Provisions of Oxford, of which portrayal there is an early indication here.<sup>8</sup> The only articles currently 'in fine huius libri' to which Arnold's marginal insertion could be referring are those of the Statute of Marlborough, the majority of which, according to Arnold 'ordinata fuit tempore comitis Leycestrie, anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo quarto'.<sup>9</sup>

**834.** Arnold twice added 'ut dicebatur' to this entry. The allegations appear true enough, perhaps Arnold feared to criticise Montfort and his sons openly. 10

**835-6.** Edward escaped from Hereford and travelled via Wigmore to Ludlow, not Chester.<sup>11</sup> There he met and formed an alliance with Clare; both men were then joined

acorde est qe tuz iceus qe estoient de son homage, e estoient diffiez, lui facent homage de novel, solom le usage de la tere', *Foedera*, I, i, 451.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 743, 769, 792, 1175-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Marginal ins. **a**; Cf. 'We, who are worth as much as you, make you our King and Lord, provided that you guard for us our fueros and liberties, and if not, not', Ralph Giesey, *If Not, Not. The Oath of the Aragonese and the Legendary Laws of Sobrarbe* (Princeton, 1968), 6, 247.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 127-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *CR*, 1264-8, 33-4; Ambler, 'Magna Carta: its confirmation', 821.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Ann. Dun.*, 238-9; *Guisborough*, 197. For the reasons behind the falling out, c. 834; *Gervase*, ii, 242; *Flores*, iii, 1; *Ann. Osney*, 162-3; *Ann. Wig.*, 453; *Wykes*, 160-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 420; Ann. Wav., 361-2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 835-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ ; Maddicott, *Montfort*, 332.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Margina ins. **d**; cc. 1184-1274, at c. 1184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *Wykes,* 157-9; *Guisborough,* 197; *CR,* 1264-8, 122-3; *supra,* 127-30. For similar accusations against the Portsmen in 1265-6, cc. 863-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Flores, iii, 2; Wykes, 163-4; Maddicott, Montfort, 334.

by Earl Warenne and William de Valence, who had landed at Pembroke in early May.<sup>1</sup> The fall of the city of Gloucester on 14 June, and the castle there on 29 June came at the end of a devastatingly quick advance throughout the Welsh March by Edward and his followers.<sup>2</sup> In response to this alarming situation, between 17 and 20 June Montfort agreed the Treaty of Pipton with Llywelyn.<sup>3</sup> Arnold is well-informed of the Treaty's terms here and the subsequent destruction of Paincastle castle.<sup>4</sup> Arnold was not the only English writer to criticise this agreement with Llywelyn, although Arnold's language is particularly strong.<sup>5</sup>

**837.** Simon de Montfort junior took Winchester on 16 July.<sup>6</sup> The Jews, again, suffered particularly during Simon's three-day sack of the city.<sup>7</sup> There was a substantial number of Londoners in Simon's army at Winchester, which perhaps explains why they, mindful of events at Lewes, withdrew for fear of the Lord Edward's approach.<sup>8</sup>

**838.** Simon junior had come to London to raise troops on 24 June; on 26 June his father wrote, rather anxiously, to the 'whole commonalty' of London, in the king's name, thanking them for their loyalty and steadfastness. Arnold's 'litteras commune ciuitatis patentes' do not survive, but this entry marked something new in the judicial history of London, as the first occasion, of which we know, that the city authorities acted as justices of the peace. It was clearly a very uneasy time: the mayor and aldermen of London would not again impose the death penalty for breaches of the peace until 1340. In

**839.** Simon junior's army was literally caught napping at Kenilworth by the Lord Edward on the night of 1 August 1264.<sup>12</sup> Many leading Montfortians were captured, and Arnold's list of prisoners is accurate.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Wykes, 164-5; Flores, iii, 264; Ann. Wav., 362; Maddicott, Montfort, 334-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Gervase,* ii, 243; *Flores,* iii, 2; *Ann. Wav.,* 362; *Wykes,* 164-6. One gets a sense of the reactionary contortions of the Montfort government to events beyond its control in a series of royal letters, *CPR,* 1258-66, 429-30, 431, 432, 486-7; *CR,* 1264-8, 62-3, 124-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 433-4; Foedera, I, i, 457; Ann. Wav., 363.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> α-α, c. 836.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wykes, 168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *Ann. Wig.*, 454; *Ann. Wint.*, 102; compare Arnold's 'ciues noluerunt eos recipere in ciuitate' with the Waverley annalist's 'cives civitatis nolentes eum receipere'. *Ann. Wav.*, 363.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc: 762, 793; Maddicott, *Montfort*, 339.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **α-α**; *Wykes*, 169-70; Carpenter, *Battles of Lewes and Evesham*, 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 434.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> α-α

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1323-64, xiii-xiv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Wykes, 169-70; Ann. Wig., 454; Flores, iii, 4; Ann. Wint., 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ann. Osney, 166-7; Ann. Wav., 364-5.

**840-1.** An altogether dispassionate account of the battle of Evesham, and also the first identifiable entry made after the battle itself.<sup>1</sup> Arnold is well-informed of the movements of the two armies prior to the battle;<sup>2</sup> although his casualty list is rather shorter than those provided by the majority of other chroniclers.<sup>3</sup>

Arnold subsequently composed a rather implausible account of a plot afoot in London at this time to kill leading royalists.<sup>4</sup>

**842.** Among the numerous reports of the shameful mutilation of Montfort's corpse *post bellum*, Arnold uniquely recorded the gruesome detail that Simon's severed testicles were placed over his nose.<sup>5</sup> The decision to send this macabre trophy of war to Maud de Mortimer, which was reported in other sources, was deliberate and significant.<sup>6</sup> The storm which occurred concurrently with the battle must have been widely dispersed over England, although Arnold gave no indication as to whether he thought the battle and storm were connected.<sup>7</sup>

**843.** Despenser's widow, Alina, released all the prisoners being held in the Tower apart from Robert de Ferrers; other prisoners were also released from the castles in which they had been kept.<sup>8</sup> It was not until early September that Richard of Cornwall and others were released from Kenilworth castle.<sup>9</sup>

**844.** The parliament which met at Winchester just after 8 September 1265 was unable to conclude much business before Welsh attacks in Cheshire forced it to prorogue until October. Alongside a raft of grants to reward royalists, one outcome from this parliament, however, was the endorsement of a rash sentence of disinheritance against those who had fought against the king. 11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 44-49, 98.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  α-α, c. 840; Carpenter, *The Battles of Lewes and Evesham,* 37-66; O. de Laborderie, J.R. Maddicott, D.A, Carpenter, 'The last hours of Simon de Montfort: a new account', *EHR*, cxv, No. 461 (Apr., 2000), 378-412; Maddicott, *Montfort,* 339-42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Flores, iii, 6; Ann. Lond., 69; Ann. Wav., 364-5; Ann. Osney, 167-73; Ann. Wig., 454-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 991-3; *supra*, 47-48, 112-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For a full list of sources mentioning the mutilation, E. Cavell, 'Intelligence and intrigue in the March of Wales: noblewomen and the fall of Llwyelyn ap Grffudd, 1274-82', *Historical Research*, lxxxviii (Feb., 2015), 1-19, at 7, n. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cavell, 'Intelligence and intrigue', 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ann. Osney, 173; Ann. Wig., 454; Ann. Wav., 365; Rishanger, xxxiv.

<sup>8</sup> Wykes, 175-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Wykes, 175-6; Ann. Wav., 365.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ann. Osney, 178-9; Ann. Wav., 366; Ann. Wint., 102-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *CPR*, *1258-66*, 449-456; *Ann. Wig.*, 455. For Arnold's explanation of how the king ended up under Montfort's power, *CPR*, *1258-66*, 436.

**845-62.** The king visited harsh retribution upon the Londoners for their actions during the period of reform and rebellion.<sup>1</sup> No other chronicle gets anywhere close to providing the same level of detail of the frenzied atmosphere in London, from October to December 1265, as Arnold's eyewitness testimony does.

**845-6**] There was no one at the exchequer to receive the newly-elected sheriffs as the *adventus vicecomitum* for Michaelmas 1265 took place at Windsor, not Westminster.<sup>2</sup>

847-8] None of the letters sent to the king seeking mercy are known to have survived.<sup>3</sup> On 27 September 1265, safe-conducts were granted to Stephen Bukerel, John Adrian, Robert of Cornhill, Arnold fitz Thedmar, Reginald of Suffolk, William son of Richard and their households to come to Windsor and 'treat with the king on matters touching the city of London'.<sup>4</sup> Were these six men among the eight elected by the citizens?<sup>5</sup> Possibly, although Bukerel, one of the most prominent rebels, would have been an odd choice. Perhaps the royal safe-conduct was an answer to a letter from the city in which leading citizens promised to escort Bukerel to the king as evidence of their *bona fide*?<sup>6</sup>

**849-52**] Roger of Leyburn had been, since August 1263, a prominent royalist. He was well rewarded for his loyalty after Evesham and acted as the king's representative, visible here ferrying (no doubt literally) between the Tower and Windsor, in discussions with the Londoners.<sup>7</sup> The letters of safe-conduct with which forty leading citizens travelled to Windsor on Saturday 3 October were not enrolled; it is unlikely that Arnold was referring to those issued by the king to six citizens on 27 September.<sup>8</sup>

853] Even Wykes – no apologist for the Londoners' recent conduct – deplored the king's actions in arresting men who had come to him in peace.<sup>9</sup> Thomas fitz Thomas, Puleston, Michael Tovy (the younger) and Bukerel were leading rebels and could have expected little mercy from the king.<sup>10</sup> John of Fleet (aka John the Capper) was less prominent: he was imprisoned and lost his properties on 17 October 1265, before he was released and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Williams, London, 232-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> TNA E 159/40 m. 17; TNA E 368/40 m. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **β-β**, c. 848.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 457.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> γ-γ, c. 848.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Williams, London, 232.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Wykes, 176; Ann. Wav., 366; A. Lewis, 'Roger Leyburn and the pacification of England, 1265-7', EHR, liv, No. 214 (Apr., 1939), 193-214. For the chains obstructing the streets (c. 850), Flores, iii, 6-7; Ann. Wav., 367. In February 1266 several cartloads of these chains were moved from the Tower to Windsor, Jacob, Studies, 255, n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> α-α, c. 851. The letters of 27 September were specifically granted to six named individuals and their households and promised safe-conduct only until Tuesday 29 September, *CPR*, 1258-66, 457.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Wykes also names Thomas, Puleston, Tovy, Matthew [sic] Bukerel and John the Capper as those who were 'particularly opposed to the king and who provoked the mob of the city to villainy' *Wykes*, 177. <sup>10</sup> For biographies of all four men, appendix ii, 404-5, 408-10, 412.

admitted into the king's peace, in April 1266, upon payment to Edward of 500 marks. Arnold's 'alii' were probably John de Baliol and Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford. 2

**854**] Upon his arrival in London, the king confiscated the goods and properties of the Londoners, both within and without the city.<sup>3</sup> The seizure of the Londoners' goods at King's Lynn led to a particularly protracted dispute.<sup>4</sup> Leyburn handed over custody of both the city and the Tower to Hugh son of Otto on 15 October 1265.<sup>5</sup> On 29 October Adrian and Hervey were appointed to serve as his assistants.<sup>6</sup>

**855**] Richard Bonaventure was a goldsmith and moneyer who was called 'the king's enemy' and stripped of his properties on 14 October 1265.<sup>7</sup> In 1269, an investigation showed that he had not been a rebel and the mayor and sheriffs of London were ordered to assist him in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to regain his properties.<sup>8</sup> In the same year he succeeded William of Gloucester (below) as keeper of the works of the shrine of St Edward, in which capacity he was subsequently granted a lifetime exemption from tallages and prises in London.<sup>9</sup>

There is no obvious evidence that Simon of Hadstock was a rebel; indeed, his kinsman Augustine had been one of the royalists mistakenly killed by the Lord Edward's men at Lewes: nevertheless, he lost his properties on 16/19 October.<sup>10</sup> He subsequently stood as guarantor for the future behaviour of Tovy and Thomas fitz Thomas.<sup>11</sup>

William of Kent's case is obscure, but both Roger of Leyburn and one of Queen Eleanor's merchants were beneficiaries of his misfortune.<sup>12</sup>

A William of Gloucester was described as the 'king's enemy'.<sup>13</sup> It would be surprising, however, if this was the same William of Gloucester who served as keeper of the king's works at Westminster from 1263-9, and who, until his death in 1269, was a beneficiary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 466, 579.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **α**; *CPR*, 1258-66, 461.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *CPR*, 1258-66, 460-99; *Flores*, iii, 6-7; *Wykes*, 183-4; *Ann. Wig.*, 455. Not every victim of these confiscations was an obvious rebel, Williams, *London*, 233-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 491; CPR, 1266-72, 705.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 463.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The enrolled version of this appointment names le Waleys not Adrian, but the exchequer records confirm that Adrian served with Hervey, *CR*, 1264-8, 142; *Sheriffs*, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 463.

<sup>8</sup> CR, 1268-72, 21, 110, 134; CPR, 1266-72, 381; Williams, London, 236.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 404, 541, 630; The History of the King's Works, ed. H.M. Colvin (London, 1963) i, 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Wykes, 150-1; CPR, 1258-66, 465, 467.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> CR, 1264-8, 543; CR, 1268-72, 103-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 464, 519.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> CR, 1261-4, 376; CPR, 1258-66, 579.

of royal favour both before and after the period of reform and rebellion.<sup>1</sup> His name was added to this list by scribe 2, presumably after he had read of his release in c. 862.

856] There is, unfortunately, no known record of who the hostages taken by the king were.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps they were taken from the families of Londoners who had fled the city?<sup>3</sup> The Londoners' reasonable response to royal demands for a fine availed them nothing.<sup>4</sup> 857] Henry actually left London to go to Windsor, he then travelled to Northampton.<sup>5</sup> John Walerand and John de la Linde replaced Hugh son of Otto as custodians of the city of London and the Tower earlier than Arnold records, on 28 November 1265.<sup>6</sup> Arnold deliberately avoids calling the body of more than twenty-four men to whom governance of the city was entrusted 'aldermen': no doubt because several aldermen were, of course, in royal custody at this time.<sup>7</sup>

**858**] Compare Arnold's 'primam uocem in ciuitate' with two other uses of the same phrase in cc. 773, 889.

859-62] Leyburn and Robert Walerand were indeed sent by the king in Christmas week 1265 to agree the terms of the colossal 20,000 mark fine; and following its agreement, the keepers of the city were ordered to release the hostages, although Thomas fitz Thomas, Puleston, Bukerel, Tovy, John the Capper and the hostages of the fugitives all remained in custody.<sup>8</sup> A copy of the letter patent, dated 11 January, which Arnold copied in full, remains among the records of the Corporation of London.<sup>9</sup> Despite this document clearly setting out that the Londoners had been pardoned for excesses committed not just against the king, but also against Queen Eleanor (doubtless a reference to attacks on her in 1263), Richard of Cornwall and the Lord Edward, in 1267 the Londoners agreed to a further payment of 1,000 marks to Richard for damage caused to his manor of Isleworth.<sup>10</sup> Arnold became embroiled in a lengthy dispute with his fellow citizens over his payments towards these fines, yet surprisingly at no point does Arnold venture an opinion on the terms of the fines themselves, or on the general provisions that were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 85; CR, 1264-8, 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On 14 December the king wrote to the royal bailiffs ordering them to deliver carefully and expeditiously a dozen of the hostages to Rochester Castle, *CR*, *1264-8*, 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> On 11 January, the keepers of London were ordered to release all hostages, except those five who had been given to Edward, and 'the hostages of the fugitives of the said city', *CPR*, 1258-66, 530-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> α-α.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 518-22.

<sup>6</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 512.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> e.g. Puleston, Thomas fitz Thomas, Bukerel, Simon of Hadstock; Alexander le Ferrun and perhaps others had fled.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> c. 859; *CPR, 1258-66,* 524, 531, 532.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> c. 861; LMA COL/CH/01/018; enrolled copy, *CPR*, 1258-66, 530-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> **α-α**, c. 861; cc. 791, 899.

made for their collection.<sup>1</sup> Two possibly related accounts specify that a levy was made of a quarter of annual rents in the city.<sup>2</sup> The Londoners actually made a good start to paying the 20,000 mark fine, although they were forced to raise loans for some of it, and some was even paid in halfpennies; nevertheless, within three months they had paid 11,000 marks.<sup>3</sup> Richard of Walbrook was no rebel. He was alderman of Coleman Street ward and sheriff 1261-2, and a merchant who traded with Flemings merchants; it seems that the king was particularly keen that the specific grant of his houses and possessions to Ebulo de Montibus should stand. In January 1266 the citizens of London paid 500 marks to Ebulo on Richard's behalf.<sup>4</sup> Otherwise, it was a comprehensive agreement and in a series of letters issued immediately after it was agreed, the king took steps to uphold his side of the bargain.<sup>5</sup>

863. The papal legate, Ottobuono Fieschi, cardinal-deacon of St Adrian, had arrived in England at the end of October 1266.<sup>6</sup> Simon de Montfort junior had taken to the Isle of Axholme with others of the disinherited by November, where he was besieged by Edward and forced to come to terms in December: he was then taken to Northampton.<sup>7</sup> As part of this 'arbitrium', for which Arnold claims he did *not* wait, Simon agreed to go into exile and was granted a pension; he was then taken to London. According to the other chroniclers, in London he began to suspect that he would be imprisoned rather than exiled, so he fled for Winchelsea on 10 February 1266, whence he left for France.<sup>8</sup>

**864.** The men of the Cinque Ports had supported the baronial cause as fervently as the Londoners had. Indeed, while the king had been pacifying London in the autumn of 1265, disorder had continued along the coasts of southern and eastern England.<sup>9</sup> This disorder was eventually brought to a halt when Edward arrived with a large force on the South Coast in March 1266.<sup>10</sup> At the end of March 1266, the king pardoned the Portsmen, received them back into his favour and confirmed their liberties, with none of the confiscations or recriminations recently seen in London.<sup>11</sup> Arnold was so aghast at

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 48-53, 1291-1296. Arnold's 1,700 word account focuses exclusively on his personal situation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Flores Southwark, fo. 242v; Ann. Lond., 70-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 548, 554, 567, 658-9; CR, 1264-8, 187-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> β-β; c. 751; McEwan, 'Aldermen', 194; CR, 1264-8, 230; CPR, 1258-66, 471, 539; Williams, London, 235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 530-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gervase, ii, 243; Ann. Dun., 240. For more on Ottobuono, cc. 865-6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ann. Wav., 368; Wykes, 180-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ann. Wint., 103; Ann. Wav., 368; Ann. Dun., 239-40; Gervase, ii, 244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 547, 613; Ann. Wig., 455-6; Ann. Wav., 367.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Flores, iii, 8; Gervase, ii, 244-5; Ann. Wint., 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *CPR*, 1258-66, 573, 574, 588; *Ann. Wav.*, 369. For the king's treatment of the Londoners, cc. 845-62.

the royal leniency shown towards the Portsmen – in stark contrast to the royal severity exhibited towards the Londoners – that he even dropped into the first person.<sup>1</sup>

865-6. Guy Foulquois, cardinal-bishop of Sabina, had been appointed papal legate to England on 22 September 1263; he was prevented from entering England by the Montfortians. Eventually, in September 1264, Henry of Sandwich (bishop of London 1263-73), Walter de Cantilupe (bishop of Worcester 1237-66), and John Gervase (bishop of Winchester 1262-8) crossed with several baronial envoys to Boulogne. The bishops of London and Worcester returned to England in early October with the legate's proposal for a settlement, along with bulls of excommunication and interdict against the barons, the Londoners and the Portsmen: upon their arrival, the papal bulls were seized by the men of Dover, torn into pieces and thrown into the sea. The legate's commission ended with the death of Pope Urban IV on 2 October 1264; he published the sentences of excommunication and interdict at Hesdin in Flanders on 20 October; returned to Rome and was elected as Pope Clement IV on 5 February 1265.<sup>2</sup>

Clement appointed Ottobuono as legate on 4 May 1265; he landed in England on 29 October, and at a council in December, Ottobuono temporarily suspended from office the three bishops who had eventually appeared at Boulogne, along with Richard Gravesend (bishop of Lincoln 1258-79) and Stephen Berksted (bishop of Chichester 1262-87), and summoned them to appear before him in March 1266.<sup>3</sup> By this time, Cantilupe was already ill, he sought absolution from the legate, and was pardoned just prior to his death in February 1266; in the same month, Gravesend was reconciled to the king.<sup>4</sup> Sandwich and Berksted appeared before the legate on 15 March, and Gervase on 12 April.<sup>5</sup> All three were suspended 'ab officio et benefico', and despite their appeals against the sentence, were sent to Rome to do penance and seek absolution.<sup>6</sup>

Arnold's summary of these events is neat and accurate; remarkably, this is the first time that he had addressed any of these issues.<sup>7</sup>

**867-8.** Arnold does not say why the exchequer moved from Westminster to St Paul's from 8 April to 23 May 1266, but the exchequer memoranda roll states that the actions of

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ .

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 865; Maddicott, *Montfort*, 292-300.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **β-**β, с. 865; Ann. Osney, 180-2; Ann. Dun., 240-1; Wykes, 185-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Flores,* iii, 8-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wykes, 185-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The sentences against the men must have been widely published, *supra*, 95-96; for Sandwich's return in 1273, c. 1103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Supra, 127-30.

'certain enemies of the king and rebels' (i.e. the disinherited) were cause for concern.<sup>1</sup> This was no doubt also the reason for the legate's removal to the Tower. In response to this disorder the king ordered a muster at Oxford on 18 April.<sup>2</sup>

**869-74.** Arnold's summary of another disputed municipal election in London, augmented with copies of two royal letters.<sup>3</sup> Disorderly elections in London were nothing new, but to have mobs of Londoners riot and shout for the return of Thomas fitz Thomas must have been especially disturbing for both the king and London's governors.<sup>4</sup> Alongside the force dispatched to London under Leyburn, 200 archers were also sent to help impose order.<sup>5</sup>

**875-6.** The date of the battle of Chesterfield was widely noted; the chroniclers are less certain of when Edward captured Adam Gurdon in Alton forest, Hampshire.<sup>6</sup> Edward's victory in single combat over Gurdon, a prominent rebel, subsequently became the stuff of legend.<sup>7</sup>

**877.** Boniface of Savoy had essentially been in exile since leaving England on 8 October 1262. He landed at Hythe on 29 May 1266.8

**878.** The siege of Kenilworth castle, 'the largest such operation so far to take place on English soil', began 24/25 June.<sup>9</sup> The siege would last until mid-December.<sup>10</sup>

**879.** In contrast to his report of the births of the Lord Edward and his brother Edmund, Arnold did note the birth of Prince John – firstborn son to Edward and Eleanor – within the main text of his chronicle.<sup>11</sup>

**880-2.** In February 1265 the king, although really Montfort, had ordered that Magna Carta be read aloud in the county court at Michaelmas every year. However, what Arnold has uniquely recorded in c. 880 looks rather like a new order, not enrolled:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> TNA E/159 40 m. 10, 13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> CR, 1264-8, 240-1; Ann. Wav., 370.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The letter patent (c. 872) was enrolled, *CPR*, 1258-66, 588; the exchequer records confirm William's appointment, *Sheriffs*, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 874. For Arnold's reporting of these elections, *supra*, 104, 118-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 874; *CR*, 1264-8, 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ann. Dun., 241; Wykes, 189-90; although see Ann. Wav., 370.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 56.

<sup>8</sup> Gervase, ii, 245.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Prestwich, Edward I, 56-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> c. 885; Ann. Wint., 104; Ann. Dun., 241-2; Flores, iii, 11; Ann. Osney, 186-91; Wykes, 190-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Supra, 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> DBM, 308-15.

perhaps evidence of Henry III looking to consolidate support? This is the chronicle's first obvious example of the Londoners standing on Magna Carta.<sup>1</sup> The letter patent referred to in c. 881 was not enrolled, but the exchequer records confirm that William son of Richard remained in office until 11/12 November.<sup>2</sup> According to Horn, in September 1266 the city was briefly placed under an interdict owing to a breach of sanctuary committed by William.<sup>3</sup>

**883.** On 31 August 1266, the king ordered the election of a committee of twelve to 'procure what they understand to be necessary for the reformation of the peace of the land'.<sup>4</sup> The proposals of this committee, known as the Dictum of Kenilworth, were announced on 31 October. At the heart of the Dictum was a scheme whereby the Disinherited could buy back their lands according to the gravity of their offence. Copies of the Dictum were widely distributed, and Arnold summarises its terms well.<sup>5</sup> These harsh terms were initially rejected by the besieged garrison at Kenilworth, but then accepted on 13/14 December.<sup>6</sup>

**884.** Perhaps in response to the plea articulated in the Dictum of Kenilworth that the king make immediate provision for reform of the state of London, in conjunction with the Londoners' previous complaint about the installation of William son of Richard as custodian of the city, Henry allowed the Londoners to elect two bailiffs of their choosing.<sup>7</sup> The exchequer records confirm the names of those bailiffs.<sup>8</sup>

**885.** Unlike other chroniclers, Arnold did not comment on the desperate conditions inside Kenilworth castle which finally compelled its garrison to surrender on 13/14 December 1266.9

**886.** A rump of disinherited rebels had occupied the Isle of Ely during the summer of 1266 and used it as a base from which to raid into East Anglia.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 881; *Supra*, 121-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ann. Lond., 74-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 671-2; Ann. Wav., 372; Flores, iii, 11-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *DBM,* 316-37. For analyses of the Dictum, *DBM,* 56-60; C.H. Knowles, 'The resettlement of England after the Barons' War, 1264-67', *TRHS*, fifth ser., xxxii (1982), 25-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 885.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *DBM*, 322-4; cc. 881-2. The letters patent here were enrolled on 7 November 1266, *CPR*, 1266-72, 4; the letters close were not enrolled.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Supra, 98.

<sup>10</sup> Flores, iii, 13; Ann. Wav., 371

**887-904.** The final act in the period of baronial reform and rebellion. Arnold neither explains why Clare seized London, nor puts the occupation into any satisfactory context.<sup>1</sup> What Arnold does provide, however, is a lengthy (1,700 words) and accurate eyewitness report of the occupation itself, exonerating London's rulers from any culpability, stiffened with references from, or copies of, official documents.<sup>2</sup>

**887**] There seems little doubt that Clare used a ruse to enter London, and Arnold defended the Londoners' innocence in admitting Gilbert.<sup>3</sup>

**889**] Was Arnold one of the city magnates who were seized? As one of London's aldermen, he was presumably deposed from office.<sup>4</sup> Robert of Linton had been imprisoned by the king in 1254 and removed from his position as sheriff in 1255;<sup>5</sup> he was pardoned by the king for his part in this uprising on 29 June 1267.<sup>6</sup> Arnold, who had been appointed as 'keeper and protector' of London's Jews for a period of two years in 1266, is surprisingly silent over attacks on London's Jews.<sup>7</sup>

**890**] Arnold did not call this an interdict, the author of the *Flores* did; moreover, the *Flores* further added that Ottobuono excommunicated all disturbers of the peace.<sup>8</sup> Arnold mentioned neither Ottobuno's removal to the Tower nor the subsequent attacks on the Tower from Clare and his followers.<sup>9</sup>

**891**] Arnold's matter-of-fact description of the legate's exit from the Tower, *c.* 8 May, stands in stark contrast to more dramatic reports that he was rescued by the king after sneaking out of a back gate.<sup>10</sup>

**892**] Negotiations between the king and Clare did continue for a sustained period.<sup>11</sup>

**893**] The areas surrounding London were ravaged and the king's palace at Westminster was attacked.<sup>12</sup> Arnold's sympathetic account exculpates Clare from any responsibility for these actions. Wykes reported these drownings rather differently: he wrote that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Clare may have thought that he had been unsatisfactorily rewarded post-Evesham, he certainly saw that only be easing the terms of the Dictum of Kenilworth would a lasting peace be achieved, *Ann. Dun.,* 244-6; *Wykes,* 198-9; Knowles, 'Resettlement of England', 30-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Only Wykes's comprehensive summary is a match, *Wykes*, 198-207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> α-α; Ann. Wig., 457; Ann. Dun., 244-5; Wykes, 198-9; Ann. Wint., 105; Flores, iii, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The aldermen were restored to office in June, c. 894.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 684.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 577; Ann. Lond., 78; Flores, iii, 14; Eyre, 1276, 83-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Flores, iii, 14. Horn compiled his account from both Arnold's and the Flores, Ann. Lond., 77-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Eyre, 1276, 83; Flores, iii, 15; Ann. Osney, 200; Wykes, 201-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Wykes, 202; Ann. Osney, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Gervase, ii, 246; Flores, iii, 15-16; Ann. Wig., 457; Wykes, 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ann. Osney, 199-200; Wykes, 203; Flores, iii, 15-16; c. 887.

victims were royalists, not criminals.<sup>1</sup> At the eyre of 1276, the citizens testified that William de Ferrers and others had attacked houses belonging to Jews.<sup>2</sup>

**894-904**] An accurate account corroborated by other sources.<sup>3</sup> Arnold summarised well, in Latin, the settlement agreed between the king and Clare of 15 June, issued in French.<sup>4</sup> Arnold copied the king's subsequent letter pardoning the Londoners for their role in Clare's occupation of the city more fully.<sup>5</sup> Arnold remained silent, but the Londoners would have had every right to complain at the 1,000 marks extracted from them to compensate Richard of Cornwall for damage to his manor at Isleworth in 1264: they had already been pardoned for this in 1265.<sup>6</sup>

**905.** The king remained in London until the end of July, achieving little according to Wykes, and arrived in Shrewsbury around 24 August 1267.<sup>7</sup>

**906.** Unlike Arnold, Wykes intelligently associated this bumper harvest with the confirmation of peace.<sup>8</sup>

**907-8.** This shrieval election on 26 September suggests that the subsequent London custom of holding the election on 21 September was not yet established.<sup>9</sup> There is no enrolled version of this royal letter, although the exchequer records confirm that John and Luke remained in office.<sup>10</sup>

**909.** In contrast to his denunciation of Montfort's 1265 agreement with Llywelyn, Arnold had little to say on the Treaty of Montgomery (29 September).<sup>11</sup>

**910-30.** Clause 23 of the Dictum of Kenilworth had called for the formation of a committee of twelve, appointed in January 1267, to ensure the Dictum was enforced. On 17 September 1267 this committee was replaced by the commissioning of a special eyre, commonly called 'The Eyre *de terris datis*', to provide that 'all things contained in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Wvkes, 203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Eyre, 1276, 83-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 73, 78, 152-3; CR, 1264-8, 314, 379; Eyre, 1276, 83-4; Ann. Dun., 246-7; Wykes, 207-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 897; *CPR*, 1266-72, 70-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 901; *CPR*, 1266-72, 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 899. For the raid on Isleworth, c. 791; for the pardon, c. 861. In 1268, however, Richard obtained a further inquisition into the damage caused, *CPR*, 1266-72, 285.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Wykes, 207; CPR, 1266-72, 93-4, 99.

<sup>8</sup> Wykes, 210-12; supra, 104.

<sup>9</sup> Albus, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

 $<sup>^{11} \</sup>text{ c. } 836; \textit{CPR, 1266-72, 111, 112, 113-4}; \textit{Flores, iii, 16;, Ann. Wint., 105; Ann. Wig., 457; supra, 114-15.}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> DBM, 330-1; CR, 1264-8, 361.

the award of Kenilworth shall be fulfilled and completed according to the form of the said award'. There have been two thorough analyses of the workings of this eyre; most of its records remain unedited and untranslated. Arnold has copied the names of the justices and their circuits, and is a unique chronicle source for the articles of the eyre. Arnold did not discuss the Statute of Marlborough, issued on 18 November 1267. Rather, via a note at the foot of fo. 104v, he directed the reader to turn to 'the last quire of this book' where the Statute was copied fully.

**931-3.** Arnold, uniquely among contemporary chroniclers, reported this serious outbreak of civic disorder, and the authorities severe response *pour encourager les autres* – not one of the thirteen hanged men had been convicted of murder, mayhem or robbery.<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey of Beverley must have been a man of some standing: the wardens of London accounted for £40 worth of Geoffrey's chattels.<sup>7</sup>

**934-957.** This general eyre, the last of Henry III's reign, was commissioned on 7 December 1267 to begin on 14 January 1268.<sup>8</sup> Arnold copied both the commission and the attached list of sheriffs.<sup>9</sup> In its ambition it was 'the most comprehensive programme of the reign', but it was beset by delays caused by the disorders of the last decade.<sup>10</sup>

**958.** This storm, widely noted in southern England, caused a great deal of damage. <sup>11</sup>

**959-64.** A very accurate summary of certain events in March and April 1268. The Londoners did appear before the king and his council on Friday 23 March, and, on Monday 26 March, the king issued a comprehensive charter of liberties to the Londoners.<sup>12</sup> This charter contained a few amendments to established London custom:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 113, 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Jacob, *Studies*, 167-201; C.H. Knowles, 'The Disinherited, 1265-80', (Univ. of Wales D. Phil. Thesis, Aberystwyth, 1959), iv, 18-37, with biographical studies of the judges in appendix iii. Cf. Knowles, 'Resettlement of England', 32ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> S. Stewart, 'The Eyre *de terris datis*, 1267-72', in *TCE*, x, 69-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Although the chancery records give the abbot of Shirebourne, Nicholas son of Martin and Andrew Wake Arnold as justices on the western circuit, *CPR*, 1266-72, 160. For the articles, Jacob, *Studies*, 182-4; Stewart, 'The Eyre *de terris datis*', 72-4.

 $<sup>^{5}</sup>$  Marginal ins. **c**, c. 910. The Statute is now in the two penultimate quires, cc. 1184-1274.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> **β-β**, **a-a**, c. 933.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 933; *Eyre*, *1276*, 51, 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *CPR*, 1266-72, 172; *CR*, 1264-8, 493-4. It did not include London.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Although Arnold gave Robert de Brus instead of Henry de Montfort as one of the southern circuit judges. <sup>10</sup> Crook, *Records*, 133-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Gervase, ii, 247; Ann. Wint., 106; Ann. Wig., 457.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> LMA/COL/CH/01/019; *CChR*, 1257-1300, 98, 477-8; *Cust.*, ii, 251-5; *Historical Charters*, 38-42; *Albus*, 137-39.

it prohibited the 'archaic practice' of vouching dead men to warranty; 1 it allowed the Husting court to sit on a Tuesday to hear cases which could not be heard on its usual Monday sitting, more evidence of the weight of business coming before the court; and tweaked procedure to allow both defendants and claimants in a case to appoint attorneys.<sup>2</sup> This charter, naturally, concluded with a warning to the Londoners to respect the liberties of the abbey of Westminster.<sup>3</sup> Hervey and William of Durham were chosen as sheriffs of London and Middlesex and Thomas de Eppegrave was made royal warden.<sup>4</sup> There was, too, a well-attended legatine council at St Paul's around 25 April.<sup>5</sup> What no chronicler recorded was that the 23 March council also made a provision to summon a parliament to meet at Westminster on 22 April, to which parliament at least twenty-seven towns and boroughs of England would be required to send six men – 'an unusually large number'.6 True, there is no evidence that London was among the twenty-seven boroughs, but the Londoners must have been required to attend: the king wanted this parliament to grant him taxation, it would have been astonishing had the burgesses from his richest and largest town not been invited.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the provision to send six men to parliament was drawn up on the same day that the Londoners were told to choose six men in a shrieval election, perhaps even they were to be London's representatives, and Henry's charter to the Londoners a royal attempt to obtain the Londoners' consent for a tax. That Arnold of all the chroniclers was silent on this matter suggests that this provision was stillborn.

965. Ottobuono probably left England on 20 July.8

**966.** Stephen's commission was actually enrolled on 20 July 1268.9

**967.** Richard left London on 2 August, and set sail on for Germany on 4 August 1268.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> **β-β**, c. 964; Bateson, *Collection*, 488-9.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  γ-γ. Defendants had been allowed to appoint attorneys in pleas concerning their tenements since 1244, *Eyre*, 1244, 95, 97-8, 106-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> δ-δ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 960-1; Sheriffs, 201; CPR, 1266-72, 215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 962; Council probably convened on 22/23 April, and famously confirmed Simon de Montfort's absolution, *Ann. Osney*, 215-6; *Gervase*, ii, 247; *Flores*, iii, 18; *Ann. Wint.*, 106; *Ann. Dun.*, 247; *Wykes*, 215-7; *Councils and Synods*, ii, 738-92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sayles, 'Representation of cities and boroughs', 581.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> There is no explicit reason given for the summoning of this parliament, but the writ required the towns to send their 'probioribus, dicioribus, discrecioribus et potencioribus' citizens. Moreover, royal finances, already under strain, were about to come under further pressure with Edward's imminent taking of crusader vows, *ibid.*, 580-83; Maddicott, 'The crusade taxation' 93-117; Maddicott, *Origins*, 265-6; c. 973. <sup>8</sup> *Wykes*, 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 248.

**968-70.** Godfrey of St Dunstan was warden of the bishopric of London as Henry of Sandwich, bishop of London, had been sent to Rome by Ottobuono.<sup>2</sup> Arnold's chronicle did not record that in 1266 Godfrey and the Londoners had clashed over the issue of sanctuary for a criminous clerk: was this skirmish part of a long-running feud between Godfrey and the citizens?<sup>3</sup> The royal letter was not enrolled.<sup>4</sup>

**971-2.** Not enrolled. There certainly was a push in 1268 to collect the arrears of the 20,000 mark fine, to which end royal officials seized and distrained goods. These officials subsequently complained to the king that they were unable to find buyers for the goods taken from the Londoners.<sup>5</sup>

**973.** Ottobuono and the friars had extensively preached the crusade in England. Edward, his brother Edmund and cousin Henry of Almain, along with Clare and many others all took the cross at Northampton.<sup>6</sup>

**974-5.** Hervey and William remained in office in September 1268.<sup>7</sup>

**976.** The king attempted to raise money for Edward's crusade at a parliament summoned to meet at Westminster on 13 October 1268.<sup>8</sup> The archbishop of Canterbury was too ill to attend the celebration of the feast of St Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey. In his absence Walter Giffard, the archbishop of York had his primatial cross borne before him, reopening an old dispute between the two metropolitans. In response, Boniface angrily imposed an interdict on London.<sup>9</sup>

**977-8.** The winter of 1268-9 was unusually harsh.<sup>10</sup> The flooding of 22 January was probably connected to the harsh frost throughout December and January.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Wykes, 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Ann. Lond.*, 74-5; *Croniques*, 8-9. This case was not presented at the eyre of 1276.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 969.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Jacob, *Studies*, 284-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Wykes, 217-8. For Edward's crusading career, Prestwich, Edward I, 66-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Maddicott, 'Crusade Taxation', 95-101; Maddicott, *Origins*, 266-72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cf. 'ob quam causam dominus Cantuarensis civitatem Londoniarum ecclesiastico confestim subposuit interdicto', *Gervase*, ii, 247-8. This on-going dispute is noted again in c. 1001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> *Flores,* iii, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ann. Osney, 220-1.

**979.** On 17 February 1269, a series of orders were enrolled in which the king committed custody of the city and Tower of London to Edward, who in turn appointed Hugh son of Otto constable.<sup>1</sup>

980. Edmund's marriage to Avelina de Forz was celebrated on 8/9 April.<sup>2</sup>

**981.** This format, electing six men from whom the king would choose two to serve as bailiffs, had been instituted In March/April 1268.<sup>3</sup> All six of these men were aldermen.<sup>4</sup>

**982.** Henry of Almain actually married Constance, widow of Alfonso, infante of Aragon, and daughter of Gaston de Béarn on 19 May 1269. Arnold, like many contemporaries, clearly thought it unimportant to give the name of the bride.<sup>5</sup>

**983-6.** On 2 April 1266, in return for his protection, Edward had been granted a 'reasonable portion on imports and exports' of the goods of all foreign merchants in England.<sup>6</sup> Arnold uniquely recorded that Edward farmed the collection of this levy to Italian financiers in return for an annual payment of 6,000 marks.<sup>7</sup>

**987.** The longest papal election in history took place between the death of Clement IV on 29 November 1268, and the election of Gregory X, on 1 September 1271.<sup>8</sup>

**988-990, 994.** One of the more detailed accounts of Edward's visit to his uncle, King Louis IX, in the summer of 1269.<sup>9</sup> The reason why Arnold's copy of Louis's letter is interposed with cc. 991-3 is set out above.<sup>10</sup> Richard's new bride was Beatrix von Falkenberg.<sup>11</sup>

**991-3.** Arnold is too honest a reporter to have made up this report of a conspiracy afoot in London, in August 1265, to kill forty leading royalists. Nevertheless he has remained silent for four years about what would have been a shocking crime, and there are no precedents, even during the period of civil war, for the cold-blooded murder of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CFR, 1268-9, nos. 169-72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gervase, ii, 248; Ann. Wint., 107; Ann. Osney, 221-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c.960.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> McEwan, 'Aldermen', 192, 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wykes, 221-2; Ann. Osney, 223; Ann. Wint., 107; Ann. Lond., 80; supra, 111-12. This marriage is analysed in R. Studd, 'The marriage of Henry of Almain and Constance de Béarn', in *TCE*, iii, 161-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 575-6; CPR, 1266-72, 129.

<sup>7</sup> R.W. Kaeuper, Bankers to the Crown, The Riccardi of Lucca and Edward I (Princeton, 1973), 136-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For Gregory's election, c. 1064.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 71-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Supra, 47-8; letter printed in Foedera, I, i, 481.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> **α-α**, c. 988; *Ann. Osney*, 223-4; *Wykes*, 224-5; *Ann. Lond.*, 80.

Englishmen like this. Most likely there had been, in 1265, a small-scale conspiracy to seize/arrest royalists in London which Arnold has exaggerated here; the reasons for which are given above.<sup>1</sup> Arnold's list of targeted Londoners targeted included nine aldermen, seven sheriffs and four mayors.

**995**. Confirmed by the exchequer records.<sup>2</sup>

**996-8.** The chronicle often records the seizure and destruction of illegal fishing nets.<sup>3</sup>

999-1001. On 13 October 1269, Edward the Confessor's body was translated to a glorious new shrine in the recently rebuilt Westminster Abbey.<sup>4</sup> Arnold does not say so, but King Henry III had invited the burgesses of England's towns to the ceremony: Arnold was almost certainly an eyewitness observer.<sup>5</sup> Nor does Arnold mention that the king had summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster in October 1269, doubtless the king hoped to impress and awe parliament's attendees with his genuine devotion to the Confessor's cult and this wonderful spectacle. As was so often the case with Henry's best-laid plans, however, matters did not proceed entirely smoothly. First, the grandeur of the ceremony itself was rather spoiled by Giffard's actions as archbishop of York.<sup>6</sup> Second, there was probably an outcome more piquant than is revealed by Arnold's terse statement that the Londoners 'who wished, remained for dinner, and others returned home'.<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere one reads that the Londoners had clashed with the men of Winchester and left the feast 'indignantes'.<sup>8</sup>

When Arnold composed this was he still smarting from the king's snub of the Londoners' 'noble service'? He certainly laboured the voluntary willingness of the Londoners to perform the expensive service of butlery; 10 and on the whole, his account stresses more of what went wrong on the day rather than anything that went particularly well. 11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 47-48, 118-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Supra*, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> D.A. Carpenter, 'King Henry III and the cosmati work at Westminster Abbey', in Carpenter, *Reign*, 409-425; D.A. Carpenter, 'Westminster Abbey in politics', *TCE*, viii, 49-58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> cc. 1000-01; Ann. Dun., 252; Ann. Osney, 227-9; Wykes, 226-7; Ann. Lond., 80.

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  c.1001; for a similar incident, c. 976. This 'frivolous dispute' prevented Giffard from subsequently attending Edward's coronation, *Wykes*, 260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **γ-γ**, c. 999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ann. Wint., 107-8; Ann. Wig., 458.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> **β-β**, c. 999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 999; *supra*, 122-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *Supra*, 106-7.

**1002.** Another of Arnold's notes on weights and measures.<sup>1</sup> Arnold referred to and quoted from the royal charter of 26 March 1268.<sup>2</sup>

**1003-4.** Arnold is a unique source for the proscription of nearly sixty 'rebels' from London in December 1269. London's bailiffs and aldermen were evidently working closely with the king, through his warden Hugh, to draw up this list. It is not explicit, but the timing of these proscriptions, between consent being granted to a tax at the October 1269 parliament, and its final granting in May 1270, suggests that leading Londoners had asked the king to ban those named here in return for their consent to taxation.<sup>3</sup>

This is not simply a list of prominent rebels. Were that the case, one would expect Thomas fitz Thomas and Michael Tovy to have been banished.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, of those that can be shown to be rebels, the majority had either been formally pardoned, or would subsequently be acquitted as their 'crimes' were committed *in tempore guerre*. Clearly, factors beyond complicity in rebellion such as status, wealth and ties of kinship doubtless alongside an element of score-settling – decided who would be exiled.

Thomas Puleston was one of the most infamous of London rebels.<sup>5</sup>

William of Heywood, described as the 'king's enemy' in April 1266, subsequently appeared as a 'yeoman of Gilbert de Clare', who, on 29 June 1267, was pardoned for his role in Clare's seizure of London.<sup>6</sup>

Richard de Coudres, 'a rebel and the king's enemy', had lost his property in Milk Street on 15 October 1265. He was pardoned on 20 November 1266 and warned about his future behaviour.<sup>7</sup>

Robert of Derby had twice cleared himself, in 1266 and 1269, against accusations that he was a rebel. He must have left London after the publication of the list, as on 17 January 1270 his houses in Cripplegate escheated to the king as 'he is a felon and therefore withdrew himself from the city'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 115-6.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Cf.  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$  and 'et quod nullus mercator extraneus uel alius emat uel uendat aliquid auerium quod ponderari debeat uel tronari, nisi per stateram uel tronam nostram sub forisfactura auerii predicti', c. 964.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Maddicott, 'Crusade Taxation', 106-9. On 27 February 1270, six Londoners were appointed as assessors of this tax on their fellow citizens, c. 1006; *CPR*, 1266-72, 477.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Appendix ii, 408-9, 412.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Appendix ii, 409-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 146; CR, 1264-8, 189; Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, i, 197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 463; CPR, 1266-72, 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *CPR*, *1266-72*, *4*52-3; *CR*, *1264-8*, 163; *CIM*, 123, 125-6. The king subsequently granted his houses to his sergeant-at-arms, Garcias, *CPR*, *1266-72*, *4*52-3.

Albinus of Derby, Robert's brother, had also proven his innocence of charges against him.<sup>1</sup>

Ivo the Linendraper was still being held in the Tower of London as a rebel in December 1267, whence he mainperned himself. After his proscription here, he returned to London and was rearrested in 1273/4, but freed on condition that he leave the city. In 1276 he was accused, but acquitted, of taking part in the robbery of horses from the king and John de Grey in June 1263.<sup>2</sup>

William le Flauner, 'king's enemy and robber', lost his houses in the parish of St James in London during the royal confiscations of October 1265. He was implicated in Clare's seizure of London in 1267 and was still an outlaw as of 7 July 1268, but was pardoned just months before this list was drawn up. In July 1270 Edward gave away his properties in London. At the eyre of 1276, he, too, was acquitted of taking part in the same robbery of horses as Ivo the Linendraper.<sup>3</sup> Possibly the same William le Flauner who acknowledged a debt of 75s. in London in August 1286.<sup>4</sup>

Quite what William May had done to warrant exclusion from London is unclear. By 1280, however, he was back in London serving as a councillor.<sup>5</sup>

Alexander le Ferrun had replaced Simon son of Mary as alderman of Walbrook ward. He was detained in Ipswich as a rebel in November 1265, but freed. He was eventually pardoned at the request of the king's kinswomen Isabella and Johanna, along with Gilbert de Clare; he had returned to London by 1285.6

William Mackerel was, in December 1265 at the time of the greatest purge of the rebels, actually granted a safe-conduct to bring wine from London to Windsor.<sup>7</sup>

Roger Loveday lost his lands in Suffolk to Edmund, the king's son.<sup>8</sup>

William of Bexhill was rearrested in 1273/4 and freed on condition that he leave the city.9

John of Oystergate was described as a rebel in November 1265. In February 1269 he was pardoned for his role in Clare's seizure of the city in 1267. He was, perhaps, a kinsman of Stephen of Oystergate, who was killed fighting for Montfort at Lewes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> *CIM*, 125-6. Nicholas of Derby (a third brother?) did forfeit property in London because of his actions in the civil war, *CPR*, 1266-72, 334; *CIM*, 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 1128; CR, 1264-8, 422; CR, 1272-9, 66; Eyre, 1276, 80-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 467; CPR, 1266-72, 244, 378, 447; CIM, 326; Eyre, 1276, 80-1.

<sup>4</sup> LBA, 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Williams, London, 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> γ-γ, c. 671; CR, 1264-8, 145-6; LBA, 162; Williams, London, 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 520.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> CIM, 269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> c. 1128; CR, 1272-9, 66.

Guy the Tailor: perhaps the same Guy who appears as Simon de Montfort's tailor.<sup>2</sup>

John of Coombe was with Montfort at the siege of Rochester Castle in 1264. He was another of those rearrested in 1273/4, and freed on condition that he leave the city.<sup>3</sup>

John of Coventry was still being held in the Tower in June 1266 as a rebel. He was rearrested in 1273/4 and expelled from the city. In 1276, he too was acquitted of taking part in robberies in London in 1263.<sup>4</sup>

Richard Eswy was still in custody at the Tower as a rebel in March 1266. Like John of Coventry, he was subsequently rearrested in 1273/4, freed, and then acquitted of taking part in the 1263 robberies.<sup>5</sup>

John of Fleet the barber (a different man to John of Fleet the capper) was a victim of the royal confiscations in October 1265.<sup>6</sup>

William the Clerk was with Clare in London in 1267, but was pardoned for his role in the seizure of the city on 29 June 1267.<sup>7</sup>

Walter of Mulsham's career as a rebel was laid bare at the eyre *de terris datis* in 1268. He was accused of taking part in various crimes, some of which (plundering the archbishop of Canterbury of two horses, four oxen and 300 sheep, and robbing William Bonquer at Lewisham) he freely admitted. A jury also averred that only illness had prevented him fighting at Lewes and that he had also robbed Walter of Merton. He was saddled with a huge redemption fine, and then became involved in a long-running spat with Earl Warenne over one of his houses.<sup>8</sup>

Roger Puleston was a clerk of Clare, who was pardoned for his role in Clare's seizure of the city on 29 June 1267.9

Richard Puleston had been pardoned for his role in the city's occupation on 28 June 1267.<sup>10</sup>

Robert Stor was one of those who, in 1276, were acquitted of committing any crime except in the time of war.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 516; CPR, 1266-72, 378; Williams, London, 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> CIM, 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 1128; *CIM*, 311; *CR*, 1272-9, 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 1128; CR, 1264-8, 245-6; CR, 1272-9, 66; Eyre, 1276, 80-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 1128; CR, 1264-8, 177; CR, 1272-9, 66; Eyre, 1276, 80-1.

<sup>6</sup> CPR, 1258-66, 465.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 146.

<sup>8</sup> Stewart, 'Eyre de terris datis', 75-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Eyre, 1276, 80-1.

Adam of Ironmonger Lane was similarly acquitted.<sup>1</sup> Probably the 'Adam the Taverner' who was rearrested in 1273/4 for having returned to the city without licence.<sup>2</sup> He was living freely in London in November 1288.<sup>3</sup>

**1005.** Another entry on the regulation of London's bakers.<sup>4</sup> Arnold subsequently commented approvingly on the construction of a new pillory in October 1270.<sup>5</sup>

**1006-15.** Save for a brief notice on the death of Boniface of Savoy, these chapters are essentially a single narrative setting out the final preparations for Edward's crusade, and the consequent concessions that the king and his son were forced to make.<sup>6</sup>

**1006**] Arnold did not report that consent had been given to a lay twentieth at the parliament of October 1269; it was finally granted *c.*12 May 1270.<sup>7</sup> Arnold's narrative almost always proceeds chronologically, the implication, therefore, from this entry's position here is that he thought this tax was granted around February 1270: doubtless because on 27 February six Londoners were appointed as its assessors.<sup>8</sup>

**1007-8**] Edward had agreed, in August 1269, to send his son (Henry?) to King Louis IX.<sup>9</sup> Edward sent him in February, he was sent straight back, and Arnold, unusually among English chroniclers, took precise note of when Louis departed on crusade.<sup>10</sup>

drawn from a wide section of society; he summarised well the terms of arbitration agreed between Edward and Clare; and, again, he is a particularly good reporter of the ceremony of excommunication and the subsequent publication of the sentences. However, Arnold did not connect the granting of the twentieth, probably on 12 May, and the confirmation of the Charters and accompanying sentence of excommunication against transgressors thereof on 13 May; nor did he, despite his connections to the London Jewry, record that on 14 May, again in return for the granting of taxation, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Eyre, 1276, 80-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> c. 1128; *CR, 1272-9,* 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *LBA*, 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 1018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Boniface died on 14 July 1270 at Ste Hélène, Arnold passed no comment on his life or character, c. 1014; Cf. *Ann. Lond.*, 81; *Wykes*, 235-6. The best modern summary of the Crusade preparations, on which most of what follows depends, is Maddicott, 'Crusade Taxation', 93-117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Maddicott, 'Crusade Taxation', 106-9; following *Wykes*, 227-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 477. cc. 1003-4 cover December 1269, c. 1007 covers March 1270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> cc. 990, 994.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  Gervase, ii, 249. Louis departed 'in Lent', Ann. Lond., 80; 'around Easter', Wykes, 230-1; although 11 April in Ann. Wint., 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *Wykes,* 228-33; *Ann. Osney,* 232-4. The sentence was probably widely publicised, *Councils and Synods,* ii, 797, n. 4. For Arnold's depictions of excommunications, *supra,* 102-3.

king ordered the enforcement of the previous year's Jewish legislation and commanded the exchequer to call in nearly all rentcharges in Jewish hands.<sup>1</sup>

1012-13] It is surely no coincidence that, at a time when wider local society and the clergy had managed to wring concessions from a king and his son both desperate for money, the Londoners obtained the return of their liberties and charters for a trifling one-off payment of 600 marks and an annual increase of £100 in the farm.<sup>2</sup> One supposes that the charters returned to the citizens were handed to Arnold himself: he was keeper of the city chest in 1270.<sup>3</sup> Arnold's note that the Londoners gave 100 marks to buy gold for the Confessor's shrine probably misled Horn, who described the Confessor's shrine as 'not yet finished'.<sup>4</sup>

**1014-5**] The king committed his crusading vows and the proceeds of the twentieth to his son *c.* 4 August.<sup>5</sup> It was not just the weather which delayed Edward's departure; following Boniface's death, Edward went to Canterbury to promote the claim of Robert Burnell, his clerk, to the metropolitan.<sup>6</sup> A surprising omission here is the infamous death, on 10 August 1270, of Alan de la Zouche, former warden of London and constable of the Tower.<sup>7</sup>

**1016**. The 1196 assize of cloth had sought to standardise the size and quality of English cloths. In the 1250s the dimensions of imported cloths became a more contentious issue and efforts were made to encompass alien cloths within the assize.<sup>8</sup> The issue did flare up 'circa Pascha' 1270, and Arnold correctly recorded that, on 21 August, Edward granted the Flemish merchants permission to sell any remaining outsized and unsold cloths on condition that henceforth they brought no more into England.<sup>9</sup>

**1017**. The names of these sheriffs are confirmed by the exchequer records. <sup>10</sup>

**1018.** Arnold had criticised the former bailiffs for not maintaining the pillory.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> *Supra*, 105-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Of course the Londoners had to pay the twentieth too. Most towns, in fact, compounded with the king for their payments, Mitchell, *Taxation*, 297. This £100 increase in the farm was paid to Philip Basset, the keeper of the Tower, for five years, *CPR*, 1266-72, 453.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **a-a**, c. 1012; c. 1286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 1013; Ann. Lond., 80; Carpenter, 'King Henry III and the cosmati work', 413.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 452.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Edward did sail on 20 August, Ann. Wint., 109. Cf. Ann. Wig., 459; Ann. Osney, 236-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 895, 961; for Alan's death Wykes, 233-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> E. Miller, 'The fortunes of the English textile industry during the thirteenth century', *The Economic History Review*, xviii (1965), 64-82, at 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *CPR*, 1266-72, 420, 456-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

**1019.** Louis IX died on 25 August 1270 at Tunis: he was succeeded by his son, Philip III. If Arnold was right that Edward heard of Louis's death before setting off from Aigues-Mortes, it seems surprising that Edward set out regardless.<sup>2</sup> At Trapani the French fleet was wrecked by a storm, but the English fleet, which had taken a more sheltered anchorage, was spared.

**1020-22.** The outbreak of what would become a four-year trade war between England and Flanders. Arnold's chronicle is by far the fullest source for this dispute.<sup>3</sup>

**1023.** John Adrian was mayor 1270-1.<sup>4</sup> The king was outside of London almost throughout November and December 1270, perhaps ill, which is why Adrian's presentation had to wait.<sup>5</sup>

**1024-8.** The Londoners' claim, in July 1270, that the king should punish any communal rebellion collectively, yet individual rebellion separately, echoes their unsuccessful claim in 1265 that the citizens 'non deberent equaliter puniri' as 'non equaliter transgressi sunt'.<sup>6</sup> There was no immediate response from the king to the citizens' letter, until, probably prompted by illness and fear of what would happen in London on his death with Edward away on crusade, he wrote on 29 October asking that everyone take the same oath of fealty that the mayor and leading citizens had taken in July.<sup>7</sup> A further royal letter was sent in response to uncertainties on the citizens' behalf;<sup>8</sup> and on Sunday 9 November the citizens took the oath required, no doubt ward by ward.<sup>9</sup>

**1029.** The dilapidated tower of the church of St Mary-le-Bow fell suddenly onto a neighbouring house and actually killed six men and seven women.<sup>10</sup>

**1030.** The only such curiosity recorded in Arnold's chronicle, and annotated (by scribe 2?) with a drawing. The description of the tenement owner as 'in potu et cibo modestus', calls to mind Einhard's description of Charlemagne, following Suetonius.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> c. 1005.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ . It took Edward five weeks to reach Tunis, presumably it would have taken about the same time for news of Louis's death to reach Edward at Aigues-Mortes. Perhaps he heard first heard the news in Sardinia? Cf. *Flores*, iii, 20-1; *Wykes*, 237-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 489-503.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 1027; **α-α**, c. 856.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 1025. This letter was not enrolled.

 $<sup>^{8}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 1026; c. 1028. This letter was not enrolled.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> c. 1026.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Eyre, 1276, 60-1; Ann. Lond., 81; Wykes, 239.

Fig.21: Fo. 123r.



**1031-3.** Arnold is perhaps the fullest English chronicle source for the agreement made by the crusaders at Sicily and Edward's subsequent departure for Acre; presumably all Arnold's information came in the letter sent from the crusading army.<sup>2</sup> Arnold may have been familiar with Sailsbury plain, one of five sites designated for the holding of tournaments in England; it is more likely, however, that this reference came from the same source.<sup>3</sup> In adapting the letter, Arnold got into somewhat of a tangle at times.<sup>4</sup>

**1034-9.** A dispassionate account of the infamous murder of Henry of Almain by Guy de Montfort, assisted by his brother Simon, at the church of San Silvestro at Viterbo.<sup>5</sup> The real value of Arnold's report is that it uniquely preserves two royal letters.<sup>6</sup> Henry's viscera were buried in Viterbo and his body brought back to England.<sup>7</sup> His heart was buried in Westminster Abbey (surprisingly not mentioned by Arnold) and his body in Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire on 21 May.<sup>8</sup>

**1040-2.** This royal mandate was part of the on-going Flemish trade dispute.<sup>1</sup>

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  α-α. 'In cibo et potu temperans', *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. O. Holder-Egger *MGH SS*, 6th ed., (Hanover, 1911), 28; Cf. 'cibi ... minimi erat', Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, c. lxxvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **α-α**, c. 1031.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **β-β**, c. 1032.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The switching between the perfect and future tenses at  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$  in c. 1032 is particularly odd.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Supra, 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 1036, 1038; *supra*, 95-6, 103.

<sup>7 &#</sup>x27;15 May', c. 1039; '13 May', Wykes, 244.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ann. Wint., 110; Ann. Osney, 243-4; Wykes, 244.

**1043.** Philip III of France was crowned at Rheims on 30 August 1271. This entry, preceded by a letter of 18 May and followed by a letter of 28 June, is somewhat out of place chronologically, it was probably inserted into a space in the text at a later date.<sup>2</sup>

**1044-50.** The Flemish trade war continued to interest Arnold.<sup>3</sup>

**1051.** Prince John was in the care of Richard of Cornwall when he died, probably on 1 August: his funeral was an especially gloomy affair.<sup>4</sup> Arnold recorded the Jewish legislation of June and July 1271 towards the end of his book, perhaps because he thought it belonged alongside the Statute of Marlborough?<sup>5</sup>

**1052.** After a brief stop in Cyprus, Edward arrived in Acre on 9 May.<sup>6</sup>

**1053-4.** The king's grant to his queen of custody of London Bridge had been renewed for a further six years on 10 September 1270.<sup>7</sup> Arnold is quite clear, to the extent that he twice drops into the first person, that this has been a disaster.<sup>8</sup> In 1283, the far-sighted le Waleys put in place a permanent mechanism for financing the Bridge's upkeep.<sup>9</sup>

**1055-6.** The succession of these officers is correctly recorded.<sup>10</sup>

**1057-60.** Arnold again returned to the on-going trade war with Flanders. <sup>11</sup>

**1061-2.** Arnold was unique among the English chroniclers in reporting Edward's overtures to the il-Khan Abagha, great-grandson to Ghengis Khan and ruler of the Persian province of the Mongol Empire, and preserving a letter sent by Abagha in reply.

**1063.** In December 1271 Richard of Cornwall had suffered what was probably a stroke. He died at Berkhamsted on 2 April 1272, his body was buried at Hailes Abbey, his heart in the Franciscan church at Oxford.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Moreover c. 1044 begins with 'postea', which suggests that it originally followed c. 1042.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Flores, iii, 23; Ann. Wint., 111; Ann. Osney, 245; Wykes, 246.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Marginal ins. **e**; cc. 1275-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 75.

<sup>7</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 459.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **β**, c. 1053; **α**, c. 1054.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Appendix, ii, 413-4; *Cust.*, ii, 94-6, 274-5; Cf. Barron, *London*, 50-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Eyre, 1276, 1-3; Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Wykes, 247-8; Ann. Osney, 248; Flores, iii, 24.

**1064.** After the longest papal election in history, on 1 September 1271 Tedaldo Visconti was elected pope, and subsequently consecrated as Gregory X.<sup>1</sup>

**1065.** Arnold's detailed reporting of the Anglo-Flemish trade war continued here.<sup>2</sup>

**1066.** Another note on the regulation of London's bakers.<sup>3</sup>

**1067-70.** Chroniclers across England agreed, mostly, on the facts behind this violent outburst. From their accounts, and the chancery and judicial records, a secure narrative of events can be reconstructed.<sup>4</sup> There is no obvious evidence that Arnold composed his account from written sources, presumably he based it on news which reached London, but when Arnold's report is tested against evidence from elsewhere it appears accurate.<sup>5</sup> Arnold's detailed, 900-word-long report, is, however, the *only* chronicle source sympathetic to the citizens of Norwich at the expense of the prior (William of Brunham), and Arnold's denunciation of the prior, the monks, and indeed the bishop of Norwich (Roger of Scarning) is particularly strong.<sup>6</sup>

**1071-86.** Hervey had first been elected mayor in October 1271.<sup>7</sup> Arnold loathed him, and nowhere is that better evidenced than in this wonderfully detailed, yet fiercely partisan 1,600 word description of the three-week-long 1272 mayoral election. At times Arnold's eye for detail elevates this into a truly striking piece of descriptive writing, particularly in its vivid depiction of the contending Londoners disturbing the ailing king on his deathbed.<sup>8</sup>

**1071**] Compare the shouts for Hervey here with the shouts for Thomas fitz Thomas in 1266.<sup>9</sup>

**1072**] Elsewhere in his book Arnold made it clear that he was one of the citizens who had enrolled aquittances from further financial demands and/or royal letters in their favour, even copying his letters.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Wykes, 246-7. For the three-year vacancy, c. 987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> There is a full contemporary account in *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301*, ed. A. Gransden (London, 1964), 50-52. Walter Rye put together a remarkable summary of these events, W. Rye, 'The riot between the monks and citizens of Norwich in 1272', *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany,* ii (1883), 17-89, Cf. N. Tanner, 'The cathedral and the city', in *Norwich Cathedral, Church, City and Diocese 1096-1996*, eds. Ian Atherton *et al* (London, 1996), 255-80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For references to the primary source material, Rye, 'The riot'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Supra, 32, 98, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Appendix ii, 407-8; Stone, 'Hervey, Walter', *ODNB*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **α-α**, c. 1075.

 $<sup>^{9}</sup>$   $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , and  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 874.

**1073**] Arnold used similar language to that here to denounce Hervey elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

**1075**] This contemptuous sketch of the *populus* is almost identical to Arnold's similar description from 1258.<sup>3</sup>

**1085**] The improbable plot here of the 'maliciosi uiri Belial' to rise up against the aldermen is reminiscent of the conspiracy of the 'iniqui uiri Belial' to murder the London royalists in 1265.<sup>4</sup>

**1087-90.** Added by scribe 2 to fill in space left at the foot of fo. 134r. Consequently, It refers to and assumes knowledge of material further forward in Arnold's book.<sup>5</sup>

**1091.** The exchequer records confirm the names of these sheriffs.<sup>6</sup>

**1092-3.** Edmund was born from his father's second marriage to Sanchia of Provence in 1249. Many chroniclers, like Arnold, noted that many others were knighted at Edmund's investiture as earl of Cornwall too, although Arnold's use of 'ut dicitur' suggests that he did not witness the ceremony itself.<sup>7</sup>

**1094.** For the disputed mayoral election, cc. 1071-86.

**1095.** Boniface, the previous archbishop, had died on 14 July 1270.<sup>8</sup> Adam Chillenden was prior of Christ Church Canterbury – not the Church of the Holy Trinity – and he was soon elected to the metropolitan by the monks; however, owing to the papal vacancy, he could not confirm his election. Chillenden stepped aside following royal opposition to his appointment, and on 11 October Pope Gregory X nominated Robert Kilwardby to the see.<sup>9</sup> Robert's consecration is noted in c. 1107.

**1096.** In his own hand, Arnold recorded Henry's passing after 'fifty-six years and twenty days' in just seventeen words, without any comment on Henry's character, nor on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 48-53, 1291-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf.  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , and  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$ , c. 1294.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf.  $\gamma$ - $\gamma$  and  $\beta$ - $\beta$ , c. 705.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 991-3, esp. **β-β**, c. 992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> c. 1087 records Henry's burial before c. 1096 notes his death; c. 1090 refers to the letter copied in c. 1100. For Henry's burial, Carpenter, 'The burial of King Henry III', 427-61; for the magnates' letter to Edward (c. 1090), *Foedera*, I, ii, 497. According to the Worcester annalist, Walter of Merton was made chancellor at the Hilary 1273 parliament, *Ann. Wig.*, 462.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sheriffs, 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ann. Wint., 111-2; Wykes, 251-3; Ann. Osney, 252-3. Wykes/Osney have 29 September for the marriage. <sup>8</sup> c. 1014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ann. Wint., 112-3; Wykes, 253. Cf. 1 October, Gervase, ii, 273.

successes or failures of his reign.<sup>1</sup> Clare's oath to the dying king was recorded by other chroniclers too.<sup>2</sup>

**1097.** See cc. 1071-86.

**1098.** The presentation 'anew' of these sheriffs was not noted on the exchequer memoranda rolls.

**1099-1100.** Note here 'Domini Edwardi' not 'regis Edwardi'.<sup>3</sup> Either fastidiously correct – Edward had yet to be crowned, or evidence that old habits died hard.

**1101-2.** Edmund of Lancaster was, by now of course, brother not son to the king. He left Palestine in May 1272; reached England on 6 December; came to London, where he was warmly received by the citizens; and on 12 December he went to see his mother at Windsor.<sup>4</sup> Edmund's uncle, William de Valence left Palestine in August;<sup>5</sup> he arrived in London probably bringing news of the attempt on Edward's life in June 1272.<sup>6</sup>

**1103.** Henry of Sandwich, bishop of London, sent to Rome in 1266 to do penance for taking the Montfortian part during the period of reform and rebellion, was reinstated by Pope Gregory X on 31 May 1272.<sup>7</sup> The Londoners celebrated his return.<sup>8</sup>

**1104.** This news was probably brought to London by William de Valence in January 1273 and inserted here, out of its proper chronological place.<sup>9</sup> The chroniclers offer differing, although not irreconcilable accounts of this assassination attempt.<sup>10</sup>

**1105.** Promulgated at the Hilary parliament 1273.<sup>11</sup> In fact, pleas could either be resummoned using the same writ, or plaintiffs could apply for a new writ.<sup>12</sup>

**1106.** Arnold is well-informed here. The pope had requested this clerical tenth on 3 September 1272. In January 1273 a biennial tenth was granted, and the Templars,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CPR, 1266-72, 715; CR, 1268-72, 588; Ann. Dun., 254; supra, 106-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ann. Wint., 112; Ann. Wig., 461-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> c. 1099; Cf. c. 1101; for the enrolled copy, *CR*, *1272-9*, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ann. Wint., 112; Wykes, 253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> c. 1104; *supra*, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Wykes, 253-4; Ann. Lond., 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> c. 1102; *supra*, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Arnold's report is close to Wykes's, *Wykes*, 248-51. The different versions are well analysed in Prestwich, *Edward I*, 78-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> I am grateful to Paul Brand for this help with this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> TNA JUST 1/1221, m. 7d; JUST 1/1228, m. 2.

Hospitalers and Cistercians were exempt. Arnold is reporting the publication of a letter, sent on 1 February to each bishop, setting the collection in train.<sup>1</sup>

**1107.** Robert Kilwardby's appointment as archbishop in October 1272 was recorded in c. 1095; his enthronement in September 1273 in c. 1118. He was consecrated by Bishop William Button (Bath and Wells) on 26 February 1273.<sup>2</sup> Stephen Bersted, bishop of Chichester was the last of the bishops suspended in 1266 to obtain the papal pardon, on 26 November 1272.<sup>3</sup>

**1108.** Pope Gregory X had sent Raymond de Nogaret, his chaplain, and Peter d'Aussone, canon of St Martin de Tours as agents for the collection of the biennial tenth.<sup>4</sup> Arnold is well-informed: at Worcester, too, these collectors claimed 8s a day each in expenses.<sup>5</sup>

**1109-10.** Edward's 'distinctly unhelpful letter to the citizens of London, giving no clue as to when they might expect his return' actually rather evidences Edward's confidence that the country would continue to be well-administered in his absence.<sup>6</sup>

**1111.** Stephen Bersted had been sent to Rome in April 1266 and pardoned in November 1272. Simon and Guy de Montfort had murdered Henry of Almain in March 1271. Sent from Italy, this royal command is not enrolled.

**1112.** Arnold frequently criticised the bakers of London for baking bread contrary to the assize, and the city administrators for not regulating them better.<sup>9</sup> These accusations of bribery are considerably more serious. In November 1273 the sheriffs would be deposed for just such an offence.<sup>10</sup>

**1113.** Arnold had levelled a similar accusation against Thomas fitz Thomas in 1264.<sup>11</sup> This is a hard allegation to prove/disprove, as Husting enrolments of pleas of land only survive from 1272 onwards. Isabella Bukerel was widow of Stephen who had been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> W.E. Lunt, Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327 (Camb. Mass., 1939), 230-8. Cf. c. 1108; Ann. Wint., 113-5; Councils and Synods, ii, 804-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> CPR, 1272-81, 2; Gervase, ii, 273; Wykes, 254, Ann. Wint., 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For his return, c. 1111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> c. 1106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 617-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 865, 1107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> cc. 1034-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> c. 1127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> c. 821.

disgraced and dispossessed in 1265.<sup>1</sup> She was seeking the restitution of some confiscated property, which she claimed was hers by dower right, from Hervey (he had been granted the property by Roger Mortimer).<sup>2</sup> This case features prominently in the surviving Husting rolls from 1272 onwards.<sup>3</sup>

**1114-5.** Arnold hardly mentioned Edward's return from Palestine through Italy, Savoy and France.<sup>4</sup> His report of Edward's brief stay in Paris from 26/27 July to 6 August, however, is accurate enough. Arnold is also right that Eleanor had already travelled to Gascony, and that several English nobles went to Gascony with him.<sup>5</sup>

**1116-7.** More proceedings in the Anglo-Flemish trade war.<sup>6</sup>

**1118.** Robert Kilwardby's appointment and consecration have been noted above.<sup>7</sup>

**1119.** The chroniclers are at sixes and sevens when it comes to dating Henry's death.<sup>8</sup>

**1120-1.** The presentation (and indeed subsequent replacement) of Peter Cosyn and Robert of Meldeburne at the exchequer was noted on the memoranda rolls, although they do not specify where this presentation took place.<sup>9</sup> The custom of holding shrieval elections on 21 September was still unestablished in London.<sup>10</sup>

**1122.** There is next to nothing recorded about this council, and Arnold is a unique source for the publication of sentences of excommunication.<sup>11</sup>

1123. Arnold again recorded the seizure and burning of illegal fishing nets.<sup>12</sup>

**1124.** Arnold returned once more to the Anglo-Flemish trade war.<sup>13</sup>

**1125.** The first of le Waleys's three terms as mayor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Appendix ii, 404-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> CR, 1268-72, 102; Williams, London, 236.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> LMA CLA/023/PL/01/001, 002, passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Flores, iii, 29-31; Wykes, 254-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 84-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> cc. 1095, 1107; Wykes, 256; Ann. Wint., 115; Ann. Wig., 464.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Month of August, *Ann. Wint.*, 115; *Ann. Wig.*, 464; 15 September, *Ann. Osney*, 255-6 and so *ODNB*; around 29 September, *Wykes*, 256; undated, *Flores*, iii, 32-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> TNA E 368/47 m. 1; TNA E 159/48 m. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Albus, 43; Cf. cc. 907-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Councils and Synods, ii, 807-9; supra, 102-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *Supra*, 116.

**1126.** Rudolf of Habsburg was elected as king of Germany on 1 October 1273, and crowned by archbishop Engelbert of Cologne in Aachen on 24 October.

**1127.** This unique chronicle report is easily the most serious of all the transgressions of the assize of bread that Arnold recorded, and is supported by presentments at a subsequent judicial inquiry.<sup>2</sup> At the exchequer, the clerks returned to the entries noting Robert and Peter's presentation and logged their removal from office.<sup>3</sup>

**1128.** Those seized presumably included Richard Eswy, Adam the Taverner, Ivo the Linendraper, John of Coombe, William of Bexhill and John of Coventry (all of whom had been proscribed from the city in December 1269), as on 5 February 1274 the mayor and sheriffs of London were ordered to release these men from Newgate Gaol, on condition that they abjured the city.<sup>4</sup>

**1129.** On 18 December 1273, in return for making the king his heir, John de Burgh was granted custody of the Tower of London, Colchester castle, the farm of London (£400) and two manors.<sup>5</sup>

**1130-1.** Arnold's account of John of Chishull's election, consecration and enthronement is almost entirely corroborated elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>

**1132-1153.** Structured around royal letters and court records, is a narrative dominated by a six-month struggle for power in London between London's former mayor, Hervey, and its current mayor, le Waleys. Arnold had an axe to grind against both men but he particularly detested Hervey and he took pains to note that Hervey was 'iudicialiter' stripped of his aldermanic office and banned from the city's counsels.<sup>7</sup>

Arnold's summary can be divided into two distinct time periods: 19 December 1273 to 28 January 1274, when le Waleys and several named leading citizens of London – including Arnold, annulled charters that Hervey had granted to certain craft guilds and attached Hervey by writ;<sup>8</sup> and 1-29 May 1274, when Hervey harnessed popular anger in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> *Eyre, 1276,* 1; appendix ii, 412-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rotuli Hundredorum, i, 403; supra, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supra, 266, n. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> cc. 1003-4; CR, 1272-9, 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *CPR*, 1272-81, 41; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> *CPR*, 1272-81, 45; *Gervase*, ii, 277. Cf Wykes who thought that Chishull was consecrated by Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, *Wykes*, 257,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> β, c. 1144; Cf. cc. 48-53, 821, 1071-86, 1113, 1291-96; appendix ii, 407-8, 412-3; *supra*, 119-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> cc. 1132-38.

order to attack le Waleys.<sup>1</sup> Arnold was an honest, if still partial reporter: Hervey could mobilise large numbers of his supporters, in one instance the Husting scribe only got as far as 'Walterus Hervy uenit cum multitudine maxima' before he was interrupted in his work;<sup>2</sup> and at two subsequent judicial enquiries certain jurors protested at the annulment of these charters, and Hervey mounted a vigorous defence against some of these accusations.<sup>3</sup>

**1154.** Arnold did not record the names of Prince Alfonso's two sisters.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the name of the first daughter who was born and died during Edward's crusade is not known. The second was Joan of Acre, born early in 1272, who was brought up by her grandmother, Jeanne de Dammartin, in Ponthieu.<sup>5</sup>

**1155-7.** The fulfilment of the royal request, proclaimed on 1 May at the Guildhall, that the Londoners send four 'de discrecioribus ciuibus' to France to discuss preparations for the imminent coronation was probably delayed until 16 June 1274 by the on-going dispute between le Waleys and Hervey.<sup>6</sup> Presumably the choice on that day of *three* wardens met with the royal council's approval: the council had ordered the Londoners to appoint 'two discreet and faithful men' to keep the city.<sup>7</sup> The appointment of three citizens to hear complaints brought against the Londoners at Boston fair was in line with Henry III's charter to the citizens of 26 March 1268.<sup>8</sup>

**1158.** The king had summoned leading Londoners to Montreuil-sur-Mer in late June 1274 as part of an attempt to bring an end to the on-going Flemish trade war. Terms to settle the dispute were announced on 28 July.<sup>9</sup>

**1159.** Edward I would, in September 1275, issue his Statute of Jewry.<sup>10</sup> This was probably part of a fact-finding mission in advance of that statute by the king's council. It was reconfirmed in the assizes of the city of London in 1276-8.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> cc. 1139-53

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> **β-β**, c. 1132; LMA CLA/023/PL/01/001, m. 4; CLA/023/CP/01/002, m. 6, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Rotuli Hundredorum, i, 404; Eyre, 1276, 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Supra, 111-12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 125-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> cc. 1139-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> CR, 1272-9, 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> **α-α**, c. 964.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *Foedera,* I, ii, 513-4; *supra*, 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Statutes of the Realm, i, 221-2; EHD, 411-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *LBA*, 217.

**1160-2.** Presumably an incomplete summary of the Council of Lyons, 7 May to 17 July. The subsidy was a clerical tenth for six years granted on 18 May.<sup>1</sup>

**1163-68.** The final entries in Arnold's chronicle. Over £1,100 were spent preparing Westminster for Edward's coronation on 19 August, and Arnold is a unique chronicle source for the works carried out there.<sup>2</sup> We see, at the last, Arnold's acute eye for space.

# BRIEF NOTICES 1309-19 fos. 144v-146r.

### cc. 1169-74.

**1169**] The taking of this whale in 1309 was noted by other London chroniclers.<sup>3</sup>

**1170**] An accurately compiled account of how the Lords ordainer published their final ordinances in August and September 1311.<sup>4</sup>

**1171**] A note on Edward II's famous proclaimation that Piers Gaveston, perpetually exiled by the ordinances of 1311, was 'bon et loial'.<sup>5</sup>

**1172**] Following this submission by the barons deemed responsible for Gaveston's death in June 1312, the king pardoned his former adversaries, including all those named here, on 16 October 1313.<sup>6</sup>

**1173**] A rather matter-of-fact notice of the battle of Bannockburn.<sup>7</sup>

**1174**] The ineffective attempt of summer 1319 to recover Berwick, lost to the Scots the year previously.<sup>8</sup>

## VARIOUS MEMORANDA fo. 146r.

**1175-80.** Three scraps of parchment attached to fo. 146r.

**1175-6**] The first scrap contains a copy of the oath of mutual aid sworn on 31 March 1264 by the rebel barons and their allies the mayor and commune of London, and a note on its administration.<sup>9</sup>

**1177**] Onto the recto of the second piece of parchment a hand of s. xiv<sup>in</sup> has written a brief and now very faded report of the 'Anagni Outrage' of 7-9 September 1303, during which Guillaume de Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, agents of King Philip IV of France,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Councils and Synods, ii, 809-816.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ann. Lond., 157; Ann. Paul., 267.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ann. Lond., 169-76, 198-202; Ann. Paul, 270; Foedera, I, iv, 166; Statutes of the Realm, i, 157-67; EHD, 527-39; J.S. Hamilton, 'Lords Ordainer (act. 1310-1313)', ODNB.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ann. Lond., 202-3; Ann. Paul., 271.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> CPR, 1313-17, 21-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. Ann. Lond., 230-1; Flores, iii, 158-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ann. Paul., 286-7.

 $<sup>^{9}</sup>$  α-α, c. 792; Stone, 'The rebel barons'; *supra*, 16, 101, 112-15.

attacked Pope Boniface VIII in his papal palace at Anagni.<sup>1</sup> This shocking assault was widely noted by English writers.<sup>2</sup>

**1178**] On the verso of the above, an incredibly faded note.

**1179-80**] On 24 April 1303 the royal treasury was robbed at Westminster.<sup>3</sup> These undated orders issued to the mayor and sheriffs of London after the robbery were copied onto the third scrap.

# TABLE OF HENRY III'S REGNAL YEARS fo. 146v.

**1181-3.** A useful text with Edward I's reign incorrectly calculated by scribe 4.

# STATUTE OF MARLBOROUGH fos. 147r-153v.4

**1184-1274.** One of only two contemporary copies of the Statute of Marlborough, issued on 18 November 1267: the other is in the Red Book of the Exchequer.<sup>5</sup> The best analysis of the Statute has been provided by Paul Brand, who also printed a concordance of these two copies.<sup>6</sup> The majority of Brand's differences are simply a matter of how the text was divided, although the chapter headings in cc. 1185-1228 are unique to this copy, and in c. 1230 seven lines of printed text have been omitted through homoeoteluton.<sup>7</sup> I have only shown variant readings in the text where they are required to complete the sense.

The Statute was essentially a final reissue, with some changes, of the Provisions of Westminster.<sup>8</sup> Arnold took a keen interest in the process.<sup>9</sup>

# STATUTES OF JEWRY fos. 145r-156v.<sup>10</sup>

**1275-9**] Referred to in the chronicle.<sup>1</sup> This material may all have circulated widely together: in another contemporary manuscript we find the letters in c. 1277 and c. 1279

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> One of the fullest accounts to reach England was an eyewitness report, printed with an English translation and commentary, H.G.J. Beck, 'William Hundleby's account of the Anagni outrage', *The Catholic Historical Review*, xxxii (Jul. 1946), 190-220. For the context of the attack, C.T. Wood ed., *Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII: State vs. Papacy* (New York, 1967), esp. 1-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cron. St Albans, ii, 216-21, 483-91; Gervase, ii, 319-20; Ann. Lond., 131; Flores, iii, 115; Cust., ii, 159-63; Cf. Cust., ii, xxvii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Croniques*, 29-30; *Ann. Lond.*, 130-2; *Flores*, iii, 115-7. The best secondary account is T.F. Tout, 'A mediaeval burglary: a lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library on the 20th January, 1915', repr. *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (Oct. 1915), 3-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 'Prouisiones facte per dominum Henricum regem filium regis Iohannis et consilium suum ad leges Anglicanas emendandas', c. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> TNA E 164/2 fos. 243r-244v, which was the version used for Statutes of the Realm, i, 19-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Brand, Kings, Barons, and Justices, 185-204, 453-83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For the missing text, Brand, *Kings, Barons, and Justices*, 454.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> c. 1184; Brand, Kings, Barons, and Justices, 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> cc. 726, 768; marginal ins. **d**, c. 833; marginal ins. **c**, c. 910.

<sup>10 &#</sup>x27;Carta eiusdem regis et inrotulata apud Westmonasterium ad maliciam et perfidiam Iudeorum reprimendam, quibus usi fuerunt per quosdam de consilio domini regis muneribus corruptos, et per eosdem uoluerunt de aliis prauis consuetudinibus uti', c. 45.

(Henry III's *Provisio Judaismi*) copied together with a similar note on the leading role of a 'certain friar minor'.<sup>2</sup> Alternatively, it may be that Richard of Staines, a royal justice with connections to London, was Arnold's source for the letter in c. 1277, and he acquired the letter patent in c. 1279 in the normal course of affairs.<sup>3</sup>

**1280-1**] Arnold is a unique source for this royal letter.<sup>4</sup> Arnold presumably obtained this letter through his role as chirographer of the Jewish *archa*.<sup>5</sup>

# 'A CERTAIN MONSTER' fo. 156v.6

**1282.** Heavily abridged, ultimately, from the *Gesta Regum.*<sup>7</sup>

# A HISTORY OF ARNOLD FITZ THEDMAR'S FAMILY fos. 157r-158r.

**1283-4.** Scribed in Arnold's own hand and analysed above.<sup>8</sup>

## BRIEF NOTICE 1326-7 fo. 158v.

**1285.** Continued from c. 245. What is most striking, from an account written in London, is the absence of any mention of contemporary lawlessness and disorder so sustained and serious that the mayor and sheriffs could not even hold their courts, nor the leading role that the Londoners took in Edward's deposition.<sup>9</sup>

#### LIST OF CHARTERS IN THE CHEST OF THE CITIZENS 1270 fo. 159r.

**1286.** Presumably incomplete – by 1270 the Londoners had been granted at least twenty royal charters, and the remainder of fo. 159r-v were ruled to receive text and left blank.<sup>10</sup> All the originals of these charters survive and remain among the records of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Marginal ins. **e**, c. 1051.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 91, fos. 140r-v. Cf.  $\alpha$ - $\alpha$  c. 1275 and 'contra Judeos per quemdam fratrem minorem', Denholm-Young, 'The Winchester-Hyde chronicle', 93. For the *Provisio, Foedera*, I, i, 489; *CPR*, 1266-72, 598; *Select Pleas, Starrs and Other Records from the Exchequer of the Jews, A.D.* 1220-1284, ed. J.M. Rigg (Selden Soc., 1902), l-lv; Huscroft, *Expulsion*, 110-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> R. Huscroft, 'Staines, Richard of (d. 1277/8)', ODNB.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The chancery enrolments for 1239 have been lost. For the context of this letter, Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution*, 57; Huscroft, *Expulsion*, 86-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> **α-α**, c. 1281.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 'De quodam monstro olim uiso in confinio Britannie et Normannie qui habuit duo capita feminina et duo corpora et omnia membra gemina usque ad umbilicum', c. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *Gesta Regum,* i, c. 207, One manuscript version (A) of Ralph of Diss's *Abbreviationes* also contains an abridged version of this material, in a slightly different form, inserted into it in a different ink and hand to fill up space, *Diceto,* i, 194.

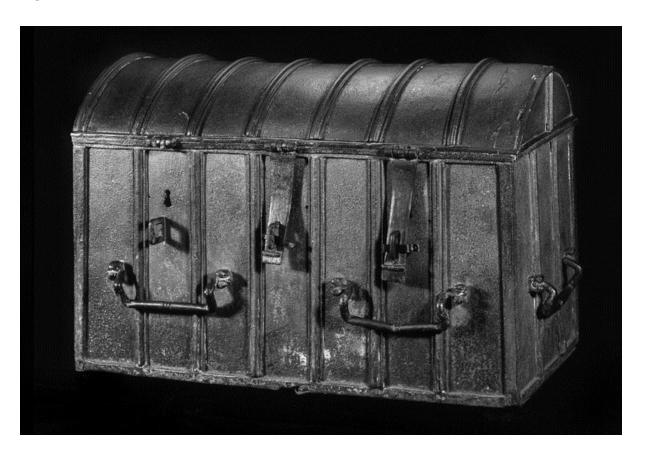
<sup>8</sup> Supra, 21-22, 99-100; Stone, 'Arnold fitz Thedmar: identity, politics and the City of London', 106-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1323-64, 11-19; Ann. Paul., 317-32; Williams, London, 295-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Historical Charters, 1-42, the three here at 1, 5-8, with a catalogue of the MS copies at 307-8. An earlier list of the city's charters suggests that the documents were sometimes in the possession of various leading men of the city, BL Add. MS 14252, fo. 106r, printed in Round, *Commune*, 256.

Corporation of London.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, the city seal was kept in a (similar?) chest at the Guildhall, 850mm high, 1240mm long, 640mm wide, made of iron plates, and fastened with six keys (below).<sup>2</sup>

Fig.22: Medieval civic chest.<sup>3</sup>



## SONG 'EYNS NE SOY/AR NE KUTHE' fos. 160v-161v.

**1287.** The first of two songs on three folios (fos. 160-2) enveloped with a bifolium (fos. 159 and 163) to make a final quire of five leaves.<sup>4</sup> This song is uniquely preserved in Arnold's book and has been skilfully set to lyrics in two languages; the English is a *contrafractum* of the French. It has recently been edited and printed with a modern English translation; it is printed here in the textual and physical context of Arnold's book for the first time.<sup>5</sup> The lyrics are the lament of a man wrongfully imprisoned, as such,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In fact two Old English charters of William's survive, LMA COL/CH/01/001/A, COL/CH/01/002, Henry II's charter is COL/CH/01/003/A, Richard I's charter is COL/CH/01/004/A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Albus, 366; P. Eames, 'An iron chest at Guildhall of about 1427', Furniture History, x (1974), 1-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Reproduced with permission of the Museum of London.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The other is c. 1290. Samantha Blickhan edited and prepared both songs, she also expertly fielded my many (no doubt foolish) questions; Emma Dillon was invaluably helpful too: I am grateful to them both. <sup>5</sup> *Songs in British Sources, c. 1150-1300,* ed. H. Deeming, (London, 2013), 135-7. I am grateful to Helen for sharing her work with me.

this song has often been called 'The Prisoner's Prayer'.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, no evidence that it was known by this name in the Middle Ages. Maybe these lyrics meant something to Arnold, he was, after all, almost certainly imprisoned in by Henry III in 1265.<sup>2</sup>

Arnold's book is a typical example of the kind of manuscript which preserves songs from this period.<sup>3</sup> Where Arnold's book is absolutely more distinctive is that it was a lay production at a time when the copying of music was a skilled task which very few people outside of a clerical milieu would have been able to do. This *may* suggest that by the mid-thirteenth century there were perhaps a handful of commercial scribes working in London with the ability to copy music.<sup>4</sup> Alternatively, it is equally possible that Arnold simply acquired these folios from a clerical source.

#### **BRIEF NOTICE fo. 161v.**

**1288.** A note about building encroachments in a hand of s. xiv<sup>in</sup>.

#### FIVE LINES OF VERSE fo. 162r.

**1289.** Perhaps jottings Arnold made while drafting his metrical list of emperors?<sup>5</sup>

#### ANTIPHON fo. 162v.

**1290.** The second song in Arnold's book is much more widely preserved.<sup>6</sup> It is a fragment of an office to be sung at the translation of Thomas Becket, which has been crossed through – perhaps at the Reformation. There is no evidence to suggest that it held any particular significance for Arnold or anyone else connected to his book. In fact, it is most likely that Arnold acquired this fragment when he obtained the other song: they are both found in the same quire.<sup>7</sup>

# SUMMARY OF ARNOLD'S FINANCIAL DISPUTES WITH FELLOW CITIZENS fo. 163r-v.

**1291-96.** The beginning of Arnold's account which he continued in cc. 48-53.8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On Early English Pronunciation with Especial Reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, ii, ed. A.J. Ellis (London, 1869), 428-439; English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1932), xvi, 10-13; Anglo-Norman Political Songs, ed. I.S.T. Aspin (Oxford, 1953), 1-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> cc. 853, 855; supra, 27-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Most songs in Deeming's edition 'are found uniquely in single manuscripts', *Songs in British Sources*, xxv-xxvi, xxxi-xxxii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxiii-xxxiv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. 'Nero, qui Paulum gladio necat et cruce Petrum', c. 69, line 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> S. Reames, 'Reconstructing and interpreting a thirteenth-century office for the translation of Thomas Becket', *Speculum*, lxxx (Jan., 2005), 118-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> c. 1287.

<sup>8</sup> Supra, 28, 120-21.

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Husting Records

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